This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

32101 073018291

Digitized by Google

HD8055
.A5A3
1914

Library of

Princeton University.
Presented by

American Federation of Labor

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

November 9 to 21, Inclusive

1914

THE LAW REPORTER PRINTING COMPANY
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1914

Digitized by Google

OFFICERS

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1915

President,

SAMUEL GOMPERS - - - - - - - - Washington, D. C.

First Vice-President,

JAMES DUNCAN - - - - - - - - - Quincy, Mass.

Second Vice-President,

JAMES O'CONNELL - - - - - - - - Washington, D. C.

Third Vice-President,

D. A. HAYES - - - - - - - - - Philadelphia, Pa.

Fourth Vice-President,

JOSEPH F. VALENTINE - - - - - - - - Cincinnati, Ohio

Fifth Vice-President,

JOHN R. ALPINE - - - - - - - - Chicago, Ill.

Sixth Vice-President,

H. B. PERHAM - - - - - - - - - St. Louis, Mo.

Seventh Vice-President,

FRANK DUFFY - - - - - - - - - Indianapolis, Ind.

Eighth Vice-President,

WILLIAM GREEN - - - - - - - - - Indianapolis, Ind.

Treasurer,

JOHN B. LENNON - - - - - - - - Bloomington, Ill.

Secretary,

FRANK MORRISON - - - - - - - - Washington, D. C.

Digitized by Google

DELEGATES

TO THE

Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention

Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
Asbestos Workers' International Association, of Heat, and Frost, Insulators, and	1	10	Jos. A. Mullaney, 516 McDonough st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America	3	53	A. A. Myrup, 212 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
		52	Henry Koch, 72 Graham ave., Paterson, N. J.
		52	J. Goldstone, 80 McKibben st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen	5	69	Frank X. Noschang, Box 397, Albany, N. Y.
		69	Jacob Fischer, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		69	C. M. Felder, Room 202, Labor Temple, 538 Maple ave., Los Angeles, Cal.
		68	C. F. Foley, 420 N. Second st., Pottsville, Pa.
		68	James C. Shanessy, 603 Burlington Building, St. Louis, Mo.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of	1	14	George W. Lowery, 2744 S. Bergman st., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of	3	32	James W. Kline, 1270-1285 Monon Building, Chicago, Ill.
		32	Wm. F. Kramer, 1270-1285 Monon Building, Chicago, Ill.
		32	John M. Tobin, 1424 Jackson st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Brotherhood of	4	42	J. A. Franklin, Room 15, Law Building, Kansas City, Kans.
		42	Chas. McGowen, Silvis, Ill.
		42	Wade B. Graham, 106 Green st., Palestine, Texas.
		41	M. J. McGuire, 288 Guerro ave., San Francisco, Cal.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of	3	32	A. P. Sovey, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		31	Mary Sullivan, 2123 N. Marston st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		31	Alfred Bieber, 3744 N. Franklin st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	5	77	John F. Tobin, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
		76	Charles L. Baine, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
		76	Frank M. Bump, 120 N. Main st., Raynham, Mass.
		76	William Karney, 1317 Spring st., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		76	Michael J. Cohan, 52 Centre st., Brockton, Mass.
Brewery Workmen, International Union of the United	5	104	Joseph Proebstle, 2347 Vine st., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		104	Fred Zepp, 2347 Vine st., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		104	John Sullivan, 25 Third ave., New York City.
		104	Albert J. Kugler, 2347 Vine st., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		104	John Rader, 2347 Vine st., Cincinnati, Ohio.

(RECAP)
HD8055
A5A3

FEB 12 1915

Digitized by Google

Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International	1	32	Frank Butterworth, 2341 W. Twelfth st., Chicago, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of	3	34	Joseph E. McClory, American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		34	M. J. Cunnane, 2620 N. Stanley st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		34	W. R. Walters, Mayor's Office, Toledo, Ohio.
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International	1	7	Will R. Boyer, 851 King pl., Chicago, Ill.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of	7	304	James Kirby, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		304	Frank Duffy, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		304	John A. Metz., 73 W. Randolph st., Chicago, Ill.
		304	A. J. Howlett, 30 Hanover st., Boston, Mass.
		304	P. H. McCarthy, 810 Merchants' Bank Building, San Francisco, Cal.
		304	John T. Cosgrove, 225 Broad st., Elizabeth, N. J.
		304	A. M. Swartz, 1410 Sandusky st., N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Carriage, Wagon, and Automobile Workers of North America, International Union of	1	35	William McPherson, 6337 Throop st., Chicago, Ill.
Cement Workers, American Brotherhood of	2	37	Frank C. Gengenback, 646 W. Marquette road, Chicago, Ill.
		36	Martin E. Goellnitz, Second st., Woodside, Long Island, N. Y.
Cigarmakers' International Union	5	80	G. W. Perkins, Room 940, 440 S. Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill.
		80	Samuel Gompers, 801 G st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
		80	Thomas F. Tracy, 708 Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
		80	J. Mahlon Barnes, 355 N. Tenth st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		80	Phil. H. Mueller, 615 Chestnut st., St. Louis, Mo.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail	3	50	F. J. Kiernan, 21 Inwood st., Dorchester, Mass.
		50	H. J. Conway, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.
		50	William Christman, 1163 Wheeling ave., Zanesville, Ohio.
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United	1	36	Max Zuckerman, 228 E. Seventh st., New York City.
Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, The	1	10	Charles E. Hill, 362 Brock ave., Toronto, Ont., Can.
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union of the United States and Canada	1	10	Edward Gurney, 2409 Snyder ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Coopers' International Union of North America	2	23	Frank A. Scoby, 2829 Third st., North, Minneapolis, Minn.
		22	James J. Doyle, 211 Second st., South Boston, Mass.
Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America	1	3	Andries Meyer, 323 Washington st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of	4	77	F. J. McNulty, 408 Reisch Building, Springfield, Ill.
		77	Samuel Grimblot, 336 Sherman st., Chicago, Ill.
		77	J. A. Cullen, 408 Reisch Building, Springfield, Ill.
		77	Thos. Singer, 3718 Grand ave., Chicago, Ill.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of	1	27	Frank Feeney, 708 S. Fifty-second st., Philadelphia, Pa.

Digitized by Google

Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating	4	51	Matt Comerford, 6334-38 Yale ave., Chicago, Ill.
		51	James G. Hannahan, 6334-38 Yale ave., Chicago, Ill.
		51	R. G. Moser, 3795 Meade st., Denver, Colo.
		50	John J. Glass, 514 Eagle st., Buffalo, N. Y.
		40	Timothy Healy, 211 E. Forty-fifth st., New York City.
Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary	4	40	C. L. Shamp, 3615 N. Twenty-fourth st., Omaha, Nebr.
		40	Joseph W. Morton, 156 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
		40	William J. Brennan, 66 S. Orange ave., Newark, N. J.
Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International	1	8	Andrew Wenneis, 65 Clifton pl., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Garment Workers of America, United	5	122	T. A. Rickert, 116 Bible House, New York City.
		122	B. A. Larger, 116 Bible House, New York City.
		121	M. Schwarz, 21 Milk st., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		121	V. Altman, 750 Ashland ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
		121	Margaret C. Daley, 2513 Surf ave., Coney Island, L. I.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies	6	117	Benjamin Schlesinger, 32 Union sq., New York City.
		117	Jacob Holpern, 113 E. 10th st., New York City.
		117	Sol. Polakoff, 43 E. Twenty-first st., New York City.
		116	Harry Kleinman, 1412 Wilkins ave., New York City.
		116	Alfred La Porta, 40 E. Twenty-third st., New York City.
		116	Elmer Rosenberg, 7 W. Twenty-first st., New York City.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association	3	34	Denis A. Hayes, 930-932 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
		33	Edward F. Greiner, Royersford, Pa.
		33	William McKinley, Jr., Coshocton, Ohio.
Glass Workers' International Association, Amalgamated	1	12	David Ring, 416 W. Fifteenth st., Kansas City, Mo.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint	3	33	T. W. Rowe, 928-31 Ohio Building, Toledo, Ohio.
		33	Wm. G. Leonard, 800 Second st., Moundsville, W. Va.
		33	George Rice, 540 W. Pike st., Clarksburg, W. Va.
Glove Workers' Union of America, International	1	11	Elizabeth Christman, Room 506, Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
Granite Cutters, International Association of America, The	3	45	James Duncan, Hancock Building, Quincy, Mass.
		45	James Garvey, Midvale, Utah.
		45	James J. Sweeney, 678 St. Ann's ave., New York City.
Hatters of North America, United	3	29	Martin Lawlor, 72-73 Bible House, New York City.
		28	Hugh C. Shalvoy, Danbury, Conn.
		28	Michael F. Greene, 52 Freeman st., Orange, N. J.
Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International	4	64	D. D'Alessandro, Box 597, Albany, N. Y.
		64	Joseph B. Etchison, 440½ Indiana ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
		64	Alfonso D'Andrea, 771 Forquer st., Chicago, Ill.
		64	Joseph V. Moreschi, 822 W. Harrison st., Room 206, Chicago, Ill.
Horseshoers of the United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen	2	29	Hubert S. Marshall, 809 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		28	Patrick F. Ryan, 6428 S. Carpenter st., Chicago, Ill.

Digitized by Google

Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America	5	118	Edward Flore, 375 Oak st., Buffalo, N. Y.
		118	Jere L. Sullivan, 610 Commercial Tribune Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		118	Thomas S. Farrell, 310 Prospect ave. S. E., Cleveland, Ohio.
		118	Emanuel Koveleski, 104 Reynolds Arcade, Rochester, N. Y.
		118	Edmund Raleigh, P. O. Box 893, Springfield, Mass.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of	2	32	John Williams, Room 506, House Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		32	John J. Sullivan, 4827 Olcott ave., East Chicago, Ind.
Lace Operatives of America, The Chartered Society of Amalgamated	1	12	David Scott, care 545 W. Lehigh ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal	2	28	Wm. J. McSorley, 401 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
		27	John T. Taggart, 320 Highland ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Laundry Workers, International Union	1	28	Charles S. Child, 225 Burrows st., San Francisco, Cal.
Leather Workers on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood of	1	18	Wm. E. Bryan, 504 Postal Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Lithographers, International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada	1	28	Frank Gehring, 309 Broadway, New York City.
Longshoremen's Association, International	4	63	T. V. O'Connor, Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
		63	J. H. Fricke, 1223 Avenue "K," Galveston, Texas.
		62	E. H. Foley, 74 Folsom st., San Francisco, Cal.
		62	A. J. Chlopek, Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
Machinists, International Association of	6	126	Wm. H. Johnston, 405 McGill Building, Washington, D. C.
		126	A. O. Wharton, Ohio Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		126	Thomas Van Lear, 2395 University ave., St. Paul, Minn.
		126	J. A. Taylor, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
		125	James O'Connell, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
		125	Charles Fry, 106 N. La Salle st., Chicago, Ill.
Maintenance of Way Employes, International Brotherhood of	2	33	William Dorey, Woodstock, N. B., Canada.
		32	Henry Irwin, Box 156, Portage La Prairie, Manitoba, Canada.
Marble Workers, International Association of	2	21	Walter V. Price, 406 E. One Hundred and Forty-ninth st., New York City.
		20	Stephen C. Hogan, 406 E. One Hundred and Forty-ninth st., New York City.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated	2	31	John F. Hart, P. O. Box 130, Yorkville, N. Y.
		31	Homer D. Call, 212 May ave., Syracuse, N. Y.
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America	3	34	T. M. Daly, 408 Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		33	George Leary, 408 Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		33	J. J. Flynn, 408 Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet	4	45	John J. Hynes, 407 Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		45	Thomas Redding, 4241 West End ave., Chicago, Ill.
		44	Hugh Frayne, 710 Bartholdi Building, New York City.
		44	James Moriarty, 9 Appleton st., Boston, Mass.

Digitized by Google

Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
Mine Workers of America, United	8	419	John P. White, 1105 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		418	John Mitchell, 3 Claremont ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y.
		418	Frank J. Hayes, 1109 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		418	William Green, 1105 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		418	John H. Walker, 304 Pierik Building, Springfield, Ill.
		418	Duncan McDonald, 505 Farmers' Bank Building, Springfield, Ill.
		418	Adolph Germer, 505 Farmers' Bank Building, Springfield, Ill.
		418	John Moore, 77 Ruggery Building, Columbus Ohio.
Miners, Western Federation of	4	93	James Shea, 427 N. Main st., Butte, Mont.
		92	Chas. E. Mahoney, care 503 Denham Building, Denver, Colo.
		92	Joseph D. Cannon, 1366 St. Nicholas ave., New York City
		92	John C. Williams, Grass Valley, Cal.
Molders' Union of North America, International	5	100	Joseph F. Valentine, Lock Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		100	John P. Frey, Lock Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		100	Chas. B. Torpey, Room 317, Parkway Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
		100	William Acton, 173 Mott st., Fall River, Mass.
		100	Jerry B. McMunn, 535 W. Eighth ave., Homestead, Pa.
Musicians, American Federation of	3	200	Owen Miller, 3535 Pine st., St. Louis, Mo.
		200	George W. Bope, Outlook Building, Columbus, Ohio.
		200	D. A. Carey, 170 Montrose ave., Toronto, Canada.
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of	6	124	George F. Hedrick, Box 99, Lafayette, Ind.
		124	J. C. Skemp, Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.
		124	P. H. Triggs, 218 Walnut st., Springfield, Mass.
		124	William Kemp, 1414 Clinton st., St. Louis, Mo.
		124	John H. Baker, 459 Flint st., Rochester, N. Y.
		124	T. H. Norris, General Delivery, Victoria, B. C., Canada.
Papermakers, International Brotherhood of	1	44	George J. Schneider, 127 N. Pearl st., Albany, N. Y.
Patternmakers' League of North America	2	34	James Wilson, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		33	John Watt, 306 Parkway Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flagg Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of	1	16	Edward I. Hannah, 223 E. Fifty-ninth st., New York City.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada	1	35	Carl Bergstrom, Box 27, Albion, N. Y.
Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, International	2	24	Matthew Woll, 6111 Bishop st., Chicago, Ill.
		23	Louis A. Schwarz, 5609 Germantown ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Plasterers' International Association, of the United States and Canada, Operative	4	45	Ed. J. McGivern, 1414 Bluehill ave., Boston, Mass.
		45	Peter G. Cook, 269 W. One Hundred and Fourteenth st., New York City.
		45	Charles Smith, 238 Second st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
		45	J. J. McDermott, 843 S. Harvey ave., Oak Park, Ill.

Digitized by Google

Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
Plate Printers' Union of America, International Steel and Copper	1	13	George J. Cleary, 1010 K st. N. E., Washington, D. C.
Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of	4	75	John R. Alpine, 411 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
		74	Charles Anderson, 19 Third st., Pittsburgh, Pa.
		74	Charles M. Rau, Room 37, 112 N. LaSalle st., Chicago, Ill.
		74	Thomas S. Kearney, Room 700, 167 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Post-Office Clerks, National Federation of	1	28	Thos. H. Flaherty, 1419 Clifton st., Washington, D. C.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative	2	39	Edward Menge, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		38	William Mushet, Room 1, Ribsam Building, Trenton, N. J.
Print Cutters' Association of America, National	1	4	Thomas G. Clark, 2856 North Park ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Printing Pressmen's Union, International	4	49	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Rogersville, Tenn.
		48	George T. Simmons, 1305 Arch st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		48	Joseph Eveland, 5643 Washington ave., West Philadelphia, Pa.
		48	Ned Byrne, 1206 Arch st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers of United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of	1	36	John H. Malin, Drawer K, Ft. Edward, N. Y.
Quarry Workers' International Union of North America	1	40	Fred W. Suitor, Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.
Railroad Telegraphers, Order of	4	63	H. B. Perham, Star Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		63	J. F. Miller, 2916 Huntington ave., Baltimore, Md.
		62	H. G. Alexander, 122 Tate st. Greensboro, N. C.
		62	George E. Soyster, Room 8, 944 E. Forty-third st., Chicago, Ill.
		96	M. F. Ryan, 503 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Railway Carmen of America, Brotherhood of	3	96	Frank McKenna, care of E. Wm. Weeks, 507 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		95	W. J. Adames, 505 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Railway Clerks, Brotherhood of	2	25	John J. Carrigan, 307 Kansas City Life Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		25	James F. Riley, 410 Kansas City Life Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric	4	137	W. D. Mahon, 603 Hodges Block, Detroit, Mich.
		136	Garrett F. Burns, Room 4, Goebel Building, 58 Cadillac sq., Detroit, Mich.
		136	P. J. McGrath, care of Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		136	C. W. Mills, care of 603 Hodges Block, Detroit, Mich.
Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of	1	12	Jeremiah T. Hurley, 413 S. Broadway, St. Louis, Mo.
Seamen's Union of America, International	4	40	Andrew Furuseth, 59 Clay st., San Francisco, Cal.
		40	Percy Pryor, 1½ Lewis st., Boston, Mass.
		40	H. P. Griffin, 12 South st., New York, City.
		40	Thomas Conway, care of 570 W. Lake st., Chicago, Ill.

Digitized by Google

Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad	1	7	T. L. Gabert, Great Cacapon, W. Va.
Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, International	1	6	J. M. Gavlak, 3643 W. Forty-seventh st., Cleveland, Ohio.
Slate Workers, American Brotherhood of	1	3	Patrick F. Hanley, Bangor, Pa.
Spinners' International Union	1	22	Thomas O'Donnell, Box 203, Fall River, Mass.
Stage Employes of America, International Alliance, Theatrical	3	50	Charles C. Shay, 107 W. Forty-sixth st., New York City.
		50	John J. Barry, 75 Albany st., Boston, Mass.
		50	Germain Quinn, 614 Hennepin ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International	2	23	James J. Freel, 1839 Eighty-fifth st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		22	Charles A. Sumner, 201 Glendale Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen	2	30	Sam Griggs, 332 American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		30	James A. Short, 332 American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Stove Mounters' International Union	1	11	W. L. Funder Burk, Rome, Ga.
Switchmen's Union of North America	3	33	Samuel E. Heberling, 326 Brisbane Hall, Buffalo, N. Y.
		33	James B. Connors, 707 E. Fortieth st., Chicago, Ill.
		32	Frank J. Sheehan, 1074 Elk st., Buffalo, N. Y.
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen	3	40	E. J. Brais, corner E. Sixty-seventh st. and Stony Island, Chicago, Ill.
		40	C. N. Bolander, 113 S. Fourth st., Room 402, Louisville, Ky.
		40	John B. Lennon, Bloomington, Ill.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	5	103	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		102	Thomas L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		102	John M. Gillespie, 170 W. Brookline st., Boston, Mass.
		102	Wm. A. Neer, Room 301, 175 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
		102	J. J. Morris, 200 Guerrero st., San Francisco, Cal.
Textile Workers of America, United	2	90	John Golden, Box 742, Fall River, Mass.
		90	Tobias Hall, 2063 E. Letterly st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union, Ceramic, Mosaic, and Encaustic	1	30	Thomas J. Williams, 412 Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
Timber Workers, International Union of	1	25	J. G. Brown, 202 Maynard Building, Seattle, Wash.
Tobacco Workers' International Union	1	37	E. Lewis Evans, Room 50, American National Bank Building, Louisville, Ky.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union	1	17	Thomas J. Curtis, 346 E. Two Hundred and Fourth st., New York City.
Typographical Union, International	5	119	M. G. Scott, 616 World Building, New York City.
		119	Frank Morrison, 801-9 G st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
		119	Max S. Hayes, 979 Parkwood drive, Cleveland, Ohio.
		119	Hugh Stevenson, 176 McPherson ave., Toronto, Ont., Can.
		118	T. W. McCullough, 9, The Winona, Omaha, Nebr.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America	1	35	Jas. H. Hatch, 234 First ave., Long Island City, N. Y.
White Rats Actors' Union of America	3	37	Will J. Cooke, 227-31 W. Forty-sixth st., New York, N. Y.
		37	William P. Burt, 227-31 W. Forty-sixth st., New York, N. Y.
		36	Joseph Birnes, 227-31 W. Forty-sixth st., New York, N. Y.

Digitized by Google

Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
Arkansas State Federation of Labor	1	1	M. J. McMahon, State House, Little Rock, Ark.
California State Federation of Labor	1	1	Paul Scharrenberg, 707 Underwood Building, San Francisco, Cal.
Florida State Federation of Labor	1	1	Arthur Keep, 11 Magnolia ave., Daytona, Fla.
Georgia State Federation of Labor	1	1	Jerome Jones, 324 Hurt Building, Atlanta, Ga.
Illinois State Federation of Labor	1	1	J. F. Morris, 824 S. Cleveland ave., Springfield, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor	1	1	B. F. Horton, 138 W. Washington st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Iowa State Federation of Labor	1	1	L. N. Gansworth, Davenport, Iowa.
Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor	1	1	George M. Henderson, 810 E. North ave., Baltimore, Md.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor	1	1	John F. English, 2 Union Park st., Boston, Mass.
Michigan State Federation of Labor	1	1	David S. Jones, 200 Russell st., Detroit, Mich.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor	1	1	Charles E. James, 309 Wabash st., St. Paul, Minn.
Missouri State Federation of Labor	1	1	John T. Smith, 1402 Woodland ave., Labor Temple, Kansas City, Mo.
Montana State Federation of Labor	1	1	M. M. Donoghue, 531 Diamond st., Butte, Mont.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor	1	1	William Umstadter, 66 S. Orange ave., Newark, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor	1	1	John S. Strachan, 704 Brandywine ave., Schenectady, N. Y.
Ohio State Federation of Labor	1	1	Michael Goldsmith, 716 Vincent ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor	1	1	P. J. Shea, 101 S. Irving ave., Scranton, Pa.
Porto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, Box 270, San Juan, Porto Rico.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor	1	1	O. F. Pennebaker, care of Pennebaker Tusley Printing Co., Chattanooga, Tenn.
Texas State Federation of Labor	1	1	H. O. Gossett, care of City Hall, Fort Worth, Tex.
Washington State Federation of Labor	1	1	H. L. Hughes, 311 Sprague ave., Spokane, Wash.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor	1	1	Paul J. Paulsen, Box 904, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Akron (Ohio) Central Labor Union	1	1	Robert L. Graves, 37 Kirkwood st., Akron, Ohio.
Allentown (Pa.) Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Henry Steinacker, 645½ N. Ninth st., Allentown, Pa.
Alexandria (Va.) Trades Council	1	1	P. J. Conlon, McGill Building, Washington, D. C.
Atlanta (Ga.) Federation of Trades	1	1	W. C. Puckett, 919 Atlanta National Bank Building, Atlanta, Ga.
Baltimore (Md.) Federation of Labor	1	1	John H. Ferguson, 2715 Jefferson st., Baltimore, Md.
Boston (Mass.) Central Labor Union	1	1	William Kobs, 29 Lawn st., Roxbury, Mass.
Brockton (Mass.) Central Labor Union	1	1	Frank W. Gifford, Box 225, Brockton, Mass.
Bronx (N. Y.) Labor Council	1	1	Edward Feron, 137 Alexander ave., Bronx, N. Y.
Brooklyn (N. Y.) Central Labor Union	1	1	Maurice De Young, 193 Schaeffer st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Camden (N. J.) Central Labor Union	1	1	A. J. McGuire, care 822 N. Sixth st., Camden, N. J.
Charleroi (Pa.) Monongahela Valley Central Trades Council	1	1	Louis Goazion, 807 Fallowfield ave., Charleroi, Pa.
Chicago (Ill.) Federation of Labor	1	1	Louis Schalk, 1653 S. Avers ave., Chicago, Ill.
Chicago Heights (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	A. H. Greener, Room 40, 106 N. LaSalle st., Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati (Ohio) Central Labor Council	1	1	Wm. Lynn, 3916 Liberty st., Pine Hill, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Digitized by Google

Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
Cleveland (Ohio) Federation of Labor..	1	1	Edward McEachern, 1120 Prospect ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Dallas (Tex.) Central Labor Council....	1	1	O. O. Harper, 405 N. Washington st., Dallas, Texas.
Detroit (Mich.) Federation of Labor....	1	1	Stanley Anderson, care of 308 Wayne County Bank Building, Detroit, Mich.
Easton (Pa.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	E. H. Young, 425 Cattell st., Easton, Pa.
Elmira (N. Y.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	J. J. Keppler, 114 S. William st., Elmira, N. Y.
Fitchburg (Mass.) Central Labor Union	1	1	Richard E. Anderson, Turnpike Road, West Fitchburg, Mass.
Granite City (Ill.) Tri-City Central Trades Council.....	1	1	Earl G. Galloway, 2028 G st., Granite City, Ill.
Hamilton (Ohio) Co-operative Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John M. Cahalane, 835 S. Ninth st., Hamilton, Ohio.
Hamilton (Ont. Can.) District Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. W. A. O'Dell, 171 Young st., Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.
Hartford (Conn.) Central Labor Union	1	1	Albert J. Rosenthal, 338 Park st., Hartford, Conn.
Hazleton (Pa.) Central Labor Union....	1	1	Albert Walck, 619 Alter st., Hazleton, Pa.
Houston (Tex.) Labor Council.....	1	1	W. C. Reinhard, 35 Live Oak st., Houston, Tex.
Hudson County (N. J.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	William F. Kavanagh, 305 Varick st., Jersey City, N. J.
Huntington (W.Va.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Harry Lowe, 413 Champion ave., Huntington, W. Va.
Indianapolis (Ind.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Joseph Obergfell, 210½ N. Delaware st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Jamestown (N. Y.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	H. A. Hartman, 41 Thirteenth st., Jamestown, N. Y.
Kensington (Ill.) Calumet Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	E. D. Miller, 4246 W. Potomac ave., Chicago, Ill.
Lawrence (Mass.) Central Labor Union	1	1	John L. Johnson, 14 Stevens st., Lawrence, Mass.
Louisville (Ky.) United Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Thos. Kelly, Room 16, Kenyon Building, Louisville, Ky.
Milwaukee (Wis.) Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	Fred W. Wilson, 390 Twelfth st., Milwaukee, Wis.
Monongahela City (Pa.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Van. Bittner, Monongahela City, Pa.
Nashville (Tenn.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	C. P. Fahey, 703 Main st., Nashville, Tenn.
Newark (N. J.) Essex Trades Council	1	1	Henry Lohse, 66 S. Orange ave., Newark, N. J.
New Kensington (Pa.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Francis Feehan, care 731 Fifth ave., New Kensington, Pa.
New Orleans (La.) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	David Marcusy, 312 Baronne st., New Orleans, La.
New Rochelle (N. Y.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Constantine J. Mueller, P. O. Box 187, New Rochelle, N. Y.
New York (N. Y.) Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity.....	1	1	Henry Rosenthal, 12 St. Marks pl., New York City.
Niagara Falls (N.Y.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	David Sauber, 487 Twenty-seventh st., Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Norwich (N. Y.) Central Labor Union..	1	1	J. J. McEntee, Norwich, N. Y.
Oil City (Pa.) Central Labor Council....	1	1	William J. C. Kay, 7 Quarry st., Oil City, Pa.

Digitized by Google

Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
Ottawa (Ont. Can.) Allied Trades and Labor Association	1	1	P. M. Draper, 112 Florence st., Ottawa, Ont., Canada.
Philadelphia (Pa.) Central Labor Union	1	1	William J. Boyle, 208 N. Fifty-eighth st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburgh (Pa.) Iron City Central Trades Council	1	1	R. J. McGrath, 315 Penn Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Portsmouth (Va.) Central Labor Union	1	1	S. B. Laylor, care 559 Lincoln st., Portsmouth, Va.
Poughkeepsie (N. Y.) Trades and Labor Council	1	1	John Bradley, 186 Mill st., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Providence (R. I.) Central Federated Union	1	1	Christopher M. Dunn, 19 Grove st., Providence, R. I.
Pueblo (Colo.) Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	J. N. Butler, P. O. Box 84, Pueblo, Colo.
Reading (Pa.) Federated Trades Council	1	1	A. P. Bower, 111 N. Sixth st., Reading, Pa.
Rochester (N. Y.) Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Frank B. Glynn, 34 South ave., Rochester, N. Y.
Rock Island (Ill.) Tri-City Federation of Labor	1	1	Eric J. Aspengren, 1432 Ninth st., Moline, Ill.
St. Louis (Mo.) Central Trades and Labor Union	1	1	William F. Canavan, 16 S. Sixth st., St. Louis, Mo.
Salem (Oreg.) Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Thomas M. Newberry, 466 Court st., Salem, Oreg.
San Francisco (Cal.) Labor Council	1	1	Andrew J. Gallagher, 1379 Masonic ave., San Francisco, Cal.
Schenectady (N. Y.) Trades Assembly	1	1	Francis L. Dujay, 228 Holland Road, Schenectady, N. Y.
Scranton (Pa.) Central Labor Union	1	1	O. J. Boyle, 525 Third ave., Scranton, Pa.
Sharon (Pa.) United Labor League	1	1	David Niven, P. O. Box 424, Sharon, Pa.
Somerville (Mass.) Central Labor Union	1	1	Edward H. Kelly, 30 Merriam st., Somerville, Mass.
Springfield (Ill.) Federation of Labor	1	1	Robert E. Woodmansee, P. O. Box 15, Springfield, Ill.
Steubenville (Ohio) Jefferson County Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Fred A. Bueche, 516 Dock st., Steubenville, Ohio.
Stockton (Cal.) San Joaquin Central Labor Council	1	1	William H. Hannon, care of Geo. A. Dean, Corner California and Channel sts., Stockton, Cal.
Toledo (Ohio) Central Labor Union	1	1	John J. Quinlivan, 314 Cherry st., Toledo, Ohio.
Toronto (Ont. Can.) District Labor Council	1	1	J. H. Kennedy, Labor Temple, Toronto, Ont., Can.
Trenton (N. J.) Mercer County Central Labor Union	1	1	Reuben Forker, 153 Sherman ave., Trenton, N. J.
Utica (N. Y.) Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Edward H. Collmer, 2 Stevens st., Utica, N. Y.
Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union	1	1	Henry F. Nolda, 607 Massachusetts ave. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Wilkesbarre (Pa.) Central Labor Union	1	1	Harvey W. Brown, 8 S. Main st., Wilkesbarre, Pa.
Wilmington (Del.) Central Labor Union	1	1	J. Winfield Scott, 616 Springer st., Wilmington, Del.
Worcester (Mass.) Central Labor Union	1	1	Freeman M. Saltus, 25 Benefit st., Worcester, Mass.
Yonkers (N. Y.) Federation of Labor	1	1	George B. McGovern, 260 New Main st., Yonkers, N. Y.

Digitized by Google

Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
Youngstown (Ohio) United Labor Congress, Mahoning County	1	1	M. C. Higgins, care Box 219, Youngstown, Ohio.
Zanesville (Ohio) Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	John A. Voll, 134 Hamline ave., Zanesville, Ohio.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646	1	1	Alice S. Bean, 43 E. Twenty-second st., New York City.
Brass Bobbin Winders' Union No. 14659	1	1	Edward B. Duddy, 3041 C st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Crown Cork and Seal Operatives' Union No. 14204	4	4	F. Belle Clarke, 930 Harford ave., Baltimore, Md.
Drain Layers and Helpers' Union No. 14383	2	2	Michael Fahey, 736 S. Wenchester ave., Chicago, Ill.
Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11959	6	6	James J. McAndrews, 175 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Elevator Operators' Union No. 14215	1	1	William P. O'Donnell, 53 Hanover st., Boston, Mass.
Felt, Panama, Straw Hat Trimmers, and Operators' Union, United, No. 14569	3	3	Melinda Scott, 43 [E.] Twenty-second [st., New York City.
Galvanized Sheet and Tube Workers' Union No. 14691	1	1	Edward M. Davies, Martins Ferry, Ohio.
Garbage and Rubbish Collectors' Union No. 14452	1	1	Walter B. Givens, 2335 Webster ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Gold Beaters' Union No. 12899	1	1	Joseph Lyons, 2323 S. Croskey st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Grain Workers' Union No. 11407	1	1	Ernest Bohm, 210 E. Fifth st., New York City.
Ladies Straw and Felt Hat Operators' Union No. 14400	1	1	Catherine Schumers, 2534 Moffatt st., Chicago Ill.
Newsboys' Protective Association No. 14650	1	1	Emanual Kline, P. O. Box 742, Pueblo, Colo.
Office Employes' Association No. 12755	1	1	Mary E. Galvin, Room 608, 166 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597	1	1	Louis F. Budenz, 2155 Shelby st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11773	1	1	J. E. Giles, 402 Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
Teachers' Federation No. 14610	1	1	Margaret A. Haley, 844 Unity Building, Chicago, Ill.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress	1	1	R. A. Rigg, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
Women's International Union Label League	1		Annie Fitzgerald, 421 S. Homan ave., Chicago Ill.
National Women's Trade Union League	1		Mary Dreier, 43 E. Twenty-second st., New York City.
American Federation of Catholic Societies	2		Rev. Peter E. Dietz, 503 Murray ave., Milwaukee, Wis. Walter Geo. Smith, Philadelphia, Pa.
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America	2		Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, 612 United Charities Building, 105 E. Twenty-second st., New York, N. Y. Rev. Samuel Zane Batten, 1701 Chestnut st., Philadelphia, Pa.

Digitized by Google

Number of Unions.	Name.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Votes.
95	National and International	248	19,825
22	State	22	22
75	Central	75	75
17	Trade and Federal Labor Unions	17	28
5	Fraternal Organizations	7	1
214		369	19,951

Digitized by Google

List of Fraternal Delegates.

To British Trades Union Congress.		From British Trades Union Congress.	
1895	Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire.	1894	John Burns. David Holmes.
1896	J. W. Sullivan. Adolph Strasser.	1895	Edward Cowey. James Mawdsley.
1897	Martin Fox. Geo. E. McNeil.	1896	Sam Woods. John Mallinson.
1898	James Duncan. Harry Lloyd.	1897	Edward Harford. J. Havelock Wilson.
1899	James O'Connell. Thomas F. Tracy.	1898	William Inskip. William Thorne.
1900	J. M. Hunter. Sidney J. Kent.	1899	James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie.
1901	Daniel J. Keefe. Eugene F. O'Rourke.	1900	John Weir. Pete Curran.
1902	Patrick Dolan. Henry Blackmore.	1901	Frank Chandler. Ben Tillett.
1903	Max S. Hayes. Martin Lawlor.	1902	M. Arrandale. E. Edwards.
1904	W. D. Ryan. D. D. Driscoll.	1903	William Mullin. James O'Grady.
1905	John A. Moffitt. James Wood.	1904	William Abraham James Wignall.
1906	Frank K. Foster. James Wilson.	1905	William Mosses. David Gilmour.
1907	John T. Dempsey. W. E. Klapetzky.	1906	Allen Gee. J. N. Bell.
1908	Andrew Furuseth. James J. Creamer.	1907	David J. Shackleton. John Hodge.
1909	John P. Frey. B. A. Larger.	1908	John Wadsworth. H. Skinner.
1910	W. B. Wilson. T. V. O'Connor.	1909	A. H. Gill. J. R. Clynes.
1911	Wm. B. Macfarlane. Daniel J. Tobin.	1910	W. Brace. Ben Turner.
1912	George L. Berry. John H. Walker.	1911	G. H. Roberts. J. Crinion.
1913	Chas. L. Baine. Louis Kemper.	1912	J. A. Seddon. R. Smillie.
1914	*	1913	I. H. Gwynne. T. Greenall.
1915	W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1914	**

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.	From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.
1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1898 David A. Carey.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1899 David A. Carey.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1900 David A. Carey.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1901 P. M. Draper.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1902 John H. Kennedy.
1903 John Coleman.	1903 James Simpson.
1904 John H. Richards.	1904 John A. Flett.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1905 William V. Todd.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1906 Samuel L. Landers.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1907 W. R. Trotter.
1908 Hugh Frayne.	1908 P. M. Draper.
1909 Jerome Jones.	1909 F. Bancroft.
1910 John J. Manning.	1910 R. P. Pettipiece.
1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1911 Wm. Glockling.
1912 John T. Smith.	1912 John W. Bruce.
1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1913 Gus Francq.
1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1914 R. A. Rigg.
1915 H. J. Conway.	

*No convention.
**No delegates.

Digitized by Google

Conventions
of
American Federation of Labor

Year.	City and State.	Date.
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio.	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio.	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio.	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Cal.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.

Digitized by Google

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1915

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the second Monday in November, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local or Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Boycotts; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades).

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced in the Convention after the fourth day's session, except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have

Digitized by Google

no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

SEC. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

SEC. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in, other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof he represents, but no City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than September 30 preceding the Annual Convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the first day of January succeeding the Convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary, and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall

Digitized by Google

receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding $2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on September 30 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall publish a financial report monthly in the "*American Federationist*," and send one copy to each affiliated body, and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with the Federation.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of $2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. All funds of the American Federation of Labor exceeding fifteen thousand dollars shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, on interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President, and Secretary of the Federation. The Treasurer shall collect the interest on all such certificates or other deposit at the expiration of each six months and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank, or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not on certificates of deposit, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others.

SEC. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be $500.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council, organizers, or speakers engaged by them, shall be $6.00 per day, hotel expense and actual railroad fare.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the

t

Digitized by Google

full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of two-thirds of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, fifteen cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; from Central and State bodies, $10 per year, payable quarterly.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1 of this Article has been paid in full to September 30 preceding the Convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with, a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm, or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and tho best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International

Digitized by Google

Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The money of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, "of which every member shall be regularly notified," to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute; what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to four ($4) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

SEC. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

SEC. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

SEC. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits, and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

SEC. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off, a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

SEC. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand ($5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

SEC. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than sixty (60) cents per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall,

Digitized by Google

through the secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

SEC. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

SEC. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than $1.00 or more than $5.00, and that one-fourth of each initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the names of members paid for on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation.

SEC. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

SEC. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall disband so long as seven members desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

SEC. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to Trade Unions, whose trade or calling is not organized, and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trade Union movement, and shall have power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation; provided, the request for a certificate be indorsed by the nearest Local or National Trade Union officials connected with this Federation, but not more than three Federal Labor Unions shall be chartered in any one city. Employers who are working for wages, may, upon regular ballot, be admitted to membership in Federal Labor or Local Unions, directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, subject to the approval of the President of the American Federation of Labor. Such members shall not attend meetings of the union or have a vote in controlling the affairs of the unions; they must comply with the scale of wages and rules adopted by the union of which they are members. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall have authority to appoint any person who is a member of any affiliated union to audit the accounts of such Federal Labor or Local Trade Unions as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct and report the result thereof to the President of the American Federation of Labor. The books and accounts of each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union shall be at all times open to the inspection of auditors appointed under this section.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five ($5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in Local Councils, or Railway System Federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments, or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one

Digitized by Google

of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the Amercian Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railroad, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention, and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

of the

American Federation of Labor

1914

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

FIRST DAY—Monday Morning Session

Horticultural Hall,
Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 9, 1914.

Pursuant to the law, the regular meeting of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m., by President Samuel Gompers.

President Gompers: The committee on Arrangements of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union has given me a program for the opening ceremony of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. The committee has been fortunate enough to have secured the consent of the Chief Executive of the city of Philadelphia to deliver an address of welcome to the officers and delegates of the convention. The Chief Executive officer of Philadelphia is with us this morning, and I have the honor of presenting to you that officer, Mayor Rudolph Blankenburg.

Mayor Blankenburg: Mr. President and Members of the American Federation of Labor: Let me extend to you, as Chief Magistrate of the city of Philadelphia, a most hearty welcome to what we love to call the City of Brotherly Love. We feel highly honored to have your national convention in our city. The first organized government in our country had its birth in the city of Philadelphia. This organized government has endured for more than 130 years, and it has endured because it was founded upon the right principle of justice to man, and it will endure for all time as long as we adhere to this principle of justice to all.

It is almost impossible to do anything without organization, and if the organization is builded upon the rock of principle it will be successful in its undertakings. And I take it, ladies and gentlemen—and I am glad to see some women here, because I believe they are as much interested in the welfare of humanity, and even more so, than the men—I take it your organization is builded upon the same foundation. I have always been a believer in organization; I am a believer today more than ever, and I know that your organization, the American Federation of Labor, is trying to do its very best to uplift labor, to see that labor gets proper remuneration for its services, and at the same time that labor will never, never permit anything to occur that will disturb the great forces for which our government has been organized.

You are in no mean city, Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen. Philadelphia is the mother city of this republic. We are proud to call her such. Here we have Independence Hall. Some of the gentlemen from all parts of the United States may never have seen Independence Hall. I am sure before

Digitized by Google

you leave the city you will go there and worship at the shrine of liberty. I never pass old Independence Hall without lifting my hat, for that is the place where liberty was pronounced upon the people of this country, and that is the place where today all countries of the world, wherever there is a sense of liberty, are worshiping, and where they are hoping some day to have the same kind of liberty that has been vouchsafed to us. Nearby Independence Hall is the place where the first Congress of the United States met, patriots one and all of them, and that is the place where the Constitution of our government was written, that Constitution which stands today, with a few amendments, as the great watchtower of progress. It is the Constitution upon which many constitutions, even in monarchical forms of government, have been founded. That Constitution has been imitated, and that Constitution will endure forever.

You are one of the greatest powers, my friends, you members of the American Federation of Labor, and one of the greatest forces for national wealth and national well-being. When I think of the number of men that are working under your banner, more than two millions, I always feel like shaking hands with one and all, if it were possible, because it is in your power to make this country greater even than it is today. You are an army, an army of peace. Compare this army with the vast armies that are today devastating the fields of Europe, and you will realize that your army of peace will endure and its work will endure long after all armies of war have gone.

Mr. President, it behooves us, one and all, men and women, to dedicate ourselves to the greatness of our great country. Each individual member, each individual person, has a mission to perform in this world; and let all of you, as I have preached and have tried to do myself, perform this mission for the enduring benefit of mankind. Let me say one word, not on politics, because I am not a politician, and I know you are not politicians, but let me say one word on government. All government in this country, all good government, has its foundation, and must have its foundation, on good municipal government. I have been trying since I have been Chief Executive of Philadelphia to give this city a business administration, and I have succeeded in this undertaking—not as far as I want to or would like to, but I have succeeded in a great measure. We have eliminated politics absolutely from the City Hall. With us a man is a man, a citizen is a citizen. We have eliminated politics so far as to take the police entirely out of politics.

I do not know how many members of your great organization live in Philadelphia, 50,000 or 75,000, I believe, but they will bear me out when I say the city of Philadelphia has received 100 cents for every dollar spent since I have been in office. We are trying to set an example that may be emulated in all parts of the country. The great trouble with our municipalities has been that they have not been run on business principles, but for the exigencies of politics, and when there are politics at stake, beware of the result. We have given the city of Philadelphia a good administration, and I want you to carry this thought home with you to your own communities, that to get proper results you must eliminate politics as you have done from your Federation. If you went into politics I do not know what would be your fate, but as long as you do what you know is the right thing to promote the interests of your great Federation of Labor you will be successful.

I did not come to make a speech, and I shall have to leave as soon as I get through, for the old man is kept very busy. I want again to extend to you, ladies and gentlemen, the most heartfelt welcome possible to the city of Philadelphia. I was never more pleased to sign an ordinance than that appropriating $25,000 to celebrate your assembling here in Philadelphia. I was so much pleased that I sent for my friend, Mr. Leonard Kraft, and a few of his friends, and in their presence signed the ordinance, then handed him the pen. The pen is not worth $25,000, but the memories will always remain with Mr. Kraft and his family. To further show our appreciation of your having selected this city for your meeting, the City Hall will be illuminated every evening while you are here. I assure you we do not do that for everybody.

And now, Mr. President, let me hand to you the key of the city of Philadelphia. It is not the physical key that opens the doors of Philadelphia to you, but it is the key that has opened our hearts to the American Federation of Labor. I hope you will have a delightful time while you are here. I shall do everything in my power to make it pleasant for you, and when you return to your homes do not forget this noble old city that is so near to the hearts of all its inhabitants, and that I know will be nearer and dearer to your hearts after you have enjoyed the hospitality of the Quaker City.

President Gompers: Mr. Mayor, in behalf of the American Federation of Labor, let me express to you our deep appreciation, not only of your welcome to this great city, but, more than the formal invitation, of the manner, the cordiality, the deep sentiment expressed, and that which every delegate and visitor to this convention not only learned from your most eloquent address, but by the light in your eyes, the geniality of your whole manner before this convention. It was more than the performance of a perfunctory ceremony. I can say on my own account, and I feel sure I express the views and the feelings of every delegate to this convention, that we have been deeply impressed with

Digitized by Google

what you have said and the splendid manner of its saying.

This is the third time our Federation has met in Philadelphia, once in old Donaldson Hall, Broad and Filbert; the second time in Independence Hall, where the charter of America's freedom and independence was declared to the world, and here in 1914, in Horticultural Hall. And each of these occasions has been an epoch in the development of the spirit of the organized working people; and that spirit, reflected to a larger or a lesser degree by the unorganized workers, is in harmony with the Declaration of Independence, which not only gave to the world a new nation, but a new concept of the rights of man, that man is endowed with certain inalienable rights, and among these are the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. These declarations, in themselves, do not bring either liberty or happiness. To translate these declarations into the everyday activities of the lives of our people—that is the mission of the American Federation of Labor.

The key which you presented to me, Mr. Mayor, and through me the spirit of the gift to the delegates to this convention, you may rest assured of this one thing, that it is our hope, and we believe that the hope will be realized, that you will have no occasion for regret, that the people of Philadelphia will have no occasion for regret that this great honor has been done us. We have met in many cities and we have been judged by our work and our conduct. We have never met in any city where we will not be welcome to come again.

For your very cordial, earnest plea for the right and for justice, for all that you have said and indicated, and all that the purpose, the purposefulness of your entire address, the manner of what you have done and tried to do as a public officer, as a man, in behalf of the convention and myself I want to really, earnestly and honestly thank you from the bottom of my heart.

President Gompers introduced to the convention George H. Ulrich, President of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union.

President Ulrich.

Mr. President and Delegates to the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

It gives me extreme satisfaction and pleasure to welcome you to our city, which is known throughout the length and breadth of the world as the City of Brotherly Love; the city which has been said to be the most American city in America; the city that every school child knows as the cradle of liberty and the home of the Liberty Bell.

There could be no more fitting place for the American Federation of Labor to hold its annual convention than in this particular city, because it was in this city that the American Federation of Labor, under that title, was first permanently started. It is true that in the early 80's the various craft unions were having disputes with the Knights of Labor, principally on the question of trade autonomy, and that they formed a loose federation known as the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, but it was not until after the convention of that body in Philadelphia on May 17, 1886, which made certain demands on the Knights of Labor, which demands were rejected by the Richmond convention of the Knights of Labor, that the American Federation of Labor was permanently and solidly organized in the shape in which it now is. Once since then the city of Philadelphia has had the pleasure of entertaining a convention of the American Federation of Labor, in 1892, when the delegates, much fewer in numbers than they now are, assembled in Independence Hall.

Philadelphia is a great industrial center, and has seen the inception of a great many large movements. As already mentioned, the American Federation of Labor got its real start in this city. You are well aware that it was in this city that Uriah S. Stephens, a tailor, working at the trade, sitting in Fairmount Park, talking with his fellow workers, organized the Knights of Labor. Although that organization, as history has shown, was laid down on impractical lines, in that it sought to make many divergent unions and interests join into one single organization, still there is no doubt that it played its part in the development of labor organization; and now in its place stands the more practical organization, the American Federation of Labor, which is a federation of independent trades alive to the development of industry, ready to adjust itself to changing and changed conditions and ready, when necessary, to form practical industrial groups of various trades. This is well exemplified in the harmonious work of the brewery workers and other trades.

Philadelphia has been a great labor center; it has had great labor leaders; it has had labor leaders who, though sometimes mistaken in their views, have honestly worked for the advancement of labor's cause. P. J. Maguire, of the Carpenters' Union, the father of Labor Day, which was first celebrated in 1882, had his headquarters in this city for many years.

At this, the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, I cannot help but remind you of the fact that Philadelphia is noted as a labor center and as an organized labor center, even though it has a tendency to go from the extreme of solid organization to the extreme of little organization. I cannot help but remind you that in 1910 this city demonstrated to the organized workers of the world that it did have a labor heart and a labor will, when 150,000 trade unionists, out of sympathy for the street car men who were then striking for improved conditions in this city, dropped their tools and went out on a gigantic sympathy strike. This was the first large general strike of organized labor in the United States, and showed of what stuff our working men and women are made, and it had its effect,

Digitized by Google

because the employers of labor as a body are not at all anxious to try conclusions with us again.

This is a large city, both in population and in area, and a great many of the delegates from the country districts may be lost in wandering around. I therefore suggest that they make a note of various labor centers in this city, where they will receive such help as may be applicable to their individual wants. The Building Trades may be found at 1312 Filbert Street, within one-half block of City Hall. The miscellaneous trades, including the Cigarmakers, of which I have the honor to be the secretary, may be found at 232 North Ninth Street, where they occupy a building formerly the home of the Philadelphia Elks. The German trades may be found at two places, the Labor Lyceum, Sixth and Brown Streets, which, by the way, was formerly a Jewish synagogue, and at the Southwark Labor Lyceum, Twelfth and Tasker Streets. The Metal Trades are in the Parkway Building, at Broad and Cherry Streets. The Textile Workers are at the Lighthouse, Lehigh Avenue and Howard Street.

I wish you a pleasant time while you are here, and the trade unionists of Philadelphia will do their best to see that you have a pleasant time. I also hope that as result of your deliberations you will still further advance the cause of labor under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers introduced to the convention Joseph Richie, president of the Building Trades Council of Philadelphia.

President Richie.

Mr. Chairman and Delegates:

As president of the Building Trades Council I extend a hearty welcome to the delegates to this convention. We are all happy because the American Federation of Labor selected Philadelphia for its Thirty-fourth Annual Convention. When that fact was reported to us from Seattle every one of us at once got busy to make this convention a success. As part of the program to make this event a success, I was appointed chairman of the Labor Forward Committee.

While it has been a hard matter to stir up enthusiasm for labor in Philadelphia, owing to the prevailing depression in general business, yet, under the direction of the Labor Forward Committee, we have been quite successful. We have formed fourteen new local unions and added to the membership of the various organizations that have been interested in the movement. In this campaign of organization in our city the work of this great convention of the American Federation of Labor will give us encouragement to continue our efforts to obtain higher wages and better conditions for the working people of Philadelphia. Philadelphia is now known as "The City of Brotherly Love and of Homes for Working People." We will strive to make our city a better and happier place for those who are compelled to earn a living by toiling for wages.

I wish you Godspeed for a good, successful convention and, with the arrangements that have been made for your comfort and pleasure, I feel satisfied that you will leave us with a spirit of cordial fraternity, and that you will always co-operate with us in accomplishing many more good things in our city for organized labor.

President Gompers introduced to the convention James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

President Maurer.

Mr. President and Fellow-Delegates:

In behalf of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor I welcome you to our State. Pennsylvania, being one of the highly developed industrial States, one of the highest, I dare say, in the Union, it is quite fitting and proper that the American Federation of Labor should have done us the honor to hold its Thirty-fourth Annual Convention within our borders. I understand the local committee of arrangements has provided for a sight-seeing tour of Philadelphia. I regret that certain geographical conditions deny us the pleasure of giving you a sight-seeing tour of our State. I should like to take you some twenty-odd miles above Philadelphia and over the old Valley Forge ground. I should like to take you to our Gettysburg, where the Blue and the Gray met on that great battlefield. I should like to take you to our industrial centers, to our coal fields, anthracite and bituminous. I should like to take you through those spots to show you that almost every square acre in our State at some time in the history of our industrial struggle has been the battleground of our brothers in Pennsylvania. I should like to show you all of these things, but it is impossible. I regret also that I am not the Governor, in order that I might hand you the key of the State. However, as president of the State Federation of Labor of Pennsylvania, I can hand the key of the organized labor movement of the State to you, the delegates of the American Federation of Labor from all over the country.

I know you have a mountain of work, and that you are eager to get at your job and get through with it, in order that you may have time to see some of the wonderful sights we have in this part of the country. I wish to once more thank you for selecting Philadelphia as the city in which to hold your thirty-fourth annual convention, and hope you will never live to regret having paid this honor to our dear old State.

President Gompers announced that a photograph of the delegates would be taken immediately upon adjournment.

Digitized by Google

Frank Feeney, chairman of the Committee on Arrangements of the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia, was introduced by President Gompers.

Chairman Feeney.

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: It is needless for me to say that you are welcome to our city. The previous speakers have dwelt upon that, and I am sure that you all believe that you are welcome. We are yours to command. Anything we can do for you, let the Committee on Convention Arrangements know it, and, as I said to the Metal Trades, we are yours to a cinder.

When the Seattle convention decided to bring this meeting to Philadelphia it was an action that caused enthusiasm among the trade unionists of Philadelphia; they put forth every effort to take advantage of such an occasion. We realized that the American Federation coming to Philadelphia meant better organization among our already organized working men and women and an increase of organization among non-union men. As President Richie has told you, the labor forward movement has met with wonderful success as a result of the American Federation of Labor coming to Philadelphia.

Now, Mr. President and Delegates, in order that we may further instill into the minds of non-union men and women, and into the minds of the men and women already organized, the necessity of continuing this work, we have arranged for a monster parade Friday night; and I am not exaggerating, but I may say I am very conservative in the statement that there will be at least 50,000 trade unionists in line. You can realize the magnitude of this procession when I say that in the neighborhood of 4000 musicians have been employed to furnish music for the parade. We trust, we hope, we would like to be in a position to command, that every delegate to this convention take part in that parade. We have made arrangements for the delegates to head the line of march, and we hope you will not be too tired to go along with the rest of us. The delegates to the American Federation of Labor will form on Broad Street at Diamond. The street cars one block east of the hotel will take you to the starting point.

Chairman Feeney announced that programs in the form of souvenir postcards would be furnished the delegates later.

President Gompers: In behalf of the American Federation of Labor Convention, I thank you all for your hearty welcome, your splendid preparation for the holding of this convention. It is needless, indeed it would be superfluous, to attempt to make any extended remarks to the representatives of labor of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, who themselves are active workers in this great uplift movement of ours. Perhaps during the course of the convention some utterances may be made in regard to the movement itself, its history, its struggles, its methods, its hopes, its aspirations, and that they will be addressed to concrete subjects and questions for which we will try to find an answer and a solution.

I may say to the extent of the capacity of this hall visitors are welcome. Our sessions are generally held open, all are invited to attend. They may see us at our work, and we invite the criticism of friend and foe. You see us at our best and you see us at our worst. Ours is a great, rough struggle, as is ever a mass movement for a humanitarian purpose and for justice. We do not meet, the fact of our numbers forbids the thought that we could meet, behind closed doors, with two or three or four determining great problems for the people. We must meet in large numbers, and the very fact that our numbers are large precludes the possibility of our hiding anything we do or undertake to do.

Incidental to the ennobling purposes and the great achievements in the interests of the masses of the people there may be some degree of roughness; but in all the struggles of humanity, from step to step in the advance movement, there has always been a degree of roughness; but, thank God, humanity forgets the roughness incidental to the struggle for the great achievements in the interests of humanity. So we may rest content upon the understanding that the time will come when the work of our movement and our men and our women will be understood, and when best understood will be all the more highly appreciated.

Among men who have done so much was a New York boy, who later made his home and his battle ground in Philadelphia, one of the men to whom is due the great credit for conceiving the idea of the establishment of the American Federation of Labor, a secretary of the Federation, a vice-president of the Federation and the founder of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, P. J. McGuire. I have suggested that some time during the life of this convention of the American Federation of Labor some tribute in a more impressive manner be paid to the memory of P. J. McGuire. I do not know the extent of the arrangements that have been made, but if it shall find tangible form it will be announced to this convention so that the delegates and officers and friends may participate in the services.

Again, in behalf of your fellow trades unionists, Mr. Ulrich, Mr. Richie, Mr. Maurer, Mr. Feeney, I thank you.

President Gompers read the following telegram:

"President American Federation of Labor,

"Horticultural Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.

"Owing to unavoidable absence from city I will be unable to address your convention. Wishing you success and the cause you represent, I remain,

"MARTIN BRUMBAUGH,
"Governor-elect."

Digitized by Google

President Gompers: It now becomes my duty to call to order the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and to declare that it is now open for the transaction of such business as may come before it.

President Gompers announced the following appointments:

Sergeant-at-arms, I. W. Bisbing, Cigarmakers' Union, Philadelphia.

Messenger, M. J. McDermott, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Philadelphia.

Assistant Secretary, Walter Faries, Typographical Union, Philadelphia.

Report of Committee on Credentials.

Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 9, 1914.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Gentlemen:

Your Committee on Credentials begs leave to report that they have examined the credentials of 358 delegates, representing 92 International and National Unions, 22 State Branches, 70 Central Bodies, 18 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions and 7 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, Henry Koch, J. Goldstone, 157 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—Frank X. Noschang, Jacob Fischer, C. M. Feider, C. F. Foley, James C. Shanessy, 343 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—George W. Lowery, 14 votes.

Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of—James W. Kline, William F. Kramer, John M. Tobin, 96 votes.

Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, Charles McGowen, Wade B. Graham, M. J. McGuire, 167 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—A. P. Sovey, Mary Sullivan, Alfred Bieber, 94 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John F. Tobin, Charles L. Baine, Frank M. Bump, William Karney, Michael J. Cohan, 381 votes.

Brewery Workmen, International Union of the United—Joseph Proebstle, Fred Zepp, John Sullivan, Albert J. Kugler, John Rader, 520 votes.

Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International—Frank Butterworth, 32 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of—Joseph E. McClory, M. J. Cunnane, W. R. Walters, 102 votes.

Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International—Will R. Boyer, 7 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—James Kirby, Frank Duffy, John A. Metz, A. J. Howlett, P. H. McCarthy, John T. Cosgrove, A. M. Swartz, 2128 votes.

Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers of North America, International Union of—William McPherson, 35 votes.

Cement Workers, American Brotherhood of—Frank C. Gengenback, Martin E. Goellnitz, 73 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, Thomas F. Tracy, J. Mahlon Barnes, Phil H. Mueller, 400 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—F. J. Kiernan, H. J. Conway, William Christman, 150 votes.

Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United—Max Zuckerman, 36 votes.

Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, The—Charles E. Hill, 10 votes.

Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union of the United States and Canada—Edward Gurney, 10 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—Frank A. Scoby, James J. Doyle, 45 votes.

Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America—Andries Meyer, 3 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—F. J. McNulty, Samuel Grimblot, Thomas Singer, Joseph A. Cullen, 308 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, 27 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating—Matt Comerford, James G. Hannahan, R. G. Moser, John J. Glass, 203 votes.

Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary—Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, Joseph W. Morton, William J. Brennan, 160 votes.

Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada—Andrew Wenneis, 8 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, M. Schwarz, V. Altman, (Miss) M. C. Daley, 607 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies'—Benjamin Schlesinger, Jacob Holpern, Sol. Palakoff, Harry Kleinman, Alfred La Porta, Elmer Rosenberg, 699 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—Denis A. Hayes, Edward F. Greiner, William McKinley, Jr., 100 votes.

Glass Workers' International Association, Amalgamated—David Ring, 12 votes.

Digitized by Google

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—T. W. Rowe, Wm. G. Leonard, George Rice, 99 votes.

Glove Workers' Union of America, International—Elizabeth Christman, 11 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—James Duncan, James Garvey, James J. Sweeney, 135 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Martin Lawlor, Hugh C. Shalvoy, Michael F. Greene, 85 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—D. D'Allesandro, Joseph B. Etchison, Alfonso D'Andrea, Joseph V. Moreschi, 256 votes.

Horseshoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—Hubert S. Marshall, Patrick F. Ryan, 57 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas S. Farrell, Emanuel Koveleski, Edmund Raleigh, 590 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amalgamated Association of—John Williams, John J. Sullivan, 64 votes.

Lace Operatives of America, The Chartered Society of Amalgamated—David Scott, 12 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—Wm. J. McSorley, John T. Taggart, 55 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—Charles S. Child, 28 votes.

Leather Workers on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood of—William E. Bryan, 18 votes.

Lithographers, International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Frank Gehring, 28 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—T. V. O'Connor, J. H. Fricke, E. H. Foley, John French, 250 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—William H. Johnston, A. O. Wharton, Thomas Van Lear, J. A. Taylor, James O'Connell, 754 votes.

Marble Workers, International Association of—Walter V. Price, Stephen C. Hogan, 41 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—John F. Hart, Homer D. Call, 62 votes.

Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America—T. M. Daly, George Leary, Thomas Rumsey, 100 votes.

Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet—John J. Hynes, Thomas Redding, Hugh Frayne, James Moriarity, 178 votes.

Miners, Western Federation of—James Shea, Charles H. Tanner, Joseph D. Cannon, John C. Williams, 369 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—Joseph F. Valentine, John P. Frey, Charles B. Torpey, William Acton, Jerry B. McMunn, 500 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Owen Miller, George W. Bope, D. A. Carey, 600 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—George F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp, P. H. Triggs, William Kemp, John H. Baker, T. H. Norris, 744 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—George J. Schneider, 44 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—James Wilson, John Watt, 67 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 16 votes.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada—Carl Bergstrom, 35 votes.

Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, International—Matthew Woll, Louis A. Schwarz, 47 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Ed. J. McGivern, Peter G. Cook, Charles Smith, J. J. McDermott, 180 votes.

Plate Printers' Union of North America, International Steel and Copper—George J. Cleary, 13 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John R. Alpine, Charles Anderson, Charles M. Rau, Thomas S. Kearney, 297 votes.

Post Office Clerks, National Federation of—Thomas S. Flaherty, 28 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative — Edward Menge, William Mushet, 77 votes.

Print Cutters' Association of America, National—Thomas G. Clark, 4 votes.

Printing Pressmen's Union, International—George L. Berry, George T. Simmons, Joseph Eveland, Ned Byrne, 193 votes.

Quarry Workers, International Union of North America—Fred W. Suitor, 40 votes.

Railroad Telegraphers, Order of—H. B. Perham, J. F. Miller, H. G. Alexander, George E. Soyster, 250 votes.

Railway Carmen of America, Brotherhood—M. F. Ryan, Frank McKenna, W. J. Adames, 287 votes.

Railway Clerks, Brotherhood of—John J. Carrigan, James F. Riley, 50 votes.

Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric —W. D. Mahon, Garrett F. Burns, P. J. McGrath, C. W. Mills, 545 votes.

Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—Jeremiah T. Hurley, 12 votes.

Digitized by Google

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, Percy Pryor, H. P. Griffin, 160 votes.

Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad—T. L. Gabert, 7 votes.

Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, International—J. M. Gavlak, 6 votes.

Slate Workers, American Brotherhood of—Patrick F. Hanley, 3 votes.

Spinners' International Union—Thomas O'Donnell, 22 votes.

Stage Employes of America, International Alliance of Theatrical—Charles C. Shay, John J. Barry, Germain Quinn, 150 votes.

Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—James J. Freel, Charles A. Sumner, 45 votes.

Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen — Sam Griggs, James A. Short, 60 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—W. L. Funder Burk, 11 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—Samuel E. Heberling, James B. Connors, Frank J. Sheehan, 98 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—E. J. Brais, C. N. Bolander, John B. Lennon, 120 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, Wm. A. Neer, J. J. Morris, 511 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—John Golden, Tobias Hall, 180 votes.

Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic—Thomas J. Williams, 30 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—E. Lewis Evans, 37 votes.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union—Thomas J. Curtis, 17 votes.

Typographical Union, International—M. G. Scott, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, Hugh Stevenson, T. W. McCullough, 594 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—James H. Hatch, 35 votes.

White Rats Actors' Union of America—Will J. Cooke, William P. Burt, Joseph Birnes, 110 votes.

Arkansas State Federation of Labor—M. J. McMahon, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—Paul Scharrenberg, 1 vote.

Florida State Federation of Labor—Arthur Keep, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—Jerome Jones, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—J. F. Morris, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—B. F. Horton, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—L. N. Gansworth, 1 vote.

Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor, George M. Henderson, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—John F. English, 1 vote.

Michigan State Federation of Labor—David S. Jones, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—Charles E. James, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—John T. Smith, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—M. M. Donoghue, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—William Umstadter, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—John S. Strachan, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—Michael Goldsmith, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—P. J. Shea, 1 vote.

Porto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.

Tennesese State Federation of Labor—O. F. Pennebaker, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—H. O. Gossett, 1 vote.

Washington State Federation of Labor—H. L. Hughes, 1 vote.

Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Paul J. Paulsen, 1 vote.

Akron, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Robert L. Graves, 1 vote.

Allentown, Pa., Central Trades and Labor Council—Henry Steinaker, 1 vote.

Alexandria, Va., Trades Council—P. J. Conlon, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—W. C. Puckett, 1 vote.

Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—John H. Ferguson, 1 vote.

Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—William Kobs, 1 vote.

Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union—Frank W. Gifford, 1 vote.

Bronx, N. Y., Labor Council—Edward Feron, 1 vote.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Central Labor Union—Maurice De Young, 1 vote.

Camden, N. J., Central Labor Union—A. J. McGuire, 1 vote.

Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Federation of Labor—R. G. Stewart, 1 vote.

Charlerol, Pa., Monongahela Valley Central Trades Council—Louis Goazion, 1 vote.

Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Louis Schalk, 1 vote.

Chicago Heights, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—A. H. Greener, 1 vote.

Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council—William Lynn, 1 vote.

Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—Edward McEachern, 1 vote.

Dallas, Texas, Central Labor Council—O. O. Harper, 1 vote.

Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor—Stanley Anderson, 1 vote.

Digitized by Google

Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union—E. H. Young, 1 vote.

Fitchburg, Mass., Central Labor Union—Richard E. Anderson, 1 vote.

Granite City, Ill., Tri-City Central Trades Council—Earl G. Galloway, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ohio, Co-operative Trades and Labor Council—John M. Cahalane, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ont., Canada, District Trades and Labor Council—E. W. A. O'Dell, 1 vote.

Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union—Albert J. Rosenthal, 1 vote.

Houston, Texas, Central Labor Council—W. C. Reinhard, 1 vote.

Hudson County, N. J., Central Labor Union—William F. Kavanagh, 1 vote.

Huntington, W. Va., Trades and Labor Assembly—Harry Lowe, 1 vote.

Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union—Joseph Obergfell, 1 vote.

Jamestown, N. Y., Central Labor Council—H. A. Hartman, 1 vote.

Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—E. D. Miller, 1 vote.

Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union—John L. Johnson, 1 vote.

Linton, Ind., Central Labor Union—J. L. Sims, 1 vote.

Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly—Thomas Kelly, 1 vote.

Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—Fred. W. Wilson, 1 vote.

Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—C. P. Fahey, 1 vote.

Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council—Henry Lohse, 1 vote.

New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—David Marcusy, 1 vote.

New Rochelle, N. Y., Central Labor Union—Constantine J. Mueller, 1 vote.

New York, N. Y., Central Federated Union—Henry Rosenthal, 1 vote.

Niagara Falls, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—David Sauber, 1 vote.

Oil City, Pa., Central Labor Council—William J. C. Kay, 1 vote.

Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.

Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—William J. Boyle, 1 vote.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Iron City Central Trades Council—R. J. McGrath, 1 vote.

Portsmouth, Va., Central Labor Union—S. B. Laylor, 1 vote.

Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—John Bradley, 1 vote.

Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union—Christopher M. Dunn, 1 vote.

Pueblo, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—J. N. Butler, 1 vote.

Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—A. P. Bower, 1 vote.

Rochester, N. Y. Central Trades and Labor Council—Frank B. Glynn, 1 vote.

Rock Island, Ill., Tri-City Federation of Labor—Eric J. Aspengren, 1 vote.

St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union—William F. Canavan, 1 vote.

Salem, Ore., Trades and Labor Council—Thomas M. Newberry, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Cal., Labor Council—Andrew J. Gallagher, 1 vote.

Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly—Frances L. Dujay, 1 vote.

Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union—C. J. Boyle, 1 vote.

Sharon, Pa., United Labor League—David Niven, 1 vote.

Somerville, Mass., Central Labor Union—Edward H. Kelly, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—Robert E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Steubenville, Ohio, Jefferson County, Trades and Labor Assembly—Fred A. Bueche, 1 vote.

Stockton, Cal., Central Labor Council—William H. Hannon, 1 vote.

Toledo, Ohio, Central Labor Union—John J. Quinlivan, 1 vote.

Toronto, Ont., District Labor Council—J. H. Kennedy, 1 vote.

Trenton, N. J., Mercer County Central Labor Union—Reuben Forker, 1 vote.

Utica, N. Y., Trades and Labor Assembly—Edward H. Collmer, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Henry F. Nolda, 1 vote.

Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union—Harvey W. Brown, 1 vote.

Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union—J. Winfield Scott, 1 vote.

Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union—Freeman M. Saltus, 1 vote.

Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor—George B. McGovern, 1 vote.

Zanesville, Ohio, Central Trades and Labor Council—John A. Voll, 1 vote.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646—Alice S. Bean, 1 vote.

Brass Bobbin Winders' Union No. 14659—Edward B. Duddy, 1 vote.

Drain Layers and Helpers' Union No. 14383—Michael Fahey, 2 votes.

Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11959—James J. McAndrews, 6 votes.

Elevator Operators' Union No. 14215—William P. O'Donnell, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 14628—William Rotramel, 1 vote.

Felt, Panama, Straw Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union, United, No. 14569—Melinda Scott, 3 votes.

Galvanized Sheet and Tube Workers' Union No. 14691—Edward M. Davies, 1 vote.

Garbage and Rubbish Collectors' Union No. 14452—Walter B. Givens, 1 vote.

Gold Beaters' Union No. 12899—Joseph Lyons, 1 vote.

Digitized by Google

Grain Workers' Union No. 11407—Ernest Bohm, 1 vote.

Ladies Straw and Felt Hat Operators Union No. 14400—Catherine Schumers, 1 vote.

Newsboys' Protective Association No. 14650—Emanual Kline, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597—Louis F. Budenz, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11773—J. E. Giles, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14268—Max Dezettel, 1 vote.

Suspender Makers' Union No. 10342, Philadelphia, Pa.—Morris Sherman, 1 vote.

Teachers' Federation, Chicago, No. 14610—Margaret A. Haley, 1 vote.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—R. A. Rigg, 1 vote.

Women's International Union Label League—Annie Fitzgerald.

National Women's Trade Union League of America—Mrs. Raymond Robins.

American Federation of Catholic Societies—Rev. Peter E. Dietz, Walter George Smith.

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ of America—Rev. Charles S. MacFarland, Rev. Samuel Zane Batten.

There was turned over to your committee a document from an organization calling itself the "United Garment Workers of America." On its face the document bears its own refutation. The "United Garment Workers of America," represented by Thomas A. Rickert, as its president, and B. A. Larger, as its secretary, is the organization affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, the officers of which have been in communication with the American Federation of Labor covering a period of many years. The persons signing their names as president and secretary to this document purporting to come from the "United Garment Workers of America" are not known to the American Federation of Labor as such officers.

President Rickert and Secretary Larger, of the United Garment Workers of America, have sent in the credentials of the duly elected delegates of the United Garment Workers of America. Desirous of ascertaining the full facts in the case, we heard the representatives of the United Garment Workers of America and a representative of the claimants to recognition as the United Garment Workers of America, and what was disclosed to your committee is the fact that these claimants represent a number of seceding garment workers from the organization of the United Garment Workers of America; that these garment workers by their acts of secession have voluntarily alienated themselves from membership in and rights to the United Garment Workers of America, and the American Federation of Labor, and we, therefore, find that they are not entitled to recognition by this or any other body of organized labor. We find further, that President Thomas A. Rickert and Secretary B. A. Larger are the duly elected and accredited officers of the United Garment Workers of America and that only such credentials signed by these officers are entitled to consideration and favorable action by this convention.

For these reasons your committee has recommended the seating of the following as delegates representing the "United Garment Workers of America":

Thomas A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, M. Schwarz, V. Altman and Margaret Daley.

Your committee received a letter of protest from James F. Brock, the general president of the Laundry Workers' International Union, against the seating of Thomas Rumsey as a delegate from the Metal Polishers' International Union. Your committee has considered this letter of protest, as well as the credentials of Thomas Rumsey, and finds that he is a duly elected and accredited delegate from the Metal Polishers' International Union; that the subject matter upon which the protest of the Laundry Workers' International Union is founded ,is of a character which should be taken up directly with the Metal Polishers' International Union by the Laundry Workers' International Union.

For this reason your committee has recommended the seating of Thomas Rumsey as delegate from the Metal Polishers' International Union.

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS S. KEARNEY,
Chairman;
P. J. McGRATH,
LOUIS A. SCHWARZ,
Secretary,
Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Kearney: I move that the report of the committee be adopted and the delegates seated. (Seconded.)

Delegate Schlesinger, Ladies' Garment Workers: The committee recommends that the representatives of 50,000-odd garment workers be refused a seat. I move that the delegates who sent in this document be given an opportunity to explain their position. (Seconded by Delegate Polakoff.)

Delegate McNulty, Electrical Workers, arose to a point of order, and stated that the Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor, in its declaration of principles, decided that when any body or number of

Digitized by Google

members seceded from a recognized and affiliated international organization they could not hope to receive any consideration from the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers: The question at issue is for the convention to decide.

Vice-President O'Connell made the same point of order as Delegate McNulty, reviewed briefly the action of the Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor on the subject, and read the recommendation of the Committee on Adjustment adopted in that convention, as follows:

"Before closing the report the Committee on Adjustment wishes to make the following declaration and recommendations: Whatever argument or excuse there might have been in the past for the existence of two organizations of the one craft, we now believe that such argument or excuse is absent. It is the unanimous opinion of the Committee on Adjustment, many of whose members have had to deal with disputes caused by the existence of two organizations of one craft for many years, that the time has arrived for the American Federation of Labor to openly and emphatically declare itself to the effect that, large as this country is, it is not large enough to hold two organizations of the one craft. Therefore, your committee recommends that the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes squarely on record in favor of the above declaration, and your committee further recommends that this convention instruct the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to carry into effect the principles and purposes involved in this declaration—one craft, one organization. All of which is respectfully submitted."

A delegate offered as an amendment: That the report of the committee be accepted, with the exception of the protest against the delegate from the Metal Polishers, and that portion of the report be reconsidered by the Credentials Committee.

The amendment was seconded, but not carried.

The motion offered by Delegate Schlesinger was lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Credentials was carried by unanimous vote.

At 12.15 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p. m. of the same day.

Digitized by Google

FIRST DAY—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Monday, November 9th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees: Delegates Andrea, Scott, Gehring, Foley, Hynes, Redding, Torpey, Rau, Summons, Alexander, Morris, Horton, Conlon, Feron, Harper, Obergfell, Hartman, Fahey, Dunn, Quinlivan, Collmer, Saltus, Bean, Kline, Haley.

Appointment of Committees.

Secretary Morrison read the following list of appointments:

Committee on Rules and Order of Business—Thomas A. Rickert, John M. Tobin, W. R. Walters, Jos. D. Cannon, John Sullivan, Frank Butterworth, Henry Koch, W. B. Graham, S. Polakoff, Wm. G. Leonard, Alfonso D'Andrea, P. F. Ryan, G. J. Schneider, Edward Menge, G. B. Simmons.

Committee on Report of Executive Council—T. W. McCullough, James Wilson, Andrew Furuseth, Wm. Green, T. V. O'Connor, Martin Lawlor, Thos. F. Tracy, Homer D. Call, T. W. Rowe, J. J. Sweeney, Jere L. Sullivan, Frank X. Noschang, Geo. W. Bope, Edw. F. Greiner, Frank M. Bump.

Committee on Resolutions—James Duncan, John P. Frey, G. W. Perkins, B. A. Larger, Jacob Fischer, John J. Glass, J. A. Franklin, Hugh Stevenson, M. F. Ryan, Peter G. Cooke, A. A. Myrup, John A. Voll, Chas. P. Fahey, J. T. Cosgrove, J. W. Morton.

Committee on Laws—John B. Lennon, Daniel J. Tobin, John P. White, Owen Miller, J. W. Kline, S. E. Heberling, Hugh Frayne, Garret F. Burns, P. H. McCarthy, Alfred Bieber, C. B. Torpey, Louis A. Schwarz, D. S. Jones, C. E. James, Wm. Lynn.

Committee on Organization—Frank Duffy, Thos. L. Hughes, John J. Sullivan, J. J. Doyle, Frank J. Hayes, J. A. Cullen, James Shea, Benjamin Schlesinger, A. M. Swartz, Thos. A. Farrell, John T. Taggert, M. J. Cohan, Chas. McGowen, M. J. Cunnane, Wm. McPherson.

Committee on Labels—John F. Tobin, Victor Altman, Max Zuckerman, J. M. Barnes, J. Goldstone, Michael F. Green, C. M. Felder, Emanuel Koveleski, John Rader, E. J. Brais, Max S. Hayes, F. J. Kiernan, J. F. Hart, J. M. Gillespie, John Metz.

Committee on Adjustment—James O'Connell, Matthew Woll, John Golden, Marsden G. Scott, C. L. Baine, H. J. Conway, D. A. Carey, H. C. Shaivoy, E. Lewis Evans, John T. Smith, Chas. Anderson, Edward Flore, Geo. Leary, Geo. J. Cleary, Wm. McKinley, Jr.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—H. B. Perham, R. G. Moser, H. S. Marshall, J. J. Barry, M. Goldsmith, J. C. Shanessy, O. O. Harper, Louis Schalk, E. W. A. O'Dell, W. F. Kramer, C. L. Shamp, Chas. Smith, Wm. J. Boyle, Maurice De Young, J. H. Kennedy.

Committee on Education—Joseph F. Valentine, John H. Ferguson, P. M. Draper, R. G. Stewart, Stanley Anderson, Mary Sullivan, Margaret Haley, Joseph Obergfell, C. C. Shay, C. N. Bolander, Phil H. Mueller, A. J. Kuegler, J. B. Connors, C. A. Sumner, Wm. E. Bryan.

Committee on State Organizations—John R. Alpine, John H. Walker, P. J. Conlon, Paul Scharrenberg, Joseph Proebstle, John H. Baker, John Moore, R. E. Woodmansee, B. F. Horton, J. F. English, Jerome Jones, A. J. Gallagher, Wm. Umstadter, P. J. Shea, O. F. Pennebaker.

Committee on Boycotts—D. A. Hayes, J. J. Freel, Wm. A. Neer, Frank Gehring, Wm. H. Johnston, F. M. Saltus, Margaret Daley, W. R. Boyer, S. C. Hogan, Wm. Dorey, T. M. Daly, A. J. Rosenthal, C. M. Feider, Henry Rosenthal, J. J. McAndrews.

Committee on Building Trades—Thos. J. Williams, James Kirby, F. J. McNulty, Geo. F. Hedrick, Walter V. Price, James Garvey, Wm. J. McSorley, Joseph E. McClory, D. D'Alessandro, Edw. J. McGlven, Chas. M. Rau, Samuel Griggs, Matt Comerford, Frank C. Gengenback, Frank Feeney, John J. Hynes, J. M. Gavlak.

Secretary Morrison called attention to the fact that seventeen names had been read in the Committee on Building Trades instead of fifteen, the number on the other committees.

President Gompers: In the Seattle convention, with the consent of the convention, five additional committees were appointed. I desire to ask whether the convention will consent to the selection of four additional committees, a Committee on Ways and Means, a Committee on Shorter Work Day, a Committee on A. F. of L. Office Building and a Committee on International Relations?

Delegate Perkins, Cigarmakers: I move that the president be authorized to appoint the additional committees he has named. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers called attention to

Digitized by Google

the manner in which the report of the Committee on Credentials had been made, in each case the name of the organization being read, the names of the delegates and the number of votes, and in explaining the representation of organizations said in part: "The conventions of the American Federation of Labor are made up of representative bodies of men and women. We cannot hold mass gatherings such as a political party would, and there have a slate either adopted or a slate substituted, and such a procedure is alone possible when there are mass gatherings. Mass gatherings are not legislative bodies. The effort of the American Federation of Labor has been to see to it that the conventions shall be representative bodies, deliberative bodies; hence the delegates from organizations are based upon the number of members represented. Organizations of 4000 members or less are entitled to one delegate; between 4000 and 8000 members, two delegates; between 8000 and 16,000, three delegates; between 16,000 and 32,000, four delegates, and so on. Each delegate representing a national or an international union or a local union is entitled to cast one vote for every 100 members he or she may represent. And in order to avoid duplication representatives from state federations and city central bodies are entitled to one vote each. It seems to me this explanation ought to be made for general information, not for the information of the delegates."

President Gompers stated that the Executive Council had prepared an exhaustive report upon the work of the year; that the report was in print and would be distributed to the delegates; that it would be impossible to read the entire report during the afternoon session, but a digest or synopsis of the report would be read by the First Vice-President.

At 2.35 p. m. First Vice-President James Duncan began the synopsis of the report of the Executive Council, and continued to read until its completion, at 5.10 p. m.

Printed copies of the report of the Executive Council were distributed to the delegates.

President Gompers called attention to the portion of the report recommending:

"That a conference be held between three delegates of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and three delegates of the Sheet Metal Workers, with three delegates appointed by President Gompers, for the purpose of bringing about an agreement between the organizations in interest, and that said committee report back to the convention as soon as possible, and not later than Monday morning, November 16th." President Gompers stated that the subjects considered in the report would be referred to the proper committees on Tuesday morning, but requested that provision for the committee to consider the question of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers be made at once, so that the committee could be appointed without delay.

Delegate Feeney moved that the suggestion of the president be concurred in. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers: The chair asks the officers or representatives of these two organizations to be prepared to-morrow with the announcement of their representatives, and the chair will be prepared to announce the committee on the part of the A. F. of L.

Handsome souvenir convention badges were distributed to the delegates by a committee of the Central Labor Union.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

"Washington, D. C., November 9, 1914.
"Mr. Samuel Gompers,
"A. F. of L. Convention, Philadelphia.
"Convey to the delegates present my sincere greetings and best wishes for a successful convention.
"W. B. WILSON,
"Secretary of Labor."

Secretary Morrison stated that he had been requested to announce that the International Labor Press Association would convene at 7 p. m. Monday night at the Continental Hotel; also that the Executive Board of the Association would meet immediately upon adjournment at the Walton Hotel.

President Gompers stated that Mr. Phillips, in charge of the label exhibit, desired to make an announcement. Mr. Phillips stated that an exhibit of union label products had been arranged for, and invited the attention of all visitors

Digitized by Google

and delegates to it. He stated the purpose of the exhibit was to endeavor to impress upon the members of the American Federation of Labor the importance of paying proper attention to the promotion of the various union labels.

Secretary Morrison read the following cablegram:

"Amsterdam, November 6, 1914.
"The American Federation of Labor,
"Washington, D. C.
"Fraternal greetings, good wishes convention. Hoping for speedy end of war and return of workers to continue fight for common ideals.

"LEGIEN-OUDEGEEST."

Vice-President Duncan called attention to the fact that the signers of the cablegram had been compelled to go to Amsterdam, a neutral country, in order to send it.

At 5.30 p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9 a. m. Tuesday, November 10th.

Digitized by Google

REPORT OF A. F. OF L. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *November 9, 1914.*

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

GREETING: Each year brings for the trade union movement new tests and new problems. Each year finds the American Federation of Labor emerging from these tests with increasingly magnificent demonstrations that it is founded upon true and lasting principles. Each year brings progress in dealing with the burdens and problems of the workers—proof that the policies and the methods of the A. F. of L. are practical and effective.

The principle that has directed and controlled all policies of the A. F. of L. is that organization in industry is the key to betterment of conditions for the workers. Organization for the purpose of making united effort to remedy wrongs that affect the work and the lives of all has been the instrumentality that has brought cheer and hope and betterment to the workers.

Economic organization gives power—power to protect the workers against industrial exploitation and injustice; power to secure for them opportunities for development; power to secure for them things that will make life sane, whole, and good; power to bring into their lives something of beauty and pleasure; power to secure political representation for their ideals and recognition of their demands in legislation. The influence of organization in industry and its infinite number of contacts with other organizations constitute an intricate force that is the most powerful single force in society. The power of Labor is commensurate with its unity, solidarity, and federation.

The ultimate purpose of every activity of the A. F. of L. is to extend and to make more effective organization. Whatever success Labor has had in establishing its ideals in any field of activity has been due to its numerical strength and solidarity of economic organization.

During the past year the A. F. of L. has won a remarkable political victory. It has brought to a successful culmination the political campaign inaugurated in 1906. The purpose of that campaign was to establish industrial freedom for the working people that they might have the right to organize and the right to the activities necessary to make organization effective for human welfare. The law that accords the workers of America those rights contains the most fundamental, the most comprehensive enunciation of industrial freedom found in any legislative act in the history of the world. The workers of our land were able to secure that law because they represented an organized economic power.

Since Labor's Bill of Grievances was presented to those responsible for the failure to accord Labor necessary legislative protection and since the inauguration of Labor's nonpartisan political campaign in 1906, the organized workers have been able to secure many laws protecting the workers—the great majority of the people. They have accomplished these results with no other machinery except their economic organization—their federation.

As individuals, workers are unable to secure any consideration from employers, lawmaking bodies, or other government agencies, but by means of their organization for economic purposes the workers take their rightful positions as the most powerful, the most influential element in society. For this reason the A. F. of L. has during the past year extended its plans and efforts for organization. The special work has been among the unskilled and the women workers. Organization is like a structure—it must rest upon a firm, solid foundation to be of service. Practical operations proceed along the lines of least resistance, the initial effort is directed against strategic points. When these are organized, operations are extended to the associated opportunities. There is nothing spectacular or extraordinary, yet it attains results that last. Organization infuses

Digitized by Google

into the industrial life of a community consideration for human welfare. In time new conceptions of the value and the sacredness of human life permeate the industrial organization and management and extend out into the common life of the community. The little leaven of humanity has brought gentleness, mercy, and justice into the thoughts and manners of all the people. Labor organizations have been the most potent force in democratizing humanity, culture, and justice, and thus bringing about a cultural civilization that is expressed in the daily thoughts and habits of individuals.

Economic organization is that upon which we must concentrate our thought and effort. When economic organization is achieved, every other good thing becomes possible for the workers. But because of the great power attaching to this agency, many other movements or forces seek to destroy or to use them. For this reason the A. F. of L. early adopted the policy of avoiding entangling alliances. This policy has been consistently pursued during all these years. But with great success and increased growth comes additional power. Many and tempting will be the avenues of activity and the associations open to the A. F. of L. Increasingly difficult will it be to distinguish the things which are most important and vital for the continuous development of the Federation—the things which make for life rather than mere power. Ever must be held up the policy, the organization—federation, that is the thing.

Organization gives the workers freedom, choice, individuality. Organization enables them to protect themselves, to solve their own difficulties, and to order their own lives. With organization they can establish in industry their own ideals of their own welfare. With organization they can do for themselves without the assistance of benevolent guardianship. Organization eliminates necessity for paternal legislation by enabling employes and employers to determine upon working conditions mutually gratifying.

The paramount importance of organization justifies the great gratification with which the Executive Council submits its annual report of the progress of the A. F. of L. At a time when most of the civilized countries are submerged by a world-wide war, in the United States on every hand the workers are insisting upon the maintenance of organization and resistance to deterioration of present conditions of work. Organized labor has assisted the effort to mitigate the industrial disorganization and losses entailed by the European war.

We submit the following report of the year's work:

The E. C. has held six meetings since the Seattle Convention as follows: November 23, 1913; January 19-24; May 11-16; July 13-18; October 12-17; November 7, 1914. The last meeting was held in this city.

There were submitted to us during the year 173 documents. The subject-matter of the most important of these is made part of this report.

The work of the convention proper devolving upon the members of the E. C. will be exceedingly arduous. It is therefore hoped that as far as possible delegates and officers having matters they desire to submit to the E. C. will hold them in abeyance until the meeting which will undoubtedly be held in this city immediately after the adjournment of the convention.

Avoid Duplication

Inasmuch as this report is quite voluminous and the printed proceedings of the conventions have continually increased in size, it is suggested that committees to which subjects of the Executive Council's report are referred for consideration, action and report, should not be duplicated, but should be referred to by title of the subject, and the page or pages upon which it can be found.

Digitized by Google

SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

FELLOW UNIONISTS—I have the honor to submit a report to you of the receipts and expenditures for the past twelve (12) months, beginning October 1, 1913, and ending September 30, 1914.

It is with satisfaction that I report at the close of this fiscal year $102,492.81 in the treasury. Of the amount on hand, $91,853.42 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and can be used to pay benefits only in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions. The balance, $10,639.39, is in the general fund. Of that fund only $6,554.13 is available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor. The balance, $4,085.26, is divided as follows: In the fund created by the one-cent assessment levied August 4, 1913, to defray expenses of appeals in the United Hatters and Contempt Cases, $266.59; in the fund created by the one-cent assessment to organize women workers levied February 28, 1914, $3,818.67.

The total receipts from all sources are $263,166.97, the total expenses are $265,737.21, which makes an excess of expenditures over receipts of $2,570.24.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1914:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand September 30, 1913		$105,063 05
Per capita tax	$180,653 70	
Supplies	8,967 19	
Interest on funds on deposit	2,400 00	
American Federationist	28,040 26	
One-cent assessment to defray expenses in the United Hatters and contempt cases	8,073 49	
One-cent assessment to organize women workers	14,675 91	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions	16,316 60	
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued	818 07	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	3,221 75	
		263,166 97
Total		$368,230 02

EXPENSES.

General	$195,333 82	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions	9,388 00	
American Federationist	33,507 21	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	1,898 55	
One-cent assessment to defray expenses in the United Hatters and contempt cases	14,752 39	
One-cent assessment to organize women workers	10,857 24	
		265,737 21
Balance on hand September 30, 1914		$102,492 81

RECAPITULATION.

In general fund	$10,639 39
In defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions	91,853 42
Total	$102,492 81

Digitized by Google

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses:

Appropriations:	
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada	$500 00
National Women's Trade Union League of America	1,800 00
Union Label Trades Department	74 27
Rent	5,697 00
Refunds of premiums on bonds and supplies returned	39 25
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions	1,863 80
Treasurer's bond	125 00
Secretary's bond	20 00
Fire insurance	36 60
Bail bonds for organizers	57 35
Expressage, freight and drayage	1,491 22
International Secretariat per capita tax for 12 months ending June 30, 1914	1,947 86
Legislative expenses	8,115 35
Newspapers, magazines and books	171 04
Office fixtures	153 00
Postage stamps	3,991 02
Printing and binding bound proceedings of the Seattle Convention	2,294 35
Stamped envelopes	1,391 28
Supplies and printing	19,546 39
Telegrams	973 82
Expenses American Federation of Labor delegate to Seattle Convention of the Union Label Trades Department	385 55
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada	234 45
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress	601 50
Seattle Convention	
Committee rooms	286 00
Expenses Secretary attending Seattle Convention	347 30
Messenger, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Assistant Secretary	322 00
Printing and supplies	100 50
Printing daily proceedings	1,383 25
Stenographers	2,178 73
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, stationery, reading proof, sending out daily proceedings, rent of typewriters, photographs	254 58
Salary:	
President	5,000 00
Secretary	4,000 00
Treasurer	500 00
Office employes	33,025 21
Addressing, folding, and enclosing circulars in envelopes	220 90
Janitor service	41 00
Expenses:	
Auditing and Credential Committee	189 00
Executive Council meetings	4,970 19
President traveling during year	2,258 01
Secretary traveling during year	463 32
Defense fund:	
Strike benefits	9,388 00
Assessment:	
One-cent assessment to defray expenses in the United Hatters and contempt cases	14,752 39
One-cent assessment to organize women workers	10,857 24
Organizing expenses	79,713 76
Printing and publishing *American Federationist*	33,507 21
Printing American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter for organizing purposes	7,574 59
Printing American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter	1,404 00
Postage on American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter	912 46
Expenses of American Federation of Labor delegate attending convention of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education	67 75
Expenses attending J. D. Pierce funeral	53 40
Legal expenses	95 80
Salary and expenses as member of subcommittee of Executive Council investigation, workmen's compensation legislation	295 15
Transcript of evidence before the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations	65 37
Total	$265,737 21

ONE-CENT ASSESSMENT

This assessment was levied on the membership of all affiliated organizations on August 4, 1913, to defray expenses of appeals in the United Hatters and Contempt cases.

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for this fiscal year, ending September 30, 1914:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand September 30, 1913	$6,945 49
Receipts from October 1, 1913, to and including September 30, 1914	8,073 49
Total	$15,018 98

Digitized by Google

EXPENSES.

On account of attorney fees and expenses relative to the United Hatters' case:	
Alton B. Parker	$5,100 19
Frank L. Mulholland	1,249 67
On account of attorney fees and expenses in contempt cases:	
Alton B. Parker	4,447 85
Ralston & Richardson	2,428 87
Clerk's cost and printing record in carrying case of Lawlor vs. Loewe before the Supreme Court of the United States, James D. Maher, Clerk Supreme Court of the United States	595 00
On account of printing record in Contempt case before Supreme Court	275 00
Printing brief in Contempt case	250 11
Printing brief in Lawlor vs. Loewe case	207 70
Services reporting argument in Contempt case, Smith & Hulse	90 00
Services in reporting argument before Supreme Court of the United States in Contempt case	108 00
Total	$14,752 39

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts	$15,018 98
Expenses	14,752 39
Balance on hand September 30, 1914	$266 59

All expenses incurred in the Buck Stove and Range and Contempt Cases have been paid; however, there are unpaid bills to the amount of $2,903.25 on account of attorney fees and expenses incurred for the legal defense in the Hatters' Case, and there is only a balance of $266.59 in this fund.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES 1881 TO 1914, INCLUSIVE

I herewith furnish a table giving the receipts and expenditures for the past 34 years:

Year.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1881	$174 00	$154 00
1882	268 20	252 25
1883	690 19	352 32
1884	357 42	543 20
1885	584 03	450 58
1886	474 11	635 08
1887	1,939 82	2,074 39
1888	4,512 55	3,933 67
1889	6,838 40	6,578 33
1890	23,849 74	21,070 57
1891	17,702 36	13,190 07
1892	17,834 51	18,324 69
1893	20,864 62	21,383 36
1894	15,346 43	17,302 08
1895	13,751 75	15,612 42
1896	16,290 18	15,452 95
1897	18,639 92	19,113 83
1898	18,894 15	19,197 17
1899	36,757 13	30,599 22
1900	71,125 82	68,373 39
1901	115,220 89	118,708 39
1902	144,498 21	119,086 74
1903	247,802 96	196,615 57
1904	220,995 97	203,991 15
1905	207,417 62	196,170 10
1906	217,815 18	218,540 04
1907	174,330 26	159,960 84
1908	207,655 23	196,937 36
1909	232,377 64	203,702 07
1910	193,470 84	177,859 34
1911	182,188 68	175,524 08
1912	207,373 60	277,479 23
1913	244,292 04	258,702 92
1914	263,166 97	265,737 21
Total	$3,145,501 42	$3,043,008 61

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts	$3,145,501 42
Expenses	3,043,008 61
Balance on hand September 30, 1914	$102,492 81

Digitized by Google

ONE-CENT ASSESSMENT TO ORGANIZE WOMEN WORKERS

(Levied February 28, 1914, by the Executive Council in accordance with resolution adopted by the Seattle Convention of the A. F. of L.)

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses from February 28, 1914, to September 30, 1914:

RECEIPTS.

Receipts from February 28, 1914, to and including September 30, 1914	$14,675 91

EXPENSES.

Names of Organizers.	States Wherein Work Was Done.	Amount Received.
1. Agurkis, Joseph J.	Massachusetts, Rhode Island	$567 34
2. Collins, William	New York	990 65
3. Conboy, Sara A.	Connecticut, New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Georgia, New Jersey	836 68
4. Diskan, Samuel	Pennsylvania, New York	414 95
5. Kavaney, Arthur P.	Massachusetts	251 20
6. Kelleher, Mary	Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Georgia	881 65
7. Marquardt, Louis R.	Georgia	35 00
8. McIntyre, B. F.	South Carolina, Georgia	821 10
9. McMahon, Thos.	New Jersey, Rhode Island, Massachusetts	877 00
10. Miles, Chas. A.	Massachusetts, Georgia, North Carolina, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey	836 74
11. Miller, A. W.	New York	912 40
12. Mills, B. Katharine	New York	360 00
13. Reagan, Thos. J.	New York Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania	762 10
14. Scully, Mary	New York	396 00
15. Sicard, Edmond	Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts	833 25
16. Smith, Mrs. E. C.	Georgia, Alabama	260 85
17. Travers, Luke B.	New Jersey	45 00
18. Walker, Jesse	New York	775 33
	Total	$10,857 24

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts	$14,675 91
Expenses	10,857 24
Balance on hand September 30, 1914	$3,818 67

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending September 30, 1914, there have been issued 225 charters to National and International, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Of this number, two were granted to the following Internationals:
Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.
Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks.
One State Branch: Arizona State Federation of Labor.
Trade unions, 128; Federal Labor Unions, 50.
Forty-four Central bodies, as follows:

Arkansas:
- Huntington.
- Russellville.

Arizona:
- Tucson.

California:
- El Centro.
- San Pedro & Wilmington.

Colorado:
- Lajunta.

Florida:
- Sanford.

Georgia:
- Cedartown.
- Fitzgerald.

Illinois:
- Carrier Mills.
- Carterville.
- Mt. Carmel.
- Mt. Vernon.

Indiana:
- Linton.

Iowa:
- Boone.

Kansas:
- Arma.
- Coffeyville.

Louisiana:
- Monroe.

Massachusetts:
- Medford.
- Middleboro.

Minnesota:
- International Falls.

Montana:
- Havre.

Nevada:
- Reno.

New Hampshire:
- Somersworth.

New York:
- Fulton.

Ohio:
- Conneaut.
- Lancaster.
- Pomeroy.

Oklahoma:
- Ardmore.

Oregon:
- Coos Bay.
- Eugene.

Pennsylvania:
- Girardville.
- Mahanoy City.
- Monongahela.
- Waynesboro.

Porto Rico:
- Humacas.

Texas:
- Kingsville.
- Wichita Falls.

Utah:
- Ogden.

Washington:
- Anacortes.
- Centralia.
- Port Angeles.
- Snohomish.

Wyoming:
- Casper.

Digitized by Google

CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED, DISBANDED, JOINED INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AND RESTORED

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS. Disbanded, 1. Brotherhood of Railway Express Messengers of America; membership, 10. Suspended, 2. International Protective Association of Lithographic Press Feeders of the United States and Canada; membership, 922. International Brotherhood of Tip Printers; membership, 250.

CENTRAL BODIES. Disbanded, 8; suspended for non-payment of per capita tax, 1.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS. Disbanded, 40; suspended, 151; joined internationals, 5; revoked, 2.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS. Disbanded, 14; suspended, 54; joined internationals, 3.

CHARTERS ISSUED 1897-1914

YEAR.	International.	Department.	State.	Central.	Trade Unions.	Federal Unions.	Total.
1897	8		2	18	154	35	217
1898	9		0	12	129	53	203
1899	9		1	35	303	101	449
1900	14		5	96	484	250	849
1901	7		4	123	575	207	916
1902 (eleven months)	14		6	127	598	279	1,024
1903	20		3	171	743	396	1,333
1904	11		5	99	179	149	443
1905	3		1	67	143	73	287
1906	6		4	53	167	87	317
1907	3		1	72	204	93	373
1908	0	2	4	73	100	55	234
1909	3	2	2	40	77	52	176
1910	2	0	1	83	152	96	334
1911	3	0	0	61	207	55	326
1912	2	1	2	57	149	49	260
1913	2		1	63	197	59	322
1914	2		1	44	128	50	225

International	2
State	1
Central	44
Federal Labor Union	50
Local Trade Union	128
Total	225

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FORMED FROM AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR LOCAL UNIONS.

The American Federation of Labor in the past nineteen years has formed out of directly chartered local unions, the following seventy-five national and international organizations:

1896.

Mineral Mine Workers' Progressive, Northern.
Actors' National Protective.
National Union of Textile Workers.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders' Union.
Brickmakers' Alliance, National.
Federated Association of Wire Drawers.

1897.

Bicycle Workers' International Union.
Gold Beaters' National Union.
Steam Engineers' National Union.
Core Makers' International Union.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.
Brotherhood of Paper Makers.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's National Union.

1898.

Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union.
Building Laborers' International Protective Union of America.
Trunk and Bag Workers' International Union.

Digitized by Google

1899.

International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.
National Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers.
Brotherhood of Coal Hoisting Engineers.
Tin Plate Workers' International Protective Association.
Team Drivers' International Union.

1900.

Chain Makers' National Union of the United States of America.
Glass Workers' National Union.
International Jewelry Workers' Union of America.
International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers.
Building Laborers' International Protective Union.
International Brotherhood of Oil and Gas Well Workers.
United Metal Workers' International Union.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

1901.

Shirt Waist and Laundry Workers' International Union.
Amalgamated Leather Workers' Union of America.
International Watch Case Makers.
International Association of Car Workers.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America.
National Association of Blast Furnace Workers and Smelters of America.

1902.

United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union of North America.
Sawsmiths' Union of North America.
Piano and Organ Workers' International Union of America.
National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States.
United Powder and High Explosive Workers of America.
International Association of Tube Workers.
International Association of Marble Workers.
Window Glass Snappers' National Protective Association of America.

1903.

Quarrymen's International Union of North America.
American Brotherhood of Cement Workers.
International Brotherhood of Tip Printers.
International Union of Slate Quarrymen, Splitters and Cutters.
International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America.
Brotherhood of Railway Expressmen of America.
International Hodcarriers and Building Laborers' Union of America.
International Shingle Weavers' Union of America.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, National Alliance of.
International Association of Glass House Employes.
Interior Freight Handlers and Warehousemen's Union of America.
Glove Workers' International Union of America.
Order of Commercial Telegraphers.
Amalgamated Rubber Workers' Union of America.
National Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers of America.
International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employes.

1904.

Asbestos Workers of America, National Association of Heat, Frost, General Insulators and
International Association of Fur Workers of the United States and Canada.
Mattress, Spring and Bedding Workers' International Union.
Brushmakers' International Union.
International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes.
International Union of Building Employes of America.
International Union of Paper Box Makers.
Tack Makers' International Union.

Digitized by Google

1905.

National Brotherhood of Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers.
International Union of Pavers and Rammermen.

1906.

Steel Plate Transferrers' Association of America.

1907.

International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers of United States and Canada.
Post-office Clerks, National Federation of.
Lobster Fishermen's National Protective Association.

1910.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.

1913.

International Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada (second time chartered)

APPEALS FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR COPPER MINERS OF CALUMET, MICHIGAN

In response to the appeals issued by order of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on August 28 and September 29, 1913, and January 27, 1914, for appropriations to assist the copper miners on strike at Calumet, Michigan, $55,173.82 was received and forwarded to Ernest Mills, Secretary-Treasurer Western Federation of Miners, and under date of September 19, 1914, a pamphlet was published giving itemized statement of all moneys received, and a copy mailed to each organization making an appropriation and to the secretaries of the international unions, state bodies, central bodies, and labor press, and sufficient additional copies printed to furnish a copy to each delegate to this convention.

UNION LABELS

There are now 56 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS.

American Federation of Labor.
Bakers and Confectioners.
Bill Posters and Billers.
Boilermakers.
Blacksmiths.
Bookbinders.
Boot and Shoe Workers.
Brewery Workmen.
Brickmakers.
Broommakers.
Brushmakers.
Carpenters and Joiners, Brotherhood.
Carriage and Wagon Workers.
Carvers, Wood.
Cigarmakers.
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.
Coopers.
Electrical Workers.
Garment Workers, United
Garment Workers, Ladies
Glass Workers.
Glove Workers.
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade.
Hatters
Horseshoers.
Iron and Steel Workers.
Jewelry Workers.
Lathers.
Laundry Workers.
Leather Workers on Horse Goods.
Lithographers.
Machine Printers and Color Mixers.
Machinists.
Marble Workers.
Metal Polishers.
Metal Workers, Sheet.
Molders.
Painters.
Papermakers.
Photo-Engravers.
Piano and Organ Workers.
Plate Printers.
Powder Workers.
Pressmen, Printing.
Print Cutters.
Sawsmiths.
Slate Workers.
Stove Mounters.
Tailors.
Textile Workers.
Timber Workers.
Tobacco Workers.
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.
Typographical.
Upholsterers.
Weavers, Wire.

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS.

Barbers.
Clerks, Retail
Engineers, Steam.
Firemen, Stationary.
Hotel and Restaurant Employes
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.
Musicians.
Stage Employes, Theatrical
Teamsters.
White Rats Actors.

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button, Novelty and Lodge Paraphernalia Workers; Bottlers (Soda and Mineral Water); Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers; Nail (Horseshoe) Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; Paper Box Makers; Suspendermakers, Garter, Arm Band, and Hose Supporter Makers; Flour and Cereal Mill Employes; Shoe Polish and Dressing Workers, and Basket Makers.

Digitized by Google

VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1906 up to and including 1914. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor:

Organizations.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. Intl. U. of A.	106	110	105	107	127	138	146	151	157
Barbers' International Union, Jour	231	241	255	255	265	285	299	318	343
Bill Posters	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of	82	93	100	100	100	100	93	90	96
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	128	157	152	126	161	199	167	162	167
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	321	320	320	320	325	327	333	343	381
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of	68	89	79	71	78	79	85	91	94
Brewery Workmen, International Union	360	*	400	400	400	450	450	450	520
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers	64	43	28	25	38	34	34	39	32
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	10	9	8	8	6	7	7	7	7
Brushmakers' International Union	5	5	4	2	2	2	2	2	2
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated	43	58	81	73	71	78	*	*	*
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of	1637	1929	1796	1640	1904	1946	1923	2107	2128
Carriage, Wagon, & Automobile Workers	31	31	15	15	11	20	27	29	35
Carvers' Union, International Wood	16	16	13	13	12	12	10	10	11
Car Workers, International Association of	49	50	44	50	50	46	*	*	*
Cement Workers	42	58	73	90	90	90	90	90	73
Chainmakers' National Union	6	6	6	3	2	c	c	c	c
Cigarmakers' International Union	391	399	409	398	432	436	415	402	400
Clerks, Bro. of Railway	---	---	---	56	50	50	50	50	50
Clerks Bro. of Railway Postal									15
Clerks, Intl. Protective Asso. Retail	500	500	500	150	150	150	150	150	150
Clerks, National Post-office	---	9	12	13	14	16	18	22	28
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United	21	23	13	15	21	22	28	38	36
Commercial Telegraphers	20	35	19	10	10	10	10	10	10
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers	13	13	13	8	6	6	6	8	10
Coopers' International Union	55	53	49	41	41	43	45	46	45
Cutting Die and Cuttermakers, Intl. Union	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A							3	3	3
Electrical Workers, International Bro	210	302	321	138	160	189	196	227	308
Elevator Constructors	22	23	25	20	21	21	23	26	27
Engineers, International Union of Steam	175	175	168	161	160	160	177	200	203
Express Messengers of A., Bro. of Railway							2	1	††
Firemen, International Bro. of Stationary	123	125	173	107	81	80	114	160	160
Fishermen's National Prot. Asso., Lobster	---	6	6	†	†	†	†	†	†
Freight Handlers, Bro. of Railroad	32	63	78	46	47	40	25	10	29
Flour and Cereal Mill Employes	7	7	8	8	3	*	*	*	*
Foundry Employes, International Bro. of	10	10	7	5	7	5	5	5	6
Fur Workers, International Association of	4	4	4	2	2	c	c	c	c
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. and Can., Intl.									8
Garment Workers of America, United	240	334	439	534	542	525	464	585	607
Glass Bottle Blowers' Asso.of U. S. and Canada	78	80	88	93	100	100	100	100	100
Glass Workers' International Asso., Amal.	16	14	12	11	12	12	11	13	12
Glass Workers of America, Amal., Window	58	61	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
Glass Workers, American Flint	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	91	99
Glass House Employes' International Asso	2	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Glass Snappers, Window	10	6	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Glove Workers	8	8	8	8	8	9	11	13	11
Gold Beaters' Protective Union, National	3	5	5	†	†	†	†	†	†
Grinders' National Union, Table Knife	3	3	3	2	2	†	†	†	†
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Granite Cutters' International Asso. of A	113	126	130	131	134	135	135	135	135
Hatters of North America, United	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85
Heat Frost, Genl. Insulators, and Asbestos	5	5	8	6	5	8	8	8	10
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers	50	97	112	88	114	127	125	221	256
Horseshoers of United States and Canada	41	44	61	72	72	49	52	53	57
Hotel and Restaurant Employes, etc	345	363	386	368	370	430	476	539	590
Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Amal. Asso	100	100	100	60	80	45	45	55	64
Iron Workers, Bridge and Struc. Intl. Asso	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	102
Jewelry Workers' International	4	6	4	3	4	3	2	††	††
Lace Operatives, Amal	8	8	8	8	8	9	10	11	12
Ladies' Garment Workers, International	13	23	16	18	187	668	584	788	699
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. and Metal	40	40	58	50	50	50	50	50	55
Laundry Workers, International Union	55	31	40	35	29	26	26	26	28
Leather Workers on Horse Goods	40	40	40	40	37	26	20	19	18
Leather Workers of America, Amal	10	10	8	8	8	6	6	c	c
Lithographers' Intl. P. and B. Asso	30	23	11	13	17	21	24	26	28
Lithographic Pressfeeders				10	9	9	9	10	†
Longshoremen's Association, International	340	320	315	213	208	250	235	220	250
Machinists, International Association of	500	560	621	484	569	671	598	710	754
Machine Printers and Color Mixers	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5

Digitized by Google

VOTING STRENGTH.—Continued.

Organizations.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.
Maintenance of Way Employes, Intl. Bro. of	120	132	135	100	87	100	91	80	65
Marble Workers, Intl. Association of	17	20	22	24	27	28	28	30	41
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen	50	53	63	63	54	31	40	54	62
Metal Workers' Intl. Alliance, Amal. Sheet	129	153	161	160	162	172	166	169	178
Metal Polishers, Buffers, and Platers, etc	109	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Mine Workers of America, United	2379	2549	2525	2670	2337	2504	2670	3708	3345
Miners, Western Federation of	---	---	---	---	---	513	506	485	369
Mine Managers and Assts. Mutual Aid Asso	4	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.	450	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
Musicians, American Federation of	354	375	375	394	400	500	500	546	600
Painters of America, Brotherhood of	555	624	648	596	635	676	685	709	744
Paper Box Workers, International Union of	7	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of	35	31	43	10	16	24	28	40	44
Patternmakers' League of N. A	40	50	55	50	52	56	60	65	67
Pavers and Rammermen, Intl. Union of	12	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	16
Paving Cutters Union of U. S. of A. & Can	15	18	20	26	32	32	35	35	35
Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl.	22	28	29	32	35	37	40	44	47
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of A., Intl.	80	50	50	40	40	40	20	10	10
Pilots' Association of the Great Lakes, Lake	10	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & Can., Oper.	---	---	---	145	152	147	157	173	180
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc	150	160	180	184	200	200	260	290	297
Powder and High Explosive Workers	6	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative	56	58	59	59	58	59	65	65	77
Printing Pressmen, International	166	166	172	178	186	190	190	190	193
Printers, Plate, of U. S. A., Intl. S. and C	12	12	12	12	13	13	12	13	13
Print Cutters' Asso. of A., Natl.	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Printers, Machine Textile	4	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers	---	---	---	10	7	28	35	31	35
Quarry Workers, International	38	41	45	45	50	35	40	40	40
Railway Carmen of A., Bro.	---	---	---	---	228	269	287	280	287
Railway Employes' Amal. Asso., St. & Elec.	300	320	320	333	367	393	402	457	545
Roofers, Comp. Damp & Waterproof Wkrs.	---	10	10	10	11	12	12	12	12
Sawsmiths' National Union	3	3	3	3	3	1	1	1	1
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.	194	248	255	168	160	160	160	160	160
Shipwrights, Joiners and Calkers	20	19	16	16	9	†	†	†	†
Signalmen, Bro. R. R	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	7
Slate and Tile Roofers	5	6	6	5	5	5	5	6	6
Slate Workers	18	30	27	21	14	7	4	3	3
Spinners' Intl. Union	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers	54	55	56	56	56	56	*d*	*d*	*d*
Steel Plate Transferrers' Asso. of America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' Union of N. A.	28	29	31	35	40	42	43	45	45
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen	---	85	83	89	80	86	89	66	60
Stove Mounters' International Union	15	15	14	10	9	11	11	11	11
Switchmen's Union of North America	81	92	93	80	80	87	87	96	98
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen	166	167	161	132	117	120	120	120	120
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of	402	366	377	320	358	382	415	469	511
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad	150	150	150	150	200	250	250	250	250
Textile Workers of America, United	100	114	129	100	100	100	109	162	180
Theatrical Stage Employes, Intl. Alliance	60	60	62	80	91	98	110	132	150
Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union	19	21	19	17	19	21	24	27	30
Timber Workers	17	18	17	18	18	15	15	31	25
Tin Plate Workers, Intl. Protective	14	14	14	15	8	3	3	*f*	*f*
Tip Printers	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	†
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America	55	51	46	43	41	40	37	36	37
Travelers' Goods & Leather Novelty Intl.	9	7	5	5	6	8	9	9	9
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, Intl. Union	---	---	---	---	13	17	18	19	17
Typographical Union, International	438	428	440	455	491	518	547	564	594
Upholsterers, International Union of	26	26	28	28	28	28	28	31	35
Watch-case Engravers, International	2	2	2	2	2	2	*c*	*c*	*c*
Weavers, Elastic Goring	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
White Rats Actors' Union of A	11	11	11	11	11	66	110	110	110
Wire Weavers' Protective, American	3	3	3	3	4	4	3	3	3
Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers	12	10	3	7	6	†	†	†	†
Wood Workers, Amalgamated	150	93	40	41	32	31	*e*	*e*	*e*
Centrals	538	574	606	594	632	631	560	621	647
Locals	759	713	616	608	647	680	590	659	570
State Branches	36	37	38	39	39	38	41	42	43
Total vote of Unions	15639	16425	16892	15880	16737	18643	18499	20976	21185

* Charter revoked. † Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. †† Disbanded.
a Merged with Machinists. *b* Merged with Molders. *c* Surrendered charter. *d* Not recognized. *e* Merged with Carpenters. *f* Merged with Iron and Steel Workers. ** Withdrew.

Digitized by Google

CHARTERS—Reports from the Secretaries of 92 of our National and International organizations furnish us with the information that 2,578 charters have been issued during the past year and 1,351 lapsed and surrendered—1,287 of the charters lapsed and surrendered were locals of the National and International unions, and 64 affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor.

GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP—The gain in membership reported by the Secretaries of 48 International organizations over the membership on the first of September last year is 62,882.

STRIKES—Reports from 70 National and International organizations and from local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor show that there were 957 strikes, in which there were 131,324 involved. Of that number 74,350 secured improved conditions. The total cost of the strikes reported on was $4,280,305.68. Adding to that amount $109,204.46, donations made by unions for financial assistance of other unions, we have a total of $4,389,510.14 expended to sustain members on strike during the past year.

Organisations.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Gain in wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
A. F. of L. locals	178	64		13	5	7	3	2,704	1,733			$17,092 20	$5,000 51
Bakers	37	13	2,000	5		2	2	253	192	$1 per week	1 hour	7,050 00	
Barbers	39	19	1,259	5		1		439	71			3,373 00	
Bill Posters	4	3				1	1	20				1,200 00	300 00
Blacksmiths	25	6				3		4,000				35,000 00	
Boilermakers	21	24		6			2	3,500				76,270 67	965 18
Bookbinders	7	1											
Boot and Shoe Workers	25	14	2,428	3				107				4,273 24	15,000 00
Brewery Workers	24	36		18	4	6	1	2,321	2,262	27c per hour *a*	5/6 hr. per day *b*	8,218 00	3,648 00
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers	10	4		5			1						
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers	19	8	1,000							47½c a day †			2,000 00
Broommakers	12	2	100	6		1	1	240	220	*c*		2,400 00	500 00
Brushmakers	1		60										50 00
*Carpenters, Brotherhood	274	179		12	2	11		2,568	6,827	5c per hour	1 hr. per day	54,164 00	10,902 75
Carriage and Wagon Workers	4	1	1,128	1				278	277			2,500 00	
Carvers, Wood				13		1	1	150	150	25c to 50c		712 68	
Cement Workers	22	15											150 00
Cigarmakers	8	8		21	4	20	4	3,976	2,869				
Clerks, Retail				1									
Cloth, Hat, and Cap Makers	2	1	45	22		1	7	650	575			20,500 00	2,000 00
Commercial Telegraphers	2												
Compressed Air Workers			260										265 00
Coopers	14	1		1	2	4	5	416		*d*		13,581 65	
Cutting Die and Cutter Makers	1	2		2				29	29			250 00	
Diamond Workers					1			300					300 00
Electrical Workers	140	49	8,394	28	5	6	1	4,600	4,150	30c a day			
Elevator Constructors	1		63	1				28	28	*e*	6 hrs. per wk.		
Engineers, Steam	34	8	2,000	4		13	1	92	19			4,790 50	
Firemen, Stationary	22	1	500	5	1	1f		218	196	15¢	*g*	3,146 20	8,000 00
Foundry Employes	2	1		1	1			320	245	18¾		980 00	65 00
Freight Handlers, Railroad	11	5											
Garment Workers, United	73	49											
Garment Workers, Ladies	7	1								*h*	*h*		
Glass Bottle Blowers	9	6											525 00

Digitized by Google

CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

Organizations.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Gain in wages	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
Glass Workers, Amal	2	2				2		15		2½c per hr. *i*			
Glass Workers, Flint	19	5		2		3		285	285			$65,499 05	$300 00
Glove Workers	6	4				2		1,420					
Granite Cutters	8	2		11	1				2,800			2,717 60	
Grinders, Pocket Knife Blade													17 50
Hatters													6,748 10
Hodcarriers	80	56	3,722	27	5			3,200	4,000	2½cto5c a day			500 00
Horseshoers	17	10	200	2		3		225	175			2,000 00	
Hotel and Restaurant Employes	97	65	3,792	71	19	14	5	1,931	2,251			42,009 01	22,783 78
Iron and Steel Workers	9	4	500	2				400	600			30,000 00	600 00
Lace Operatives	2		176	9				65	65			550 00	466 00
Lathers	21	17								12½cto25cday			
Laundry Workers	26	7	800	4	2	1	2	322	267	50c a day	*j*	400 00	1,000 72
Leather Workers on Horse Goods	8	3				3	3	28				3,191 00	1,500 00
Lithographers	3		259								*k*		
Longshoremen	37	18	3,000	34	12	1	3	1,700	1,400			5,484 00	400 00
Machine Printers and Color Mixers			4			3		40					
Machinists	86	40	4,338	6	1	18		1,407	600	25c per day *o*	*p*	195,265 00	1,000 00
Maintenance of Way Employes	38	30											
Marble Workers	5	1	800	1		1		1,000				15,000 00	
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen	27	14	520	7	4	3		900	750	20c&45c a day	1 & 2 hrs *l*	400 00	3,000 00
Metal Polishers	15	10	500	22	9	12	3	400	400	25c *m*		26,755 00	1,500 00
Metal Workers, Sheet	32	15	400	6		6	1	500	300	25c per day			2,000 00
Mine Workers, United	208	146		2	1	2		59,000	28,000			2,965,702 50	200 00
Miners, Western Federation of	7	26											
Molders	3	16				9		541				234,618 62	
Musicians	45	9	1,500										1,000 00
Painters	124	96	585										
Papermakers	10	6											
Patternmakers				8		11		210	171			6,447 72	275 00
Paving Cutters	7	6		7	3	2			600	5 to 15%	1 hr *n*	4,657 00	150 00
Photo-Engravers	2	1	300	4		4						19,703 38	
Piano and Organ Workers		2				1		50				1,000 00	150 00
Plasterers	24	18	900										
Plumbers	62	12	3,000	38	4	15		4,540				44,776 00	
Post-office Clerks	19		600										500 00
Potters	2	1	1,238			1		24				5,257 50	174 92
Powder and High Explosive Workers		1											102 00
Print Cutters						3		12					

CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

Organizations.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Gain in wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
Printing Pressmen	23	7	1,600	4	2			400	200	25c per day		$120,000 00	$ 125 00
Pulp and Sulphite Workers	32	2				3		200		*s*			1,200 00
Quarry Workers	6	2	400	3	1	2		580	500	*q*	1 hr. *r*	2,270 00	
Railroad Signalmen	1	1											
Railway Postal Clerks	7		416										
Railroad Telegraphers	5												
Railway Carmen	90	33	2,247			4		10,000				9,780 65	980 00
Railway Employes, Street	28	4	3,000	12	2	2	4	2,294	1,965	*t*		25,860 30	1,705 00
Roofers, Composition	9	5	80	1				30	30	25c per day		125 00	150 00
Seamen	7												3,385 00
Slate and Tile Roofers	3	1		3	1			180		*s*			
Slate Workers	1												
Spinners	2			3		1		225	125			20,000 00	
Stage Employes, Theatrical	43		700	6		6		100	100	10%		2,000 00	1,000 00
Stereotypers and Electrotypers	6	1	165	2				24	6			6,722 04	
Stonecutters	4	2	600	3	2		1	325	260	50c a day	4 hrs. per wk.	4,250 00	
Stove Mounters	3	2	50										325 00
Switchmen	5	3											400 00
Tailors	25	11		6	1	3						12,026 85	
Teamsters	82	45	4,100	36	5	2		7,300	7,240			17,000 00	
Textile Workers	64	43		2	2	2		1,500				26,368 50	
Tile Layers	9	1	200	3			1	125	100	*u*		1,500 00	1,000 00
Timber Workers	6	5		9	1	6	3	1,785	580			4,175 00	2,000 00
Tobacco Workers													2,000 00
Travelers Goods and Leather Novelty Workers	3	4		1	3		1	355	105	$2 per wk.	½ & 1 hr.	2,000 00	70 00
Tunnel and Subway Constructors	1				10		1	50	300	25c a day *x*	2 hrs. *y*		700 00
**Typographical Union	27	11	2,938	3	1	5	2	107	32			82,684 82	
Upholsterers	6	4		10	1	2		320	300	50c per day		16,607 00	
Weavers, Elastic Goring	1		15										
Weavers, Wire													125 00
Totals	2,578	1,351	62,882	543	118	236	60	131,324	74,350			$4,280,305 68	$109,204 46

a for 1,697 members; *b* for 974 members; *c* $1.00 for 40 members, 25c a day for 200; *d* 25 members secured $3.00 a week increase; *e* average gain of 32c per day for mechanics and 27c per day for helpers; *f* lockout 26 members involved; *g* 8 hours and 6 day working week instead of 12 hours and 7 day working week; *h* 1 agreement secured without strike involving 6,500, increasing wages 25% and 35% and reducing hours of labor 4 per week; *i* for 320 men through agreement secured without strike; *j* 1 agreement reduced hours from 11 to 9 per day, 5 agreements reduced hours from 10 to 9 per day, benefiting 33 members; *k* hours, of labor reduced 6 per week for 52 members; *l* 2,100 received ½ day holiday for 4 months of year; *m* for 350; *n* for 300 members; *o* for 61,000; *p* 30,000 men secured reductions in working hours; *q* 2½c per hour to 50c per day, 1,280 members; *r* for 300; *s* advances in wages for 300 members through 5 agreements secured without strike; *t* from 1c to 5 ½c per hour, 200 benefited; *u* 40c per day for tile layers, 25c per day for helpers; *x* 25c a day for 75 members, 50c a day for 350; *y* for 30; *z* 5 agreements secured without strikes, resulting in 7½% increase for 700 members, 8% for 600, 5% for 600, 3½% for 500. †for 5,604 members.

*from July 1, 1913, to June 30, 1914. **from June 1, 1913, to May 31, 1914.

Digitized by Google

BENEFITS PAID TO MEMBERS BY AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE PAST YEAR.

Organizations.	Death benefits.	Death benefits members' wives.	Sick benefits.	Traveling benefits.	Tool insurance.	Unemployed benefits.
A. F. of L. Locals	$5,746 50		$6,945 42			
Bakers	5,466 50	$925 00	43,021 00			
Barbers	34,650 00		51,122 20			
Boilermakers	5,500 00					
Boot and Shoe Workers	15,400 00		88,138 13c			
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Wk.	200 00					
Bridge and Structural Iron Wkrs.	11,700 00					
Broommakers	100 00					
Carpenters	255,587 68	41,950 00				
Carriage and Wagon Workers	1,450 00					
Carvers, Wood	3,450 00				$45 00	
Cigarmakers	280,000 00a		196,000 00	$45,000 00		$31,000 00
Clerks, Retail	9,075 00		16,750 00			
Cloth Hat and Cap Workers			3,998 00			
Commercial Telegraphers	300 00					
Compressed Air Workers	900 00					
Coopers	4,850 00				32 60	
Cutting Die and Cutter Makers	800 00		1,000 00			
Diamond Workers	750 00	150 00	1,768 00			12,678 75
Electrical Workers	19,900 00					
Firemen, Stationary	10,000 00		6,400 00			
Foundry Employes	250 00		827 00			9,890 13
Glass Bottle Blowers	52,450 35					
Glass Workers, Amal	800 00					
Granite Cutters	29,139 00					
Grinders, Pocket Knife Blade			163 00			
Hatters	57,500 00					
Hodcarriers	5,100 00					
Hotel and Restaurant Employes	67,205 40		74,423 32			
Iron and Steel Workers	5,700 00	1,400 00	14,555 00			
Lace Operatives	2,077 50	300 00				
Lathers	6,530 70					
Laundry Workers	600 00					
Leather Workers on H. G.	1,255 00		2,245 00			
Lithographers	10,450 00					
Machine Printers and Color Mixers	2,000 00					2,500 00
Machinists	60,492 00					
Meat Cutters and Butcher W.	2,950 00					
Metal Polishers	5,000 00		7,000 00			1,100 00
Metal Workers, Sheet	11,400 00					
Miners, Western Federation	31,353 25		131,028 19			
Molders	77,440 00		179,791 00			23,530 00
Painters	109,527 50	11,750 00	22,000 00b			
Patternmakers	4,500 00		8,895 55		3,200 47	16,000 00
Paving Cutters	2,625 00					
Photo-Engravers	2,300 00		8,896 24			
Piano and Organ Workers	1,600 00	400 00	1,457 65			2,000 00
Plasterers	40,000 00					
Plumbers	21,700 00		71,314 00			
Post Office Clerks	1,800 00		3,680 00			
Potters	5,450 00					
Print Cutters	1,400 00					
Printing Pressmen	18,675 00					
Pulp and Sulphite Workers			1,000 00			250 00
Quarry Workers	670 25					
Railroad Telegraphers	108,100 00					
Railway Employes, Street	231,334 50		59,692 85			
Roofers, Composition	1,500 00					
Sawsmiths			310 00			
Seamen	14,408 98d			8,604 90e		
Slate and Tile Roofers	2,300 00					
Slate Workers	700 00	100 00				
Stereotypers and Electrotypers	5,300 00					
Stonecutters	9,675 00					
Stove Mounters	1,200 00					
Switchmen	202,716 80					
Tailors	11,505 15		22,110 58			
Textile Workers	2,600 00					
Tobacco Workers	1,100 00		6,038 00			
Travelers' Goods and L. N. W.	400 00					
Tunnel and Subway Con	2,800 00			800 00		
*Typographical Union	255,534 21					
Weavers, Elastic Goring	300 00					76 00
Weavers, Wire		300 00	528 00			
Totals	2,157,241 27	57,275 00	1,031,098 13	54,404 90	3,278 07	99,024 88

a, includes death benefits members' wives; *b*, total disability only; *c*, includes $3,300 disabilit benefits; *d*, includes hospital benefits; *e*, shipwreck benefits.

*old-age pension, $264,795.

Digitized by Google

Your attention is called to the fact that the amounts herein reported as having been expended by the international unions on account of various benefits in the past year are, in the majority of cases, those paid directly by the internationals, and therefore the totals represent but a small proportion of the aggregate sum paid by trade unions in the way of benefits. A number of international unions have not as yet established benefit features, and others pay only partial benefits. It must be borne in mind that in every trade, local unions have existed independently prior to the formation of the international union, and almost without exception they provide death, sick, out-of-work, etc., benefits for their members. In these instances benefit features have thus become identified and recognized as belonging to the jurisdiction of a local union. This system has retarded international unions in establishing and extending benefit features, for the reason that it is difficult to bring locals that have to support their own benefit funds to consent to increase the tax to such an amount as would enable the internationals to secure the means for such purpose. In most instances, benefits paid by internationals are supplemental relief, paid to members in addition to the benefits provided by their local unions.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

Asbestos Workers.—No report.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers.—Charters issued, 37; surrendered, 13. Gain in membership, 2,000. Strikes won, 5; lost, 2; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 253; benefited, 192. Wage increase of $1 per week. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. Number involved in strikes pending, 61. Cost of strikes, $7,050. 140 agreements secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. 9 hours is the standard working day, but last year many locals established the 8-hour day. Death benefits, $5,466.50; death benefits, members' wives, $925; sick benefits, $43,021.

Barbers.—Charters issued, 39; surrendered, 19. Gain in membership, 1,259. Strikes won, 5; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 439; benefited, 71. Cost of strikes, $3,373. Death benefits, $34,650; sick benefits, $51,122.20.

Bill Posters.—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 3. Strikes pending, 1. Number of persons involved 20. 1 strike lost, members returning to work under same conditions. Cost of strikes $1,200. Five agreements secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. As result of organization, members work shorter hours and wages have been increased 20 to 25 per cent. Donations to other unions, $300.

Blacksmiths.—Charters issued, 25; surrendered, 6. Strikes pending, 3. Number of persons involved 4,000. Cost of strikes, $35,000. 30 agreements were secured without strike.

Boilermakers.—Charters issued, 21; surrendered, 24. Strikes won, 6; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 3,500. Cost of strikes, $76,270.67. 153 agreements have been secured without strike. Advances in wages of from 1½ to 2½ cents per hour were secured through some of the agreements and the eight-hour day established in several places. Death benefits, $5,500. Donations to other unions, $965.18.

Bookbinders.—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 1. Made splendid gains in securing increased wage-scales and improved working conditions.

Boot and Shoe Workers.—Charters issued, 25; surrendered, 14. Gain in membership, 2,428. Strikes won, 3. Number of persons involved, 107; many not involved in strike were indirectly benefited. Wherever the organization has a substantial membership, material gains were secured in every direction. Cost of strikes, $4,273.24. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, $15,400; sick benefits, $84,838.13; disability benefits, $3,300. Donations to other unions, $15,000.

Brewery Workmen.—Charters issued, 16 local and 8 branch; surrendered, 13 local and 23 branch. Number of strikes won, 18; compromised, 4; lost, 1; pending, 6. Number of persons involved, 2,321; number of persons benefited, 2,262. 7 members returned to work under conditions existing at time of strike. Number involved in the strikes pending, 52. Cost of strikes, $8,218. 1,697 members received on an average of 27 cents increase in wages per day. 974 members received an average of 5/6 of an hour reduction in the hours of labor per day. 268 agreements were secured without strike, covering the working conditions of 21,191 members. One attempt to reduce wages, which was successfully resisted. Donations to other unions, $3,648.

Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers.—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 4. Strikes won, 5; lost, 1. 6 agreements were secured without strikes. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, $200.

Digitized by Google

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.—Charters issued, 19; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 1,000. 5,604 members received increases in wages averaging 47½ cents per day. No reductions in wages in past year. Death benefits, $11,700. Donations to other unions, $2,000.

Broom and Whisk Makers.—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 100. Number of strikes won, 6; lost, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 240; benefited, 220. Number involved in strike pending, 40. Cost of strikes, $2,400. As a result of the settlements, 40 members secured an increase in wages of $1 per day and 200 members secured an average increase of 25 cents a day. Union label agreements were secured in 32 shops without strike, carrying an advance in wages and better conditions in all these shops. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, $100. Donations to other unions, $500. As a result of organization, 60 per cent of the membership have had their wages increased 10 per cent.

Brushmakers.—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 60. 12 agreements gained without strike; secured Saturday half-holiday all the year round. As result of organization wages have been increased 25 per cent and members work 6 hours less per week. Donations to other unions, $50.

Carpenters, Brotherhood (July 1, 1913, to June 30, 1914).—Charters issued, 274; surrendered, 179. Number of strikes won, 12; compromised, 2; pending 11. Number of persons involved, 2,568; benefited, 6,827. Number involved in strike pending, 617. Cost of strikes, $54,164. As a result of strikes an average increase of 5 cents per hour was secured and an average reduction in the hours of labor of 1 per day. There were attempts to reduce wages which were generally successfully resisted. Death benefits, $255,587.68; death benefits, members' wives, $41,950. Donations to other unions, $10,902.75.

Carriage and Wagon Workers.—Charters issued, 4; surrendered 1. Gain in membership, 1,128. Strikes won, 1. Number of persons involved, 278; benefited, 277; 1 member displaced. Cost of strikes, $2,500. 4 agreements were secured without strike. No reductions in wages. Death benefits, $1,450.

Carvers, Wood.—Strikes won, 13; lost, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 150; benefited, 150. 10 members returned to work under same conditions. Number involved in strikes pending, 4. Cost of strikes, $712.68. Strikes resulted in an average gain in wages of from 25 to 50 cents per day, with uniform hours of labor. 1 agreement was renewed without strike. Death benefits, $3,450. Tool insurance, $45.

Cement Workers.—Charters issued, 22; surrendered, 15. 25 members involved in 1 lockout pending. International donated $150 to the local for financial assistance.

Cigarmakers.—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 8. Strikes won, 21; compromised, 4; lost, 4; pending, 20. Number of persons involved, 3,976; benefited, 2,869. 169 members returned to work under same conditions. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 938. 7 agreements were secured without strike. In 3 cases, involving 156, the apprentice laws were improved, and in 4 cases, involving 58, an increase in wages was secured. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. As result of organization, hours of labor have been reduced to 8 per day; wages increased from 10 to 100 per cent, percentage of those dying from tuberculosis reduced from 51 per cent to 20 per cent; length of lives of members increased 13 years since 1888. Death benefits, $280,000; sick benefits, $196,000; traveling benefits, $45,000; unemployed benefits, $31,000.

Clerks, Retail.—One strike won. Death benefits, $1,075; sick benefits, $16,750.

Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 45. Strikes won, 22; lost, 7; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 650; benefited, 575; 75 were displaced or returned to work under same conditions. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 80. Cost of strikes, $20,500. All strikes were inaugurated to secure recognition of the union. No reductions in wages. Sick benefits, $3,998. Donations to other unions, $2,000.

Commercial Telegraphers.—Charters issued, 2. 2 agreements were secured without strike, benefiting 250 members. Total gains in wages approximate $6,000 per annum. Prior to formation of union, wages had declined 40 per cent in 30 years; since the organization has been established, wages are advancing slowly. Death benefits, $300.

Compressed Air Workers.—Gain in membership, 260. As result of organized effort the members were successful in bringing sufficient pressure to bear to secure the passage of the New Jersey law regulating employment of men working under air pressure. Death benefits, $900. Donations to other unions, $265.

Digitized by Google

Coopers.—Charters issued, 14; surrendered, 1. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 2; lost, 5; pending, 4. Number of persons involved, 416. Number involved in strikes pending, 130. 25 members secured an increase in wages of $3 per week. Cost of strikes, $13,581.65. [25 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, $4,850. Tool insurance, $32.60.

Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 2. Strikes won, 2. Number of persons involved, 29; all benefited. Cost of strikes, $250. Death benefits, $800; sick benefits, $1,000, by contribution.

Diamond Workers.—One strike compromised. Number of persons involved, 300. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted resulting in a compromise on the basis of a 10 per cent reduction. Death benefits, $750; death benefits, members' wives, $150; sick benefits, $1,768; unemployed benefits, $12,678.75. Donations to other unions, $300.

Electrical Workers.—Charters issued, 140; surrendered, 49. Gain in membership, 8,394. Strikes won, 28; compromised, 5; lost, 1; pending, 6. Number of persons involved, 4,600; benefited, 4,150. Average increase in wages, 30 cents per day. Number involved in strikes pending, 450. 267 agreements were secured without strike. Death benefits, $19,900.

Elevator Constructors.—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 63. Strikes won, 1. Number of persons involved, 28; benefited, 28. 4 agreements secured without strike. Wages increased on an average of 32 cents per day for mechanics and 27 cents per day for helpers. Hours of labor reduced 6 per week.

Engineers, Steam.—Charters issued, 34; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 2,000. Strikes won, 4; lost, 1; pending, 13. Number of persons involved, 92; benefited, 19. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 61. Cost of strikes, $4,790.50.

Firemen, Stationary.—Charters issued, 22; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 500. Strikes won, 5; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 218; benefited, 196. 1 lockout pending, involving 26 members. Average gain of 15 per cent in wages. 100 agreements were secured without strike. Cost of strikes, $3,146.20. As result of organization, 85 per cent of the whole membership are working 8 hours; 25 per cent have secured the 6-day working-week of 8 hours a day where previously they worked 12 hours a day with the 7-day week. Death benefits, $10,000; sick benefits, $6,400. Donations to other unions, $8,000.

Foundry Employes.—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 320; benefited, 245; 65 returned to work under same conditions existing at time of strike. An average gain in wages of 18 per cent per day was secured. Cost of strikes, $980. As result of organization, the present minimum wage is $2.25 per day of 9 hours; 10 years ago the minimum wage was $1.35 for a day of 11 and 12 hours. Death benefits, $250; sick benefits, $827. Donations to other unions, $65

Freight Handlers.—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 5.

Fur Workers.—No report.

Garment Workers, United.—Charters issued, 73; revoked or surrendered, 49; reinstated, 3. Increases in wages for the overall cutters and operators were secured, and reduction in the hours of labor for tailors in some localities.

Garment Workers, Ladies.—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 1. 1 strike lost. Agreement with Philadelphia Cloak and Suit Manufacturers secured, involving 6,500 people, gaining for them increases in wages of 25 and 35 per cent and reduction in hours of 4 weekly.

Glass Bottle Blowers.—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 6. A number of improvements were made in sanitary conditions in factories. The demand of the manufacturers in wage conference for reduction of wages was successfully resisted. Death benefits, $52,450.35; unemployed benefits, $9,890.13. Donations to other unions, $525.

Glass Workers, Amalgamated.—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 2. Strikes pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 15. 4 agreements were secured without strike, with increase of 2½ cents per hour, in two instances, affecting 320 men; 1 of the agreements improved apprentice conditions. No reduction in wages. Death benefits, $800.

Glass Workers, Flint.—Charters issued, 19; surrendered, 5. Strikes won, 2; pending, 3. Number of persons involved in total strikes, 285; benefited, 285. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 230. Cost of strikes, $65,499.05. All agreements with manufacturers renewed without strike. Improvements have been secured in the matter of ventilation, better drinking water, and other necessary sanitary conditions. The earnings of members increased on an average of $64.50 over and above last year. Donations to other unions, $300.

Digitized by Google

Glove Workers.—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 4. Strikes pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 1,420. 17 agreements were secured without strike, 7 new ones and 10 renewals.

Granite Cutters.—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 2 (jobs completed). Strikes won, 11; compromised, 1. Number of persons benefited, 2,800. Local disputes over current agreement caused strikes which were satisfactorily adjusted. Cost of strikes, $2,717.60. As result of organization, between the years of 1890 and 1914, wages have been increased 33 per cent and hours of labor reduced from 10 to 8 per day; members paid weekly instead of monthly and in cash; disputes adjusted by committees; Saturday half-holiday secured and members working under mutual and collective agreement. Death benefits, $29,139.

Grinders, Pocket Knife Blade.—One agreement was renewed without strike. Through organization, the members have been able to resist attempts to reduce wages. Sick benefits, $163. Donations to other unions, $17.50.

Hatters.—Slight increase in wages was secured during the past year. 3 agreements were secured without strike. Death benefits, $57,500. Donations to other unions, $6,748.10.

Hodcarriers.—Charters issued, 80; surrendered, 56. Gain in membership, 3,722. Strikes won, 27; compromised, 5. Number of persons involved, 3,200; benefited, 4,000. Increase in wages ranging from 2½ cents to 5 cents an hour. Death benefits, $5,100. Donations to other unions, $500.

Horseshoers.—Charters issued, 17; surrendered, 10. Gain in membership, 200. Strikes won, 2; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 225; benefited, 175. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 50. Gains in wages average about 50 cents per day. Cost of strikes, $2,000. Wages have been increased about 80 per cent since the organization of the international union in 1874.

Hotel and Restaurant Employes.—Charters issued, 97; surrendered, 65. Gain in membership, 3,792. Strikes won, 71; compromised, 19; lost, 5; pending, 14. Number of persons involved, 1,931; benefited, 2,251. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 421. There have been no material gains in wages but membership has been successful in maintaining conditions. Local unions obtained many thousands of agreements for 1 or 2 men jobs. Cost of strikes, $42,009.01. Several attempts were made to reduce wages, but all were successfully resisted. Before organization, a 14-hour day was general, now 60 per cent enjoy 10 hours per day and an average of $1 per week better wages. Death benefits, $67,205.40; sick benefits, $74,423.32. Donations to other unions, $22,783.78.

Iron and Steel Workers.—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 500. Strikes won, 2. Number of persons involved, 400; benefited, 600. The principal cause of both strikes was to secure recognition of the union. Several agreements were secured without strike. Cost of strikes, $30,000. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, $5,700; death benefits, members' wives, $1,400; sick benefits, $14,555. Donations to other unions, $600.

Lace Operatives.—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 176. Strikes won, 9. Number of persons involved, 65; benefited, 65. Improvements secured in shop rules and sanitary conditions. Cost of strikes, $550. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, $2,077.50; death benefits, members' wives, $300. Donations to other unions, $466.

Lathers.—Charters issued, 21; surrendered, 17. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted and in some instances the locals secured increases as result of negotiations. As result of organization, wages have been raised from $2 and $2.50 to $4.50 and $4.75 per day. Death benefits, $6,530.70.

Laundry Workers.—Charters issued, 26; surrendered, 7. Gain in membership, 800. Strikes won, 4; compromised, 2; lost, 2; pending, 1. Number of persons involved in total strikes, 322; benefited, 267. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 96; balance returned to work without securing any improvements. 267 members secured advance in wages of from 12½ to 25 cents per day. As result of 1 strike, hours of labor were reduced from 11 to 9 per day and 5 strikes resulted in reducing the hours of labor from 10 to 9, 33 members being benefited. Other improvements secured as result of strikes were time and a half for overtime and 6 holidays a year. Cost of strikes, $400. 58 agreements were secured without strike. As result of organization, some locals have been successful in reducing hours of labor from 12 to 9 per day, some locals have established the 8-hour day and wages have been increased from $5 to $9 per week. Death benefits, $600. Donations to other unions, $1,072.

Digitized by Google

Leather Workers on Horse Goods.—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 3. Strikes lost, 3; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 28, 13 returning to work under same conditions. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 15. Cost of strikes, $3,191. Agreements were secured without strike with 6 wholesale factories and 40 retail shops. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. As result of organization, wages have been increased from $10 and $12 per week to $16.50 up to $21 per week, and hours of labor reduced from 10 to 9 per day. Death benefits, $1,255; sick benefits, $2,245. Donations to other unions, $1,500.

Lithographers.—Charters issued, 3. Gain in membership, 259. In 3 instances hours of labor were reduced from 53 to 48 per week, benefiting 52 members. Death benefits, $10,450.

Longshoremen.—Charters issued, 37; surrendered, 18. Gain in membership, 3,000. Strikes won, 34; compromised, 12; lost, 3; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,700; benefited, 1,400, securing 5 per cent increase in wages; 300 returned to work without securing improvements. Cost of strikes, $5,484. 70 agreements secured without strike, covering approximately 17,500 members. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. As result of organization, wages have been increased and hours of labor shortened in a number of instances. Donations to other unions, $400.

Machine Printers.—Gain in membership, 4. Strikes pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 40. No reductions in wages in the past year. As result of organization, wages have been increased $2 per week. Death benefits, $2,000; unemployed benefits, $2,500.

Machinists.—Charters issued, 86; surrendered, 40. Gain in membership, 4,338. Strikes won, 6; compromised, 1; pending, 18. Number of persons involved, 1,407; benefited, 600. Number involved in strikes pending, 500; balance secured work in other shops. Cost of strikes, $195,265. 546 agreements were secured without strike. 61,000 members secured an increase approximating 25 cents per day; 30,000 secured reduction in hours of labor per day and a shorter work week. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, $60,492. Donations to other unions, $1,000.

Maintenance of Way Employes.—Charters issued, 38; surrendered, 30. 12 agreements were secured without strike, 3 being new contracts and 9 being revised contracts. 9 contracts provided increases in wages of from $1.50 to $5 per month for foremen and from 5 to 25 cents per day for labor. 1 contract raised wages to $65 per month for 9 hours per day, whereas in 1910 the men worked from sun to sun for $45 and $48 per month. No reduction in wages in the past year.

Marble Workers.—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 800. Strikes won, 1; pending, 1 general strike. Number of persons involved, 1,000. Cost of strikes, $15,000.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.—Charters issued, 27; surrendered, 14. Gain in membership, 520. Strikes won, 7; compromised, 4; pending, 3. Number of persons involved in total strikes, 900. Number of persons benefited, 750. Number involved in strikes pending, 300. Cost of strikes, $400. Gains in wages of from 20 to 45 cents per day were secured. Hours of labor reduced 1 and 2 per day. 2,100 members have secured a half-holiday weekly for four months of the year. 91 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages have been successfully resisted. As result of organization, members have regular employment, hours of labor have been reduced 30 per cent and wages increased 40 per cent. Death benefits, $2,950. Donations to other unions, $3,000.

Metal Polishers.—Charters issued, 15; surrendered, 10. Gain in membership, 500. Strikes won, 22; compromised, 9; lost, 3; pending, 12. Number of persons involved, 500; benefited, 350, securing increase of 25 cents per day; 50 members secured no improvements. Gains have been made through legislation by enactment of more stringent blower laws. Cost of strikes, $26,755. 75 agreements were secured without strikes. As result of organization, wages have been gradually increased to a uniform standard, hours of labor shortened and better blower systems installed in factories. Death benefits, $5,000; sick benefits, $7,000; unemployed benefits, $1,100. Donations to other unions, $1,500.

Metal Workers, Sheet.—Charters issued, 32; surrendered, 15. Gain in membership, 400. Strikes won, 6; lost, 1; pending, 6. Number of persons involved, 500; benefited, 300. Average wage increase of 25 cents per day. Number displaced or returned to work under same conditions, 100. Number involved in strikes pending, 100. Cost of strikes, $2,000. One attempt to reduce wages resisted, dispute now pending. Death benefits, $11,400.

Mine Workers, United.—Charters issued, 208; surrendered, 146. Strikes won, 2; compromised, 1; pending, 2. Number of persons involved in total strikes, 59,000; number directly benefited, 28,000. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 31,000. Agreements secured for

Digitized by Google

almost entire membership without strike. Unemployed benefits, $2,965,702.50. Donations to other unions, $200.

Miners, Western Federation of.—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 26. Death benefits, $31,353.25; sick benefits, $131,028.19.

Molders.—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 16. Strikes pending, 9. Number of persons involved, 541. Cost of strikes, $234,618.62. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted with success in most instances. Death benefits, $77,440; sick benefits, $179,791; unemployed benefits, $23,530.

Musicians.—Charters issued, 45; surrendered, 9. Gain in membership, 1,500. Donations to other unions, $1,000.

Painters.—Charters issued, 124; surrendered, 96. Gain in membership, 585. Death benefits, $109,527.50; death benefits, members' wives, $11,750; total disability benefits, $22,000.

Papermakers.—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 6.

Patternmakers.—Strikes won, 8; pending, 11. Number of persons involved, 210; benefited, 171. In most instances the strikes were inaugurated to maintain wages and establish proper shop conditions. Shorter hours were established in several places without strike. Cost of strikes, $6,447.72. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. As result of organization in 10 years the average wage advance has been $440 per member per year, and an average reduction of hours of 1 per day. Death benefits, $4,500; sick benefits, $8,895.55; tool insurance, $3,200.47; unemployed benefits, $16,000. Donations to other unions, $275.

Pavers and Rammermen.—No report.

Paving Cutters.—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 6. Strikes won, 7; compromised, 3; pending, 2. Number of persons benefited, 600. Wages increased from 5 to 15 per cent. Cost of strikes, $4,657. 1 agreement was secured reducing hours of labor 1 per day, affecting 300 members. 20 agreements secured without strike, providing for advances in wages of from 5 to 15 per cent. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, $2,625. Donations to other unions, $150.

Photo-Engravers.—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 300. Strikes won, 4; pending, 4; Cost of strikes, $19,703.38. Secured agreements in 22 cities without strikes. Death benefits, $2,300; sick benefits, $8,896.24.

Piano and Organ Workers.—Charters surrendered, 2. Strikes pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 50. Cost of strikes, $1,000. Death benefits, $1,600; death benefits, members' wives, $400; sick benefits, $1,457.65; unemployed benefits, $2,000. Donations to other unions, $150.

Plasterers.—Charters issued, 24; surrendered, 18. Gain in membership, 900. 158 local unions secured advances in wages averaging from 25 cents to $2.76 a day, benefiting 8,000 members. All improvements were secured without strike. 6 local unions voluntarily accepted reductions in wages. 2 attempts to reduce wages were resisted with success in both instances. Death benefits, $40,000.

Plate Printers.—No report.

Plumbers.—Charters issued, 62; surrendered, 12. Gain in membership, 3,000. Strikes won, 38; compromised, 4; pending, 15. Number of persons involved, 4,540; number involved in strikes pending, 842. Cost of strikes, $44,776. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, $21,700; sick benefits, $71,314.

Post-office Clerks.—Charters issued, 19. Gain in membership, 600. Workmen's compensation law enacted for clerks and carriers in the past year. Prior to formation of Post-office Clerks' Federation there was no definite classification of salaries; present law provides $800 annual entrance salary with yearly promotions to $1,200. Death benefits, $1,800; sick benefits, $3,680. Donations to other unions, $500.

Potters, Operative.—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 1,238. Strikes pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 24. Cost of strikes, $5,257.50. 1 agreement secured without strike, with improved working conditions. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, $5,450. Donations to other unions, $174.92.

Powder and High Explosive Workers.—Charters surrendered, 1. 3 agreements secured without strike. Donations to other unions, $102.

Print Cutters.—Strikes pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 12. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, $1,400.

Digitized by Google

Printing Pressmen.—Charters issued, 23; surrendered, 7. Gain in membership, 1,600. Strikes won, 4; compromised, 2. Number persons involved, 400; benefited, 200. While no improvements in the conditions of labor were secured by other members involved, they secured recognition of the union. Gain in wages resulting from strikes was 25 cents per day. Cost of strikes, $120,000. Death benefits, $18,675. Donations to other unions, $125.

Pulp and Sulphite Workers.—Charters issued, 32; surrendered, 2. Strikes pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 200. 5 agreements were secured without strike, resulting in 7½ per cent increase for 700 members, 8 per cent for 600 members, 5 per cent for 600 members, and 3½ per cent for 500 members. No reductions in wages in the past year. Sick benefits, $1,000; unemployed benefits, $250. Donations to other unions, $1,200. As result of organization, members work 8 and 9 hours a day for $2, whereas formerly they worked 11 and 13 hours for $1.50.

Quarry Workers.—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 400. Strikes won, 3; compromised, 1; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 580; benefited, 500. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 80. 200 members gained 25 cents per day increase in wages; 300 gained the 8-hour day, reducing hours of labor from 9 to 8 with 9 hours pay. Other improvements secured were regulation of pay-day and pay for overtime. Cost of strikes, $2,270. 12 agreements were secured without strike; 3 were renewals affecting 400 and 9 were new agreements affecting 1,080, providing for increase in wages ranging from 2½ cents per hour to 50 cents per day. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, $670.25; old-age exemption card benefits, $250.

Railroad Telegraphers.—Charters issued, 5. Death benefits, $108,100.

Railway Carmen (July 1, 1913, to June 30, 1914).—Charters issued, 90; surrendered, 33. Gain in membership, 2,247. Strikes pending, 4. Number of persons involved, 10,000. Most of the members secured work on jobs that are fair. Cost of strikes, $9,780.65. 20 agreements were secured without strike. As result of organization, in addition to the 20 agreements mentioned above, the organization has splendid schedules with over 50 railroads. Donations to other unions, $980.

Railway Clerks.—No report.

Railway Employes, Street.—Charters issued, 28; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 3,000. Strikes won, 12; compromised, 2; lost, 4; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 2,294; benefited, 1,965. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 50; balance either left employment of company or returned to work under same conditions. Increases in wages averaging from 1 cent to 5½ cents per hour were secured, benefiting 200 members. Cost of strikes, $25,860.30. 58 agreements were secured without strike, providing for increase in wages averaging from ½ cent to 6 cents per hour, affecting 10,000 members. Some of the agreements provided stools for motormen; some granted free transportation for employes and wives, and 1 agreement secured 10 days' vacation with full pay. Death benefits, $231,334.50; sick benefits, $59,692.85. Donations to other unions, $1,705.

Railway Postal Clerks.—Charters issued, 7. Gain in membership, 416.

Roofers, Composition.—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 5. Gain in membership, 80. Strikes won, 1 Number of persons involved, 30; benefited, 30. Gain in wages of 25 cents per member per day. Cost of strike, $125. 6 agreements were secured without strike. As result of organization hours have been reduced from 9 and 10 hours to 8 per day and wages increased 25 cents and 50 cents per day. Death benefits, $1,500. Donations to other unions, $159.

Sawsmiths.—Secured an increase in wages in the past year of 2½ cents per hour. As a result of organization, wages have been raised from 35 cents to 50 cents per hour. Sick benefits, $310.

Seamen.—Charters issued, 1 main charter, 6 subcharters. 1 agreement secured without strike. Burial and hospital benefits, $14,408.98; shipwreck benefits, $8,604.90. Donations to other unions, $3,385.

Signalmen.—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 1.

Slate and Tile Roofers.—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 1. Strikes won, 3; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 180. Secured 10 per cent increase in wages. 5 agreements secured without strike, providing advance in wages for about 300 members. Death benefits, $2,300.

Slate Workers.—Charters issued, 1. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. The organization has established the 9-hour day. Death benefits, $700; death benefits, members' wives, $100.

Spinners.—Charters issued, 2. Strikes won, 3; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 225; benefited, 125. Number involved in strikes pending, 100. Many minor improvements in working conditions were secured in various mills. Cost of strikes, $20,000.

Digitized by Google

Stage Employes.—Charters issued, 43. Gain in membership, 700. Strikes won, 6; pending, 6. Number of persons involved, 100; benefited, 100. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 100. Cost of strikes, $2,000. As result of strikes, 10 per cent increase in wages was secured. 70 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Donations to other unions, $1,000.

Steel Plate Transferrers.—No report.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers.—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 165. Strikes won, 2. Number of persons involved, 24; benefited, 6; 18 secured other work. Cost of strikes, $6,722.04. 40 agreements secured without strike. Death benefits, $5,300.

Stonecutters.—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 600. Strikes won, 3; compromised, 2; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 325; benefited, 260. Gain in wages approximately 50 cents a day. Some of the members had their hours of labor reduced 4 hours on Saturday. Cost of strikes, $4,250. 51 agreements were secured without strike. Death benefits, $9,675.

Stove Mounters.—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 50. 18 agreements were secured without strike, with advances in prices in some instances and in others hours of labor were reduced from 10 to 9 per day. No reduction in wages. Death benefits, $1,200. Donations to other unions, $325.

Switchmen.—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 3. Death benefits, $202,716.80. Donations to other unions, $400.

Tailors.—Charters issued, 25; surrendered, 11. Strikes won, 6; compromised, 1; pending, 3. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 16. Cost of strikes, $12,026.85. 28 agreements secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted with complete success in some instances and others were settled on the basis of compromise. Death benefits, $11,505.15; sick benefits, $22,110.58.

Teamsters.—Charters issued, 82; surrendered, 45. Gain in membership, 4,100. Strikes won, 36; compromised, 5; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 7,300; benefited, 7,240. Number involved in strikes pending, 60. Cost of strikes, $17,000. 185 agreements secured without strike. No reductions in wages in the past year.

Textile Workers.—Charters issued, 64; surrendered, 43. Strikes won, 2; compromised, 2; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 1,500. Cost of strikes, $26,368.50. No reduction in wages in the past year. Death benefits, $2,600.

Tile Layers.—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 200. Strikes won, 3; lost, 1. Number of persons involved in total strikes, 125; benefited, 100, with increases in wages of 40 cents per day for tile layers and 25 cents per day for helpers, the balance returning to work under conditions existing at time of strikes. Cost of strikes, $1,500. 10 agreements secured without strike. Donations to other unions, $1,000.

Timber Workers.—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 5. Strikes won, 9; compromised, 1; lost, 3; pending, 6. Number of persons involved, 1,785; benefited, 580; others returning to work under conditions existing at time of strike. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 575. Cost of strikes, $4,175. Most attempts to reduce wages were resisted with success in nearly all cases. Donations to other unions, $2,000.

Tobacco Workers.—In many instances improved conditions were secured in both working rules and sanitary surroundings. All agreements expiring this year have been renewed with little friction, in many cases securing to members increases in wages ranging from 3 to 5 per cent and in a few instances a slight reduction in the hours of labor. Death benefits, $1,100; sick benefits, $6,038. Donations to other unions, $2,000.

Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 4. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 3; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 355; benefited, 105; wages increased from $13 to $15 per week and hours of labor reduced from 10 and 9½ to 9 hours per day. Cost of strikes, $2,000. 1 agreement was secured without strike. No reductions in wages. Death benefits, $400. Donations to other unions, $70.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors.—Charters issued, 1. Strikes compromised, 10; lost, 1. A gain in wages of 25 cents per day was secured for 75. Hours of labor were reduced 2 hours per day in three instances, affecting 30 members. 6 agreements were secured without strike, affecting about 350, securing better hours and increase in wages to the amount of 50 cents a day. Death benefits, $2,800; traveling benefits, $800. Donations to other unions, $700.

Typographical Union (June 1, 1913, to May 31, 1914).—Charters issued, 27; surrendered, 11. Gain in membership, 2,938. Strikes won, 3; compromised, 1; lost, 2; pending 5. Number of

Digitized by Google

persons involved, 107; benefited, 32; number involved in strikes pending, 41. Increases in wages for members aggregated $4,105,846 for the year. Total expenditures from the defense fund, $82,684.82. Death benefits, $255,534.21. Old-age pension, $264,795. In addition to these benefits the organization expended $111,106.45 in maintaining and improving the Union Printers' Home.

Upholsterers.—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 4. Strikes won, 10; compromised, 1; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 320; benefited, 300. 50 cents per day gain in wages. Cost of strikes, $16,607. 42 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. As a result of organization, hours of labor have been reduced from 10 to 8 per day and wages increased 20 to 65 per cent.

Weavers, Elastic Goring.—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 15. 1 shop unionized, employing 18 weavers, and under agreement increases were secured of from $5 to $7 per week. Death benefits, $300; unemployed benefits, $76.

Weavers, Wire.—No reductions in wages. Death benefits, members' wives, $300; sick benefits, $528. Donations to other unions, $125.

White Rats Actors.—No report.

A. F. OF L. LOCALS

The directly affiliated local unions of the American Federation of Labor have reported the following gains as a result of organized effort:

CALIFORNIA

Baggage Messengers' Union No. 10167, San Francisco: Hours of labor reduced 1 per day.

Bootblacks' Protective Union No. 10175, San Francisco: Wages increased 50 cents per day and hours of labor reduced 2 per day.

Bootblacks' Protective Union No. 13156, Stockton: Union has raised wages 50 cents per day and established uniform hours of labor.

Federal Labor Union No. 11796, Monterey: Wages increased 25 cents per day.

Laborers, United, No. 13018, Oakland: Wages increased 50 cents per day; hours of labor reduced 1 per day.

Laborers, United, No. 14190, San Jose: Wages increased 25 cents per day.

Milkers' Protective Union No. 8861, San Francisco: Members now have 4 days a month off with full pay, whereas previously they only had 2 days off.

CANADA

Newsboys' Protective Union No. 10952, Montreal: Scale raised 30 per cent.

COLORADO

Federal Labor Union No. 14646: Wages increased $1 per week.

CONNECTICUT

Federal Labor Union No. 12509, New Haven: Wages increased 7 per cent and hours of labor reduced 2 per week.

Paper Box Makers' Union No. 9309, Danbury: Scale of prices increased ½ cent a dozen.

ILLINOIS

Drain Layers' and Helpers' Union No. 14383, Chicago: Wages increased 10 cents per day.

Federal Labor Union No. 7087, Belleville: Wages increased 20 cents per day.

Federal Labor Union No. 8033, Edwardsville: Wages increased 25 cents per day.

Federal Labor Union No. 8060, New Athens: Wages increased 45 cents per day.

Federal Labor Union No. 8367, La Salle: Wages increased 40 cents per day.

Federal Labor Union No. 10977, Spring Valley: Wages increased 40 cents per day.

Federal Labor Union No. 12412, O'Fallon: Wages increased 40 cents per day and overtime paid at rate of time and half.

Federal Labor Union No. 12706, Benld: Wages increased 45 cents per day.

Federal Labor Union No. 14167, Christopher: Wages increased 30 to 45 cents per day.

Flour and Cereal Mill Employes No. 13210, O'Fallon: Reduced hours of labor 1 per week.

Flour and Cereal Mill Employes No. 13227, New Athens: Wages increased 25 cents per day.

Flour and Cereal Mill Employes No. 14030, Duquoin: Hours of labor reduced 2 per day.

Hair Spinners' Union No. 10399, Chicago: Wages increased 25 cents per day.

Hospital (State) Nurses and Attendants' Union No. 14655, Dunning: Hours of labor reduced from 12 and 14 to 8 hours per day.

Laborers' Protective Union No. 14483, Oglesby: Increases in wages secured ranging from 80 cents to $1.20 per day.

Digitized by Google

Meat, Food and Sanitary Science Inspectors' Association No. 12912, Chicago: Wages increased $120 per annum.
Park Employes' Union No. 14388, Chicago: Wages increased 25 cents per day.
Sail and Tent Makers' Union No. 12757, Chicago: Wages increased 49 cents per day.
Teachers, Federation of Men, No. 14221, Chicago: Wages increased 10 per cent.
Tin, Steel, Iron and Granite Ware Workers No. 10943, Granite City: Wages increased 10 cents per day and hours of labor reduced 1 per day for women workers.
Tuck Pointers' and Front Cleaners' Union No. 13046, Chicago: Wages increased 60 cents per day.
Window Washers' Union No. 12865, Chicago: Wages increased 10 cents per hour.

INDIANA

Federal Labor Union No. 8398, Boonville: Wages increased 15 cents per hour and hours of labor reduced 1 per day.
Federal Labor Union No. 14179, French Lick: Wages increased 25 cents per day.
Hair Spinners' Union No. 14543, East Chicago: Wages increased 25 cents per day.

KANSAS

Federal Labor Union No. 12756, Girard: Wages increased 50 cents per day.

KENTUCKY

Hard Lime Bridge and Curb Stone Cutters No. 12737, Louisville: Wages increased 50 cents per day.

MAINE

Federal Labor Union No. 13043, Millinocket: Wages increased 5 per cent.

MARYLAND

Bottle Cap, Cork and Stopper Workers' Union No. 10875, Baltimore: Hours of labor reduced from 9 hours to 8 hours 20 minutes per day.
Hair Spinners' Protective Union No. 12353, Baltimore: Increases in wages ranging from 20 to 62 cents per day and 9-hour day established.
Paper Bag Workers' Union No. 11757, Baltimore: Wages increased 10 per cent and hours of labor reduced from 54 to 48 per week.

MASSACHUSETTS

City Employes' Union No. 12875, Fall River: Wages increased 15 cents per day.
Coal Hoisting Supervisors' Union No. 13122, Boston: Wages increased 25 cents per day.
Federal Labor Union No. 8217, Boston: Wages increased 25 cents per day and Saturday half-holiday extended to 6 months in the year.
Federal Labor Union No. 8279, Cambridge: Wages increased 25 cents per day.
Fish Skinners, Trimmers, Cutters and Pressmen's Union No. 14307, Gloucester: Scale of wages increased 21⅛ cents per day; secured Saturday half-holiday for 3 months in the year.
Fish Splitters and Handlers' Union No. 14270: Gloucester: Wages increased 25 cents a day.
Fishworkers' (Women) Union No. 14317, Gloucester: Scale increased 6⅜ and 11⅛ cents per day.
Park Department Laborers' Union No. 14223, Boston: Wages increased 25 cents per day.
Rubber Tire Workers' Union No. 14671, Chicopee Falls: Wages increased $1 per day.
Tobacco Strippers' Union No. 9608, Springfield: Wages increased $1 per day on all day work.
Willow, Reed and Rattan Workers' Union No. 14565, Boston: Hours of labor reduced 4 per week.

MINNESOTA

Flour and cereal Mill Employes No. 13224, St. Cloud: Scale of wages increased 10 cents per day.
Janitors and Elevator Operators' Union No. 14601, St. Paul: Wages increased $5 per month and hours of labor reduced 2 per day.

MISSOURI

Flour and Cereal Mill Employes No. 14520, Kansas City: Wages increased 25 cents per day.
Marble Mosaic and Terrazo Workers' Union No. 10263, St. Louis: Wages increased 5 cents per hour
Tuck Pointers' Union No. 10384, St. Louis: Wages increased 40 cents per day.

Digitized by Google

MONTANA

Federal Labor Union No. 12794, Roundup: Wages increased 50 cents per day.
Federal Labor Union No. 12985, Butte: Wages increased 50 cents per day for common laber.
School Teachers No. 14637, Butte: Yearly salary increased 10 per cent.

NEBRASKA

School Caretakers' Union No. 14362, South Omaha: Wages increased $5 per month.

NEW JERSEY

Belting Workers' Union No. 14602, Newark: Reduced hours of labor 3 on Saturday.
Mineral Water Bottlers' Union No. 11317, Newark: Wages increased $1 per week.
Pearl Button Workers' Union No. 14615, Union Hill: Hours of labor reduced 1 per day.
Soft Rubber Workers' Union No. 14418, Trenton: Scale for tiremakers increased 2 cents on each tire.
Water Pipe Caulkers' Union No. 10830, Newark: Wages increased 50 cents per day and hours of labor reduced 1 per day.

NEW YORK

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York: Hours of labor reduced 1 per day in 1 establishment.
Dock Builders' Union, Municipal, No. 13041, New York: Wages increased 50 cents per day.
Egg Inspectors' Union No. 11254, New York: Wages increased 34 cents per day.
Federal Labor Union No. 7479, Niagara Falls: Wages increased 16⅔ cents per day.
Felt, Panama and Straw Hat Trimmers and Operators, United, No. 14569, New York: Prices increased 1 to 5 per cent.
Gold Beaters' Union No. 14670, New York: Wages increased $1.50 per day.
Machinery Belt Makers' and Helpers' Union No. 14579, New York: Increases in wages ranging from 8 to 15 per cent.
Music Engravers' Union No. 11809, New York: Wages increased 40 to 50 cents per day.
Paper Handlers' Union No. 11234, New York: Wages increased 17 cents per day.
Pipe Caulkers and Repairers' Union No. 11465, Buffalo: Wages increased 25 cents per day.
Riggers' Protective Union No. 11561, New York City: Wages increased 50 cents a day.
Soft Beer Bottlers' and Peddlers' Union No. 8934, Syracuse: Wages increased $1 per week.
Umbrella Makers' Union No. 14493, New York: Wages increased $1 per week in 4 shops.
Willow Weavers' Union No. 14344, Liverpool: Wages increased 14 cents per day.

OHIO

Elevator Conductors' and Starters' Union No. 14528, Cincinnati: Wages increased $3 per week.
Federal Labor Union No. 13128, Massillon: Wages increased 1 cent per hour.
Federal Labor Union No. 14566, Toledo: Increased wages 10 per cent for piece workers and from 12½ to 25 cents per day for day workers; reduced hours of labor 1 per day.
Janitors' Protective Union No. 14524, East Liverpool: Wages increased 50 cents per day; hours of labor reduced 2 per day.

OKLAHOMA

Laborers' Protective Union No. 14640, Pawhuska: Wages increased 50 cents per day and 8-hour day established.
Teachers' Federation No. 14558, Oklahoma City: Wages increased $5 per month.

PENNSYLVANIA

Brass Bobbin Winders' Union No. 14659, Philadelphia: Raised wages 40 cents per day for employes of 1 shop bringing wages up to the standard received in other shops; hours of labor reduced 15 minutes per day.
Firemen's Protective (City) Union No. 11431, Pittsburgh: 10 per cent increase in wages.
Marble Mosaic Workers' Union No. 8809, Pittsburgh: Wages increased 2 cents per hour.

WASHINGTON

Federal Labor Union No. 14465, Cle Elum: Hours of labor reduced 1 per day.

Digitized by Google

ORGANIZING EXPENSES

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor, shows that there has been expended from the general fund for organizing work during the past twelve months $79,713.76. Of this amount, $1,605.60 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from $5 to $50, for organizing central bodies and local trade or federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly or indirectly with the American Federation of Labor.

Names of Organizers.	States Wherein Work Was Done.	Amount Received.
*1. Hugh Frayne	New York, Pennsylvania	$5,988 29
†2. J. L. Lewis	Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia	4,373 48
3. C. P. Taylor	Washington	3,502 16
4. T. H. Flynn	Louisiana, New York, Michigan, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Indiana, Ohio	3,435 15
5. C. O. Young	Washington, Oregon, Montana	3,307 25
6. Cal Wyatt	Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana	3,248 99
7. H. L. Eichelberger	Maryland, Delaware, District of Columbia, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Michigan	3,125 23
8. J. A. Flett	New York, Ontario, Canada	3,106 13
9. J. J. Fitzpatrick	Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky	3,075 63
10. Henry Streifler	New Jersey, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts	3,066 14
11. F. H. McCarthy	Massachusetts, Maine, Connecticut	2,985 02
12. E. T. Flood	Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Nebraska	2,976 20
13. Joseph Tylkoff	New York, Michigan	2,874 70
14. J. E. Roach	New York, Michigan, Delaware, Pennsylvania	2,591 40
15. G. R. Brunet	Quebec, Canada	2,510 50
16. J. A. Short	West Virginia, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio	2,486 20
17. C. J. Folsom	Washington, British Columbia	2,245 51
18. P. F. Duffy	New Jersey, New York	2,245 33
19. Santiago Iglesias	Porto Rico	2,200 44
20. John Tafelski	Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio	2,111 92
21. H. T. Keating	Ohio	2,104 24
22. Michael Sotak	Pennsylvania	1,910 45
23. George Heatherton	British Columbia, Washington	1,541 45
24. P. J. Smith	Illinois	1,473 36
25. O. A. Cone	Georgia	1,429 38
26. Angel Trueba	Vermont	1,215 35
27. J. B. Dale	California	1,125 00
28. A. Rayner	Washington, British Columbia	869 72
29. C. A. Miles	New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Georgia, North Carolina	804 32
30. Grant Hamilton	Michigan, Washington, Oregon, Illinois, District of Columbia, West Virginia, Utah	511 10
31. J. D. Pierce	Massachusetts	502 20
32. George Selepets	Pennsylvania	476 70
33. P. J. Zoretich	Pennsylvania	401 98
34. Alexander Marks	New York, New Jersey	319 30
35. Joseph Richie	Pennsylvania	180 00
36. S. A. Conboy	New Jersey, New York, Georgia, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts	164 61
37. W. R. Boyer	Ohio, Pennsylvania, Iowa, Nebraska	162 29
38. C. W. Woodman	Texas	161 55
39. T. J. Reagan	Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts	157 25
40. L. T. Romanoli	Pennsylvania	154 75
41. J. E. Toone	District of Columbia	124 00
42. P. J. Flannery	Minnesota	120 00
43. David Kreyling	Missouri	108 74
44. N. Grolich	New York	100 00
45. Sol Southeimer	Connecticut	89 60
46. E. N. Nockels	District of Columbia	83 75
47. John Mitchell	Michigan	74 30
48. F. L. Rist	Ohio	57 30
49. Jesse Walker	New York	73 30
50. Ed. Anderson	Colorado	53 50
51. George Deleman	Pennsylvania	53 00
52. H. B. Woodrow	Toronto, Canada	50 00
	Paid to District Organizers in amounts less than $50	1,605 60
	Total	$79,713 76

***This amount includes $2,323.04 paid out by Organizer Frayne for rent of office and office expenses, salary of stenographer and interpreters, and other organizers.**

Digitized by Google

LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On September 30th of this year we had 570 local trade and federal labor unions with a membership of 27,194 in good standing, and a defense fund of $91,853.42 to protect the members of these unions in case of strike or lockout. Many strikes that would have cost the American Federation of Labor a large sum were averted during the past year through the assistance of organizers of the American Federation of Labor in adjusting the differences with employers and securing conditions desired by the unions.

Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

The following is an itemized statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit, and the amount received by each organization during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1914:

RECEIPTS.

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for Defense Fund	$16,316 60

EXPENSES.

	Average Membership.	Weeks.	Amount.
Cement Mill Workers, No. 14501, Mitchell, Ind.	84+	10	$3,364 00
Journeymen Sailmakers, No. 12751, Gloucester, Mass.	40+	13	2,108 00
Smoking Pipe Makers, No. 14488, New York, N. Y.	71+	5	1,424 00
*Egg Inspectors, No. 11254, New York, N. Y.	159+	2	1,276 00
Flour and Cereal Mill Employes, No. 14520, Kansas City, Mo.	40	4	640 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 12722, Bayamon, P. R.	54	1	216 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 7479, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	53	1	212 00
Suspender Makers, No. 9560, New York, N. Y.	8	3	96 00
Flat Janitors, No. 14332, Chicago, Ill.	1	13	52 00
Total of Strike Benefits paid			$9,388 00

*Returned, receipted for, and redeposited in Defense Fund:
Egg Inspectors, No. 11254, New York, N. Y. $4.00

RECAPITULATION.

Balance on hand in defense fund September 30, 1913	$84,924 82	
Received in defense fund (including the $4 refunded by local unions enumerated above for benefits that were not distributed	16,316 60	
		$101,241 42
Paid out of defense fund		9,388 00
Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions September 30, 1914		$91,853 42

The following table will show that since the time the defense fund was inaugurated in 1902 up to and including the fiscal year there has been received into the fund $261,634.26 and paid out $169,780.84:

	Receipts.	Expenses.	Balance on hand.
1902	$20,423 00		$20,423 00
1903	49,663 40	$6,690 00	63,396 40
1904	33,722 55	15,972 00	81,146 95
1905	16,966 63	3,197 18	94,916 40
1906	15,556 02	13,643 40	96,829 02
1907	17,143 65	10,893 78	103,078 89
1908	14,327 20	12,124 00	105,282 09
1909	11,383 05	788 00	115,877 14
1910	12,570 45	6,484 00	121,963 59
1911	16,010 75	4,192 00	133,782 34
1912	19,336 26	67,455 33	85,663 27
1913	18,214 70	18,953 15	84,924 82
1914	16,316 60	9,388 00	91,853 42
Total	$261,634 26	$169,780 84	

RECAPITULATION.

Total Receipts	$261,634.26
Total Expenses	169,780.84
Balance on hand Sept. 30, 1914	$91,853.42

Digitized by Google

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

The receipts on account of the *American Federationist* for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1914, are $28,040.26, which is $5,466.95 less than the expenses. There are $4,029 unpaid bills due the Federation for advertisements that have been published prior to September 30, 1914.

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1914:

RECEIPTS.

Receipts	$28,040 26

EXPENSES.

Commission on advertising contracts	$12,848 35
Contributions	75 00
Cuts	7 35
R. G. Dun & Company	125 00
Hauling	9 00
Postage pound rate	1,067 84
Printing regular edition *American Federationist*	8,219 94
Printing additional copies for local unions, *American Federationist*	9,590 83
Printing and supplies	3 75
Refunds	15
Salaries	1,560 00
Total	$33,507 21

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts	$28,040 26
Expenses	33,507 21
Excess of expenses over receipts	$5,466 95

The following are the receipts and expenses of the *American Federationist* since it was first issued:

Year.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Receipts Exceed Expenses.	Expenses Exceed Receipts.
1893-94	$2,418 30	$2,684 66		$266 36
1894-95	3,184 21	2,675 98	$508 23	
1895-96	1,917 61	2,100 08		182 47
1896-97	3,408 39	3,094 87	313 52	
1897-98	2,287 83	2,541 75		253 92
1898-99	3,171 00	4,033 19		862 19
1899-00	4,162 03	4,466 91		304 88
1900-01	10,498 22	10,900 54		402 32
1901-02	17,170 70	25,406 46		8,235 76
1902-03	27,718 43	42,883 68		15,165 25
1903-04	32,639 89	30,699 92	1,939 97	
1904-05	25,726 57	24,929 86	796 71	
1905-06	25,912 87	26,868 12		955 25
1906-07	25,310 56	23,560 70	1,749 86	
1907-08	20,722 41	20,649 84	72 57	
1908-09	20,148 73	22,703 57		2,554 84
1909-10	21,326 50	20,621 19	705 31	
1910-11	18,213 98	20,913 56		2,699 58
1911-12	17,240 19	18,731 77		1,491 58
1912-13	16,730 14	19,914 94		3,184 80
1913-14	28,040 26	33,507 21		5,466 95

BOND STATEMENT 1902 TO 1914 INCLUSIVE

The following statement shows the amounts received for premiums and the amounts paid to the Surety Company for bonds for affiliated organizations:

Year.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Year.	Receipts.	Expenses
1902-3	$529 00	$309 60	1908-9	$1,692 35	$1,226 03
1903-4	398 75	402 60	1909-10	2,874 75	2,392 75
1904-5	406 75	285 65	1910-11	2,988 55	1,448 38
1905-6	736 35	591 16	1911-12	2,710 07	2,089 15
1906-7	1,128 79	817 76	1912-13	3,225 55	3,863 18
1907-8	1,261 51	1,021 96	1913-14	3,221 75	1,898 55
Totals				$21,174 17	$16,346 77

RECAPITULATION.

Total receipts	$21,174 17
Total expenses	16,346 77
Excess	$4,827 40

Digitized by Google

HEADQUARTERS

The following statement shows that during the twelve months ending September 30, 1914, there has been issued from headquarters an average of 4,110 letters, circular letters, and packages per day and 269,400 *American Federationists* and 1,420,000 A. F. of L. News Letters, as follows:

Packages of supplies forwarded by express and post	2,509
Packages of literature and miscellaneous supplies for organizers and others	49,708
Official and circular letters in two-cent envelopes	68,001
Circulars and circular letters in one-cent envelopes	80,176
American Federation of Labor News Letters	1,420,000
American Federationists	269,400
Total	1,889,794

VOTING STRENGTH OF FEDERATION, 1897 TO 1914 INCLUSIVE

Year.	No. Votes.
1897	2,747
1898	2,881
1899	3,632
1900	5,737
1901	8,240
1902	10,705
1903	15,238
1904	17,363
1905	16,338
1906	15,621
1907	16,425
1908	16,892
1909	15,880
1910	16,737
1911	18,693
1912	18,499
1913	20,976
1914	21,185

MEMBERSHIP

The average paid-up and reported membership for the year is 2,020,671, an increase of 24,667 members over last year. National and international organizations are required to pay only the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore the membership reported does not include all the members involved in strikes or lockouts or those who were unemployed during the fiscal year, for whom tax was not received.

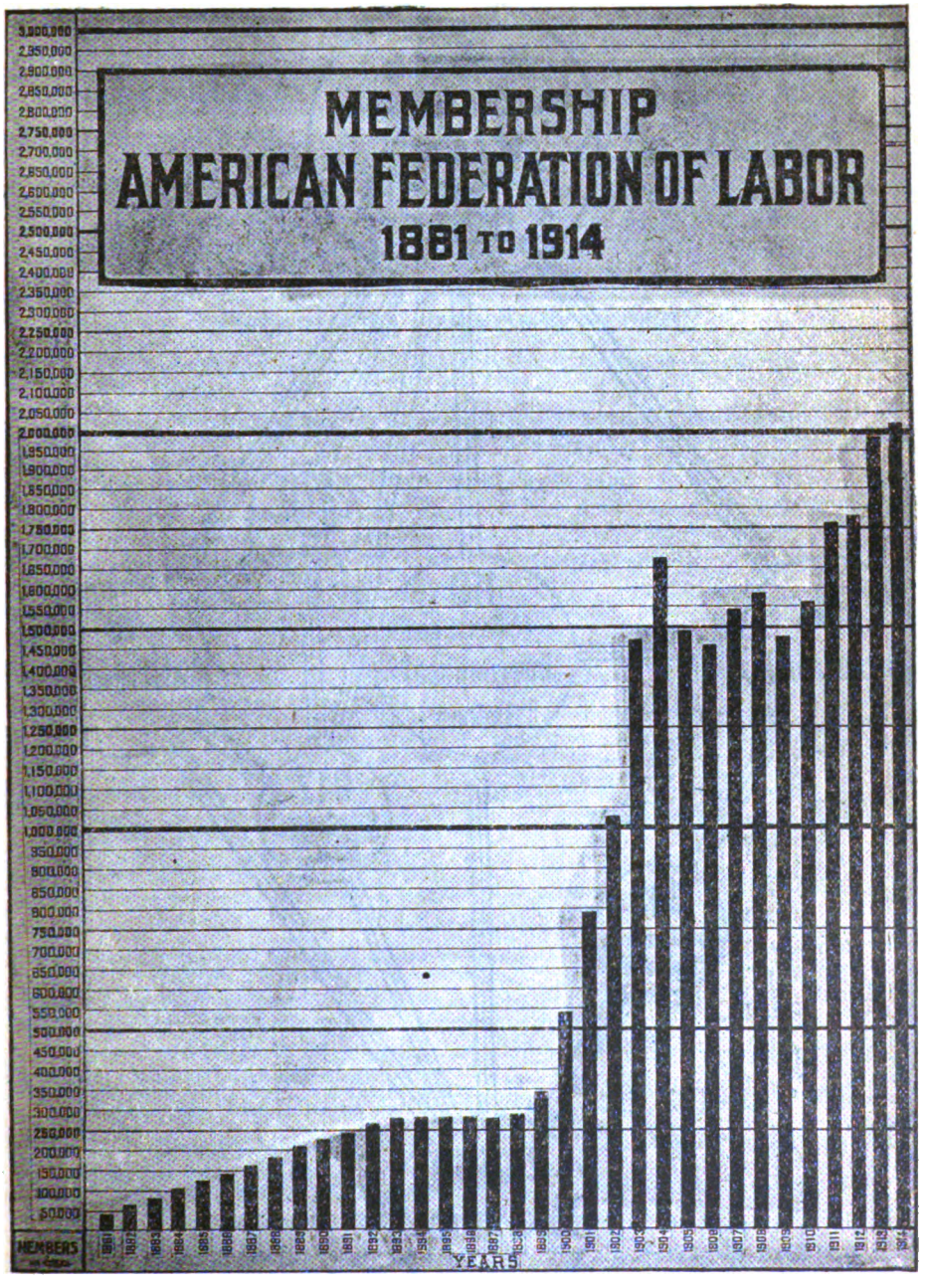
Sixty-four national and international unions show an increase in their average membership over last year of 90,627 members, which is an encouraging growth; twenty-three organizations show no increase, twenty-three organizations show a decrease of 64,277 members and the total membership of directly affiliated local unions shows a decrease of 1,683 members.

The following is the average membership reported or paid upon for the past eighteen years:

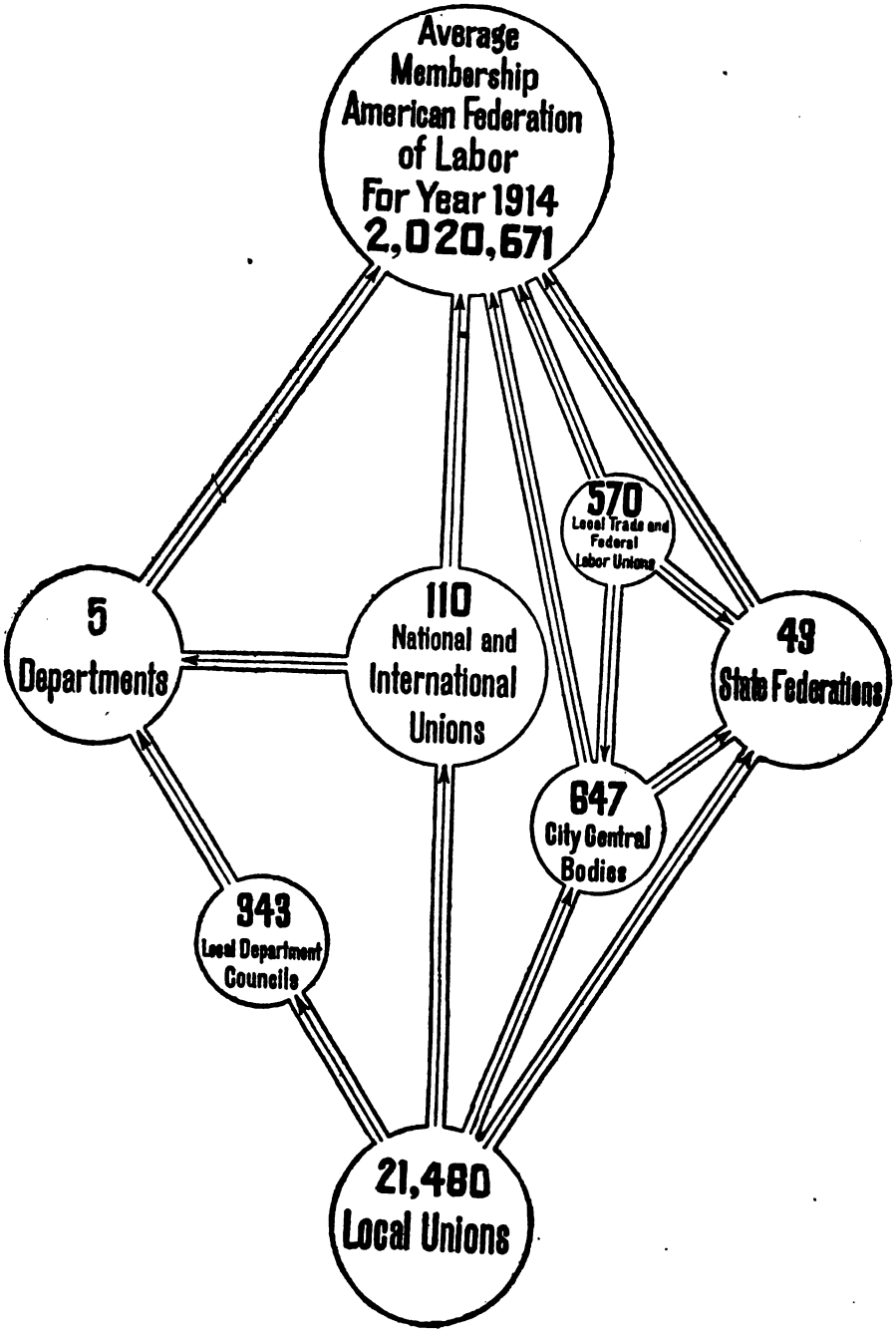
Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.
1897	264,825	1906	1,454,200
1898	278,016	1907	1,538,970
1899	349,422	1908	1,586,885
1900	548,321	1909	1,482,872
1901	787,537	1910	1,562,112
1902	1,024,399	1911	1,761,835
1903	1,465,800	1912	1,770,145
1904	1,676,200	1913	1,996,004
1905	1,494,300	1914	2,020,671

So that the delegates and membership at large can at a glance note the steady increase in membership of the American Federation of Labor, a chart will follow on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1914—thirty-four years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organizations as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart will show that there are 21,460 local unions in the 110 national and international unions and 570 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, with a paid-up and reported average membership of 2,020,671 for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1914.

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, I desire to express, through the delegates present, my appreciation of the splendid efforts put forth by the organizers, and the assistance and encouragement received from the officers of the international organizations, and from my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted.

Frank Morrison

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

TREASURER LENNON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

I herewith fraternally submit my twenty-fifth consecutive annual report as your Treasurer, and sincerely trust that my services have been entirely satisfactory, and to some extent beneficial to the trade union cause.

Financial statement, October 1, 1913, to September 30, 1914:

INCOME.

Received of Secretary Morrison:

1913.	
October 31	$23,445 27
November 30	12,617 68
December 31	18,991 50
1914.	
January 31	23,780 81
February 28	13,514 91
March 30	33,588 11
April 30	19,386 39
May 31	24,306 88
June 30	19,510 52
July 31	17,645 41
August 31	23,041 22
September 30	33,338 27
Total income for year	$263,166 97
Add balance on hand Oct. 1, 1913	103,063 05
Makes total funds	$366,230 02

EXPENSES.

Warrants paid:

1913.	
October 31	$20,056 86
November 30	15,375 98
December 31	27,616 83
1914.	
January 31	25,174 36
February 28	14,109 83
March 31	22,457 14
April 30	20,498 71
May 31	24,848 28
June 30	20,697 91
July 31	25,919 38
August 31	24,924 66
September 30	24,057 27
Total expenses for year	$265,737 21

RECAPITULATION.

Total funds (balance and income)	$366,230 02
Deduct total expenses (warrants paid)	265,737 21
Balance in hands of Treasurer	$100,492 81
Balance in hands of Secretary	2,000 00
Total funds September 30, 1914	$102,492 81
Treasurer's balance, where deposited:	
McLean County Bank, subject to check	$20,492 81
McLean County Bank, interest bearing certificates	80,000 00
Treasurer's balance	$100,492 81
Deposits guaranteed by American Surety Company:	
Interest during year on eighty thousand dollars	$2,400 00
Total funds handled during twenty-five years as Treasurer	$3,105,812 96

JOHN B. LENNON,
Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., *October 1, 1914.*

Digitized by Google

INTERNATIONAL WAR AND PEACE

A stupendous conflict is shaking to its foundations the structure of world civilization. The normal relations of commerce and interchange have been disrupted. In Europe values placed upon the interests and purposes of human activity have been reversed.

Before the war, the thought and effort of civilization were centered upon the development and the glorification of human life. One life was counted of infinite value. The end of progress, development, and work was that each individual might have life more abundantly. Indefatigable minds have forced understanding of the unknown that human life might be protected and conserved, and that all the forces and resources of the universe might be put under the control of the will of man. Hearts that were great with love and understanding of the yearnings and aspirations that lie in every life sought to bring beauty and joy into the common life of all. Over all the world was felt the stir of that great ideal—the fellowship of men.

But since the cataclysm that brought war between nations, all the skill, the inventions, the knowledge of civilization have been perverted to purposes of destruction of human life and devastation of the products of human labor. Men are treated as only military pawns to obey implicitly the command of the general. They are targets for the most perfect guns and destructive ammunition human minds have invented. Things are valued for their life-destroying power. Guns are worth more than men. The value of military position is estimated in terms of human lives. The life and the property of the individual are ruthlessly sacrificed to ends of war.

The cruelty and butchery of the war are appalling. The waste and the suffering in its wake are heart-rending. The blackened homes, the ruined lives, the long procession of homeless, seeking food and shelter from the hands of strangers—all these are the products of war. There are nations that are sending the flower of their manhood to meet almost certain death. The strong, the healthy, the fit leave the work of the nation to the old and the very young, to women and to children. For centuries the nations will suffer from this mad stupid waste—for the fathers of the next generations will be the unfit physically and mentally, those whose vision or hearing is imperfect, those of undersize and subnormal development.

Yet this war with its terrific toll of human lives is the product of artificial conditions and policies and is repugnant to the thought and political progress of the age. The big things of life and civilization are international. But so far we have made little effort or progress in providing agencies for organizing international relations to maintain peace and justice. We realize intellectually that peace and justice should obtain among nations, but we have not yet instituted permanent means adequate to make that conviction a reality.

A time when we are confronted by the effects and the appalling realities of a most terrible war is a peculiarly appropriate opportunity for the people to think out methods and agencies for the maintenance of peace. The terrible consequences of war which are forced upon us everywhere envelop peace plans with an unusual atmosphere of practicability and urgency. The appeal for peace is getting very close to the American people, the only great nation not directly involved in the war and consequently the nation that holds in its hands the power of mediation and use of its good offices. This opportunity constitutes a duty if we really believe in the fellowship of men and the sacredness of human life.

For years peace societies and organizations have presented arguments for peace, have adopted peace resolutions, and have declared for various international sentiments, but they have made little effort to give these visions reality in the organization of society and the relations among nations. But the war has shown that war can not be stopped by paper resolutions and that war can not put an end to itself. Wars will cease only when society is convinced that human life is really sacred and when society establishes agencies, international as well as national, for protecting lives.

We profess to believe that all men have inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but we do not see to it that these rights are secured to each individual. Industry is conducted upon the supposition that human life is cheap. Profits are held to be the ultimate end of business. Therefore business managers must get profits and in furthering the getting sacrifice the workers in the process. Employers cold-bloodedly calculate in money terms the relative expensiveness of machinery and workers; of the eight-hour day and the twelve-hour day; of child labor and adult labor; of compensation for loss of life and limb and preventive measures. In coal mines, steel works and in transportation, human life is risked and sacrificed with cynical disregard. We profess to believe in democratic freedom yet domination of power so ruthlessly prevails in industry.

Digitized by Google

Consider the statistics of industrial accidents, injuries and deaths. In harmony with this waste of human life in industry is waste of human life in a crude effort to decide political issues on the battlefield.

When we realize the wonderful possibilities in permitting each individual to develop his abilities and do his work with a sound mind and body, then shall we appreciate the sanctity of living and we shall not dare to hamper development in any way. When this ideal becomes a part of our daily thinking and doing and working then fellow-beings will not be robbed of that which no one has the power to restore—life. The establishment of this ideal of the sacredness of life is a problem of education. It must be drilled into people, made a part of their very being, and must saturate every mental fibre.

It is not only that we are shocked at the waste of human life but that we have not yet adjusted ourselves to this particular kind of waste—waste in war. We must realize the awful responsibility for the loss of human life opportunity with clearness and with understanding of the meaning of that waste that nothing will prevent our putting an end to all preventable waste. When conviction is sufficiently compelling practical results will follow. Education and agitation are necessary to create that conviction. Those who wish to abolish war must lose no opportunity to implant the ethics of humanity, to make the sacredness of human life a part of the thought and action of the nations. The power to declare war must be put in the hands of the people or their chosen representatives.

In addition to establishing a sentiment and a conviction for peace there must be agencies established for the maintenance of peaceful relations among nations and for dealing with international issues. Militarism and competitive armament must be abolished and tribunals for awarding justice and agencies for enforcing determinations must be instituted. International interests and issues exist. Political institutions should be established, corresponding to political developments.

Those most interested should lead in the demands for world federation and the rule of reason between nations. The working people of all lands bear the brunt of war. They do the fighting, pay the war taxes, suffer most from the disorganization of industry and commerce which results from war.

In accord with the action of the Seattle Convention upon the resolution endorsing the Naval Holiday plan proposed by the First Lord of Admiralty of Great Britain, that the nations cease from making additions to their navies for the period of one year, and that the plan be urged upon all the labor movements and governments of the civilized world, the President of the American Federation of Labor wrote to President Legien of the International Federation of Trade Unions advising him of this action and requesting that it be conveyed to the various affiliated national centers, for presentation to their respective governments.

President Legien replied that under the laws of Germany as a representative of a trade union he would not be allowed to forward such a document to the officers of the national trade union centers of the different countries. He stated that in Germany the difference between political and economic organizations was carefully distinguished, and that discussion of the A. F. of L. resolution would entail consequences limiting their activities. President Legien also stated that it would be inexpedient to circulate the manifesto through the medium of the International Federation. However, the international office was helpful in having the manifesto translated into several different languages and forwarded to A. F. of L. headquarters. The translations were sent out from the A. F. of L. headquarters with the exhortation that the National Centers take action similar to the declaration of the Seattle Convention.

Replies to the communication were received from France, Denmark, Great Britain, Austria, Sweden, Holland, South Africa, and Switzerland. The Federation of South Africa did not endorse the resolution.

The national labor movements can promote the cause of international peace by two complementary lines of action: by creating and stimulating with their own nations a public sentiment that will not tolerate waste of life, and by establishing international relations, understanding and agencies that will constitute an insuperable barrier to policies of force and destruction. With humanization, education, cultivation, the establishment of the rule of reason, occasions for wars and wars themselves will cease. The working people, the masses of the world's population, can end wars if they but have the independence to think and to give their convictions reality by daring to do.

This convention should, aye, must, adopt some constructive suggestion and take some tangible action upon this world problem which so intimately affects the workers of all countries.

Digitized by Google

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

While we realize that the information which comes to us as to the events transpiring in the war zone is very rigidly censored, yet it seems to be the consensus of opinion that the conflict will not be of short duration. In view of the complete upheaval of all the activities of ordinary normal life in a social, industrial, and personal way attendant upon war, it is scarcely reasonable to suppose that even should hostilities cease, and peace be restored among the warring nations at any time within the next few months, that the activities of the organized labor movement as represented through the national centers of the various countries involved in the war will have been restored to such an extent, even without considering the terrible loss of life, as would permit a meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions in 1915. Later, two letters were received from President Legien. In a letter replying to President Legien's statement that the meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions would have to be deferred, President Gompers expressed the hope, which we share, that when normal conditions shall have been established the next meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions whenever held will be held in the United States at some city and upon some date agreeable to the American Federation of Labor. He expressed great doubt as to the possibility of a meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions in San Francisco in 1915.

The Seattle Convention gave power and authority to the officers of the A. F. of L. to make arrangements for the 1915 meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions in San Francisco. In the event that it develops later that the 1915 meeting will be held, unless otherwise directed by this convention arrangements will be made in conformity with the authority of the Seattle Convention.

BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS

As loyal citizens of our great Republic, our fellow-workers who are now assembled in this convention have with varying interest followed the progress of the terrible war now being waged among the great European nations. As delegates to this thirty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, they keenly feel the effects of the cataclysm that convulses the European continent by reason of the fact that for the first time since the year 1894 the convention roster fails to register the names of fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress.

On June 16 Messrs. W. D. Mahon and L. D. Bland, as the committee for the investigation of municipal ownership appointed in conformity with the declaration of the Seattle Convention, left New York for Europe to begin the study and investigation. Mr. Mahon and Mr. Matthew Woll were elected by the Seattle Convention as fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress, Mr. Mahon was in Naples, Italy, when war was declared Mr. Woll contemplated sailing for England about August 28. As soon as war was declared President Gompers immediately wrote Secretary Bowerman of the British Trades Union Congress, asking him to cable if the annual meeting of the Congress would be postponed by reason of the war. The cabled reply was that the Congress had been postponed indefinitely. This information was later confirmed by letter and printed notice.

We earnestly hope for the early termination of the European war and for the resumption of the exchange of fraternal delegates with the return of normal conditions for the organized labor movement in the several countries now engaged in conflict.

THE SITUATION IN MEXICO

As a matter of historical record, as well as to ask your approval of our course, we submit to you herewith a letter which President Gompers, by the authority of the Executive Council, addressed to the United States representative of the Mexican Constitutionalists:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 25, 1914.*

Mr. R. ZUBARAN, United States Representative Mexican Constitutionalists, Burlington Apartment, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: From direct communication as well as from statements published in the newspapers within the past few days, the situation now existing in Mexico has been fairly and accurately presented to my associates, the E. C. of the American Federation of Labor, during our last week's session. We are prompted, and I was directed, to communicate to you and respectfully ask that you communicate in turn to General Carranza, chief of the Constitutionalists of Mexico, the following statement of fact and expression of hope.

Digitized by Google

But, first, let me say that it is with much satisfaction that the E. C. of the A. F. of L. extends felicitations to the Constitutionalist cause and expresses hopes for its early and successful consummation.

At the outset I should say that the working people of the United States are intensely interested in the affairs of the people of Mexico, as they are by their very position and organization vitally concerned in the affairs of the people the world over, and especially those conditions which affect the working people and their conditions of life and work.

Nor is it amiss to say that during the Mexican revolution against the autocratic and tyrannical administration of President Diaz, the A. F. of L. aided as best it could, and particularly in the field of information and the creation of public opinion in the United States in the movement to depose Diaz. We were greatly gratified when, as a result, the great Madero was installed into office as President of the Republic and in the high purpose to which he was devoting his talents and ideals for the benefit of the Mexican people.

When General Huerta and his coterie, by assassination and treachery, overturned the government of President Madero and General Huerta established himself as Provisional President and then dispersed the Mexican Congress and proclaimed himself dictator, there was no power, outside that of the government of the United States, which exerted so potential and international an influence in the solution of the difficulty which confronted the Mexican people as the A. F. of L.

We helped in sustaining the attitude of the Government of the United States in its refusal to recognize Huerta up to the present hour and for the success of the revolutionary movement headed by General Carranza.

Now the only difficulty which seems to be in the way of a complete settlement of the contest of the last several years is the avowed declaration on the part of those who speak or assume to speak in the name of General Carranza, that punishment and retribution of the most draconian character will be meted out by him and his government to the Huertists and those responsible for the overturning of the Madero government.

What I have in mind is, that since the A. F. of L., as no other American instrumentality outside the government of the United States, has aided for the success of the prospective government, we have the right to suggest to those who represent General Carranza and the victorious revolutionary army that the higher humanitarian consideration be given, aye, even to those who have been guilty. And that in our judgment such a policy would have a tranquilizing effect, promoting the successful inauguration of the new constitutional government of Mexico and would tend to unite the people of Mexico in support of an orderly government of the country.

And it is also earnestly hoped and respectfully suggested that some definite declaration be made, not only upon the lines indicated above but should be coupled with an avowal of purpose that the Constitutionalists will carry into effect a rightful and justifiable division of the lands of Mexico for the working people.

We feel confident that such a declaration faithfully carried into effect would institute and maintain a better economic condition and a more humanitarian policy than have heretofore prevailed in Mexico.

In our judgment such a declaration and policy would do more than aught else to bring peace, unity, and progress to the people of Mexico and the stability of their government, all of which is submitted to the respectful consideration of yourself and your chief from the sincere purpose of your well-wishers and your friends.

Very truly yours,

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President.

The United States representative of the Constitutionalists expressed himself as profoundly grateful for this expression of opinion, suggestion, and judgment of the A. F. of L. as to the course which should be pursued by the Mexican Constitutionalists. And now that the Constitutionalists have driven the traitor and tyrant Huerta from the office he usurped and have established the constitutional government, and that the true aims in the purposes which prompted the Carranza-Villa constitutional revolution are to be carried out, we can take pride and satisfaction in the course pursued by the A. F. of L. and by the E. C. in

Digitized by Google

giving aid and encouragement to the men of Mexico who are engaged in their avowed purpose for the democratization of the institutions of the Republic of Mexico to make for the greater safety and protection of life and liberty to her people, for the abolition of slavery and peonage, and for the better distribution of the fertile lands of that country. We extend to the people of Mexico under this new regime our felicitations and our best hopes for their welfare and progress.

HOME RULE FOR IRELAND—IRISH LABOR MOVEMENT

Shortly before the declaration of war in Europe the Secretary of the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labor Party wrote to President Gompers as follows:

> "I have been instructed to inform you that at the last meeting of the National Executive the question of sending a delegation to the United States was considered at some length. As you are no doubt aware this year we expect to see the completion of a measure of Home Rule for Ireland. It will be necessary for us to prepare the way for the representation of our class and in no place in the world is the working class so handicapped in this connection as in Ireland. The following resolution was adopted in connection with the matter:
>
> "'That in view of the new political developments in Ireland, it is desirable that a delegation representative of the organized workers of Ireland be sent to America to place the position of the Labor Party here before our friends in that country and that we communicate with the labor organizations in America so as to secure the best possible results and that as the Socialist Party is the only active political body in the States with the necessary machinery we request that body to make the arrangements with the proviso that the American Federation of Labor be asked also to assist and co-operate.'"

His letter was received August 1, the day that European hostilities began. In making reply thereto, President Gompers stated:

> "I observe that it is the desire that a delegation representative of the organized workers of Ireland be sent to America to place its position before the organized labor movement of America. If such a delegation should come to America, I am sure they will find a cordial greeting from the American trade unionists, and there is little doubt in my mind but that city central bodies will be pleased to give them a sympathetic hearing, and do what lies in their power for a better understanding of that for which the Irish labor movement stands.
>
> "You of course understand that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. meets but five or six times each year. The tremendous territory encompassed in the name 'America' makes it impossible for the E. C. to meet oftener by reason of the fact that the members thereof live in different sections of the country. Of course there is almost constant communication between the members of the E. C. and this office through the mails and telegraph, but important business of great moment can necessarily be transacted only at E. C. meetings. I mention these facts simply to indicate that I am thrown upon my own resources in answering your interesting letter from my own viewpoint, and what I apprehend is the viewpoint of my associate members of the E. C. I wish that you would communicate with me further, giving me the more definite and detailed purpose and mission of your proposed delegation's visit."

A letter was then received from the Irish Trade Union Congress stating that owing to the European war the matter of sending the delegation had been postponed and further that the mission of the delegation would be to collect funds to enable the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labor Party "to fight elections in Ireland under the Home Rule Government if the bill is finally enacted and for the Imperial Parliament if the bill is not enacted."

MOVEMENT IN CUBA

In conformity with the declaration of our last convention that all assistance possible be given to the Cuban movement, after considerable correspondence with Organizer Santiago Iglesias of Porto Rico, who has quite some knowledge of conditions in Cuba, he was authorized to arrange his work in Porto Rico so as to enable him to spend two months or more in Cuba on an investigating, educational, and organizing campaign. Provisions were

Digitized by Google

made for the trip, but just a few days prior to the time contemplated for his leaving Porto Rico war was declared in Europe. The entire trade of Cuba was immediately thrown into confusion and many of the shops shut down in Havana. The industrial situation in Porto Rico has been greatly disturbed by war conditions, and taking the whole situation into consideration it was deemed advisable for Organizer Iglesias to postpone the Cuban trip. When opportunity affords the effort to help organize our fellow-workers of Cuba should be resumed.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES

After correspondence with the representatives of the International Congress on Occupational Diseases, we finally decided to participate in the Congress at Vienna, Austria, September, 1914, to the extent of a small exhibit consisting of pamphlets and other printed matter, showing what the American Federation of Labor has done and contemplates doing for the prevention of occupational diseases. Just a few days after our printed matter for the exhibit was shipped war was declared. Presumably the Congress was not held, though no definite information has been given us upon the matter.

PRESIDENT GOMPERS IN PORTO RICO

It was not until last March that President Gompers was able to carry out the instructions of the Atlanta Convention directing him to visit Porto Rico. The report of his trip is published in the May issue of the *American Federationist.* Briefly stated the principal cities and towns were visited, addresses delivered to crowded meetings, visits made to the homes of the working people, particularly the agricultural laborers, conferences held with representative men in the labor movement, with the Governor, with sugar planters, with governmental officials—all with the single point in view for the betterment of the conditions of the people of Porto Rico. On his return trip, upon the invitation of the passengers on the steamer, he addressed them, dealing at length with conditions prevailing among the working people of Porto Rico. A committee was appointed which drafted preambles and resolutions which were unanimously approved by the passengers, and the next day signed by practically all the male passengers. The preambles and resolutions read:

ON BOARD S. S. BRAZOS.

WHEREAS, On the homeward-bound voyage of the steamship Brazos from Porto Rico on the evening of April 3, 1914, there was held in the social hall a musical and literary entertainment, at which Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, was invited to and did address the passengers on the subject of Labor's situation in general and particularly of Porto Rico; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Gompers' observations and declarations regarding the deplorable industrial conditions of Porto Rican people as they now prevail and by which they are further confronted in the near future are in entire accord with the facts as we have seen them from our own experience and observations; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Gompers declared that he, with his associates, would present to the President, or the Congress of the United States, or both, a request for the appointment of a special commission to make a thorough investigation of existing and threatened industrial conditions in Porto Rico, so that timely legislation may, if necessary, be enacted; therefore be it

Resolved, By the assembled passengers on board the steamship Brazos on the evening of April 4, 1914, without regard to interest and station in life declare ourselves in hearty accord with the observations, declarations, and purpose of Mr. Gompers as herein set forth and pledge our co-operation with him by every honorable means within our power to aid and co-operate in accomplishing said purpose.

Owing to the pressure of legislation—redeeming the platform pledges of the party in power, by reason of which Congress has remained in continuous session, and now by reason of conditions arising from the European war, Congress has been so engrossed in legislation resultant from these disarranged conditions, that it has not been in position to give this legislation the attention now which is desirable in the interests of Porto Rico. We suggest that the delegates to this convention should read in its entirety the report of his trip which President Gompers has published in the May issue of the *American Federationist.*

Digitized by Google

The status of the Porto Rican citizenship bill, and the report of the work of the A. F. of L. for the past year in the island are dealt with in other sections of this report.

Nearly all of the cigar makers and tobacco workers of Porto Rico were engaged in a strike for seventeen weeks. In all the long years of the trade they had scarcely ever gained a strike or any advantage. Their membership in the Cigar Makers' International Union, the payments of benefits by that union which sustained the men and women engaged in the contest, the conferences held and the addresses delivered, both by President Gompers and President Perkins of the Cigar Makers' International Union, the conference held with the Governor of the island and the managers and directors of the employing company, all tended, first to encourage, and finally to win for the cigar makers a great victory as to wages, hours, and other improved conditions of employment. We feel confident that as a result of this victory the workers in this and other trades will be encouraged to organize and instill into other members a resolve to be greater sharers in the products of their labor, and to make for the better life for all the people of the Island.

WORLD CONGRESS ON UNEMPLOYMENT

The directors of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition contemplate calling as a world movement a World's Congress in San Francisco during the Panama Exposition for the purpose of attempting to solve the problem of unemployment, or at least to ameliorate present conditions. No association, no factor in all our life, is more concerned with this problem, or makes more effective and successful effort to reduce the awful condition of unemployment, in the hope of eliminating it from our economic life, than the American Federation of Labor.

The A. F. of L. has been requested to take part in the project; it must rest with this convention whether the A. F. of L. shall be represented in the World's Congress on Unemployment should it be held during the San Francisco Exposition of 1915.

In view of the European war situation it may be doubted whether such an International Congress can be held, or if held whether it would bring any tangible results.

CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

There is little of a new character since our report to the Seattle Convention which we are now able to say upon this subject, except that the American Federation of Labor Conservation Committee has been ready whenever called upon to co-operate in all legitimate efforts for the conservation of our natural resources.

The sixth annual convention of the National Conservation Congress was scheduled to be held in New Orleans, November 10-13, 1914, but because of the European war and conditions generally the officers of the Congress advise that it has been postponed until the early part of the coming year. We recommend the continuation of the A. F. of L. Conservation Committee, and that as many of the members of that committee as possible shall attend the next Congress.

LABOR DAY—LABOR SUNDAY

Every nation sets aside certain days which are peculiarly associated with its growth and vital experiences. About those days are entwined those deep emotions, thoughts, and yearnings that give character to national life. They are the days for remembering what has been and for gathering inspiration and hope for the future. They are the fountain-head of the spiritual forces of the nation—the forces which give direction and value to all else. Those whose physical and mental creative power has made possible the industrial and commercial progress of America have won the right to one of the great national holidays. It is a right of transcendent importance, yet one that must be cherished. To establish a custom is a long, difficult task; to destroy a custom is the easy result of carelessness, indifference or failure to understand. We earnestly trust that the organized workers will use the power in their hands to perpetuate the stimulating and uplifting influences that have kept the spirit of Labor Day a distinctive and constructive force for the welfare of humanity.

Labor Day is now the great national holiday. To emphasize the importance and significance of its proper celebration, the Executive Council made the following declaration at its July meeting:

> Shall Labor Day lose its distinctive character and become a mere holiday for general meaningless purposes and for the exploitation for private profit?

Digitized by Google

Labor Day belongs to the working people of America. It is for them to determine its value and significance. Those outside the labor movement test its strength and virility by the way in which Labor Day is observed. Their test is justified by the fact that the power of the labor movement consists in its appeal to the hearts, minds, and wills of the workers. Rouse the working people to a sense of their rights and interests, and the labor movement becomes an irresistible power for their realization.

In the labor movement as in every human endeavor we become familiar with the heart forces and the ideals that brought the movement into existence, and sometimes forget that these spiritual forces must be revived and nourished or they wither and die. Some labor organizations have fallen into this error. They have abandoned regular Labor Day demonstrations, parades, meetings, addresses, in the belief that such expenditure of time, effort, and money is wasteful. This is a most serious mistake.

Such labor demonstrations are not wasteful and they do pay even if only through publicity for the cause of Labor. Men and women marching shoulder to shoulder typify impressively the purposefulness and the unity of the labor movement. They are a physical demonstration of devotion to principle—a proof that none can fail to understand. Observance of the day is a means of educating public thought and agents for molding public opinion in regard to the principles and purposes of the labor movement. When our movement is understood it will be recognized and established as a potent agency for justice and humanity. The objections and opposition now interposed by employers will no longer be tolerated.

No human movement remains at one level—it must increase or it must decrease. As new members come into unions, they must learn the traditions and ideals of the cause of Labor. The spirit of fellowship and the brotherhood of man are the life of the labor movement. If this life be not nourished, the whole will become as a dead thing.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor urges that every central body plan to make observance of the coming Labor Day demonstrate to the whole nation the dignity, strength, and importance of the labor movement, and to make the spirit of the day of such a nature that every worker shall appreciate more keenly the value of his union and shall be ready to perform his duties with greater enthusiasm and more perfect understanding. Labor Day typifies a movement for life and humanity. Do not pervert it. Each city central body and all organized labor have a duty to perform.

We trust this declaration will be approved by this convention.

Labor's Memorial Sunday, the third Sunday in May, is finding increased favor as an established Labor custom. In a sense urgent, present needs make life selfish. Present duties leave little time for the remembrance or appreciation of what others have done to make the present stage of development possible. Yet there is genuine remembrance and appreciation in carrying on and perfecting what others have begun. Thereby is their work made to live on and on—since a man's work is the man himself, his heart and his mind gain an impersonal immortality that is the best reward of labor. In addition to this practical appreciation it is fitting that certain definite memorial days be observed as specific evidence of the honor paid to those who have worked for the betterment of all humanity. Moreover, these definite memorial days are necessary in order to keep in harmony with ideals and to test all things whether they be true.

We earnestly hope that the delegates to this convention will feel with renewed force the importance and necessity of unfailing observance of these two days in a spirit and in a manner which shall bring inspiration and impetus to the labor movement, and that you in turn shall carry this conviction back to your home cities and local unions throughout the country that the observance of these days will take on increasing purposefulness and value.

SUNDAY REST MOVEMENT

The "International Lord's Day Congress," anticipates holding a meeting in San Francisco, 1915, at which the various Sunday and Lord's Day organizations throughout the world will be represented. The various wide reaching problems of the Day of Rest from their different viewpoints—industrial, social, civic, hygienic, and religious will be considered.

Digitized by Google

An invitation has been extended for the American Federation of Labor to co-operate with the meeting of the Congress, July, 1915. We decided to accept the invitation and also authorized President Gompers to permit the use of his name upon the Honor Committee of that Congress.

One of the fundamental declarations of the A. F. of L. is one day's rest in seven. We are convinced that to co-operate with all other agencies having this object in view will be productive of good results not only to the labor movement but to our citizenship in general. We trust that our action in this matter will meet with the approval of this convention.

MOTHER'S DAY

When your Executive Council was requested in 1912 to co-operate in the movement to have the second Sunday in May observed annually as Mother's Day, it was given official endorsement as an influence for good in the lives of the people. The conventions approved that course, and the officers of the American Federation of Labor assisted in every way within their power to secure its general observance.

One measure enacted by the Sixty-third Congress which will be remembered with peculiar gratitude by the women of our country is the joint resolution designating the second Sunday in May of each year as Mother's Day. That joint resolution became law by the President's approval on May 8, 1914. It reads:

> WHEREAS the service rendered the United States by the American mother is the greatest source of the country's strength and inspiration; and
>
> WHEREAS we honor ourselves and the mothers of America when we do anything to give emphasis to the home as the fountain-head of the state; and
>
> WHEREAS the American mother is doing so much for the home, the moral uplift and religion, hence so much for good government and humanity: Therefore be it
>
> *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the President of the United States is hereby authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the Government officials to display the United States flag on all Government buildings, and the people of the United States to display the flag at their homes or other suitable places, on the second Sunday in May, as a public expression of our love and reverence for the mothers of our country.
>
> SEC. 2. That the second Sunday in May shall hereafter be designated and known as Mother's Day, and it shall be the duty of the President to request its observance as provided for in this resolution.

We recommend to the several state federations of labor that they urge upon their respective legislatures the enactment or adoption of resolutions or laws of similar import as that passed by the Congress of the United States.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

We should be greatly remiss in our duty if we failed to make reference in this report to the splendid work performed by the national and international trade unions of America, for, after all, they are the bulwark of the trade union movement of the continent. Within their own trades or industries they have been active and alert in protecting and promoting the best interests of the workers coming under their respective jurisdiction, aiding and assisting in the organizing work, securing higher wages, shorter workday, improved working conditions, and greater consideration to the toilers. Their great influence has been for good, even to the unorganized.

In their relation to the American Federation of Labor they have given hearty co-operation and assistance in every line of activity inaugurated and conducted by the A. F. of L.

The officers at headquarters have had occasion again and again during the past year to communicate with the executive officers of international unions requesting information, data, statistics, or other active co-operation and help in the A. F. of L. legislative campaign, as well as in organizing and other lines of work. Responses to such requests have been prompt and cordial and in this way invaluable assistance has been rendered in maintaining and carrying out the policies and the work of the A. F. of L. Too great a meed of praise and appreciation can not be expressed and felt for the spirit and effectiveness of the work and co-operation of the international unions' offices.

Digitized by Google

STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR—CITY CENTRAL BODIES

The full meed of praise must be given to state federations of labor and city central bodies in their loyal support of and co-operation with the great work which the American Federation of Labor is carrying on not only in the interests of the men and women of toil but our entire citizenship. Yet in some localities, generally through the mistaken policy of some officials, what should be the great impersonal work of the organized labor movement as represented through the organized central bodies has been diverted. The laws and policies of the A. F. of L. have been disregarded and friction and turmoil have followed. We commend to the thoughtful consideration of this convention that a plan be devised for better work in assisting state and city central bodies so as to ensure their adherence to the laws, principles, and policies of the A. F. of L.

DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCAL UNIONS

Information has come to us that in a few instances the funds of a few directly affiliated local unions have not been properly safeguarded or expended. We deem this matter of sufficient importance to bring it to the attention of this convention.

The treasury of a local union is created for a specific purpose explicitly set forth in its constitution and by-laws. It is the bounden duty of its officers to see to it that its laws are obeyed, its constitution upheld, its financial affairs properly administered, the rights and interests of the membership protected. The use of the funds of a union for entertainments, for social affairs, for any purpose whatsoever other than that stated in its constitution, is most reprehensible and can not be too strongly condemned.

As the facts show in the data contained in this report, organization work to institute new local unions of which no international union is in existence has been carried on with energy and a considerable degree of success. Their direct affiliation to the American Federation of Labor places such local unions directly under the administration of the A. F. of L. officers; in other words, they hold the same relations to the A. F. of L. as locals hold to their respective national and international unions. These directly affiliated local unions have been given assiduous attention and their interests protected and promoted whenever and wherever possible.

We have expended a considerable part of the defense fund in payments of benefits to the A. F. of L. locals. Through the efforts of our officers and organizers, strikes have been won and others in most instances avoided, agreements secured with employers, in all cases resulting in higher wages, reduction in the hours of labor, and improved conditions of employment.

In addition the members of the directly affiliated local unions have been furnished with a copy of each issue of the *American Federationist*, under the arrangement as provided by the Seattle Convention by which the membership, at 5 cents per capita, has an opportunity of being better informed as to the character, the aims, methods, and philosophy of the labor movement.

In connection with this general subject-matter attention should also be called to the fact that we have every reason to believe that in may instances the directly affiliated local unions are not paying per capita tax upon their actual membership.

It must be borne in mind that when a local union fails to pay per capita tax upon its entire membership in cases of strikes or lockouts payment of benefits from the defense fund of the A. F. of L. can not be made to those members upon whom no per capita has been paid to the A. F. of L.

The A. F. of L. has rendered, is rendering and proposes to render in the future, the most effective assistance to the membership in the directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions. Still better service can be rendered providing there be the means with which to carry on the work.

And again in order that these directly affiliated local unions shall be the more effective in the conduct and administration of their affairs, we make the following recommendations:

1. That efforts be continued to organize and extend the field of activity of local unions directly affiliated to the A. F. of L.
2. That some provision should be made for the better safeguarding of the funds of directly affiliated local unions, either through their administrative officers or by the officers of the A. F. of L.

Digitized by Google

3. That provision be made to assure the payment of per capita upon the actual membership.

4. That the initiation fee be not less than $1 nor more than $5, and one-fourth of the initiation fee charged by the directly affiliated local unions be forwarded to headquarters.

5. That the dues of members of local unions be not less than 60 cents a month.

6. That the traveling card of a federal labor union must be accepted by federal labor unions without initiation fee.

7. That no local union or federal labor union can disband so long as seven members desire to retain the charter.

8. That local trade and federal labor unions are prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for other than union and A. F. of L. purposes.

9. That local unions must furnish the Secretary of the A. F. of L. a monthly report giving names of members, their addresses and their standing, with financial statements of moneys received and disbursed. The Secretary of the A. F. of L. must furnish the secretaries of local trade and federal labor unions with the necessary printed blanks upon which the information required shall be furnished.

10. That the financial officers of the local unions must be bonded through the A. F. of L.

ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN WAGE-EARNERS

Resolution No. 70 adopted by the Seattle Convention provided for an assessment of 1 cent upon the membership of all affiliated unions to be used by the Executive Council in the organization of wage-earning women.

The American Federation of Labor, as the resolution states, has not been unmindful of the necessity of organizing women workers. Several organizations are composed mostly of women and almost all have some women members. It has been necessary for women to enter many fields of industry where they work side by side with men. Unless they are organized they constitute a direct menace to the improved conditions in that industry which men have secured through organization. Unorganized workers anywhere constitute an indirect or a potential danger to better conditions which organizations have secured for organized workers.

Training and customs of centuries have made most women more highly individualistic than men in their ideals and practices. Women remained in their homes long after factory production had displaced home production. They have been later and slower in learning the lessons that teach the necessity for united action for the protection of the workers. Since women have gone into the mills, the factories, and the shops, many have not yet learned to look upon their work as a permanent trade. Their work is casual labor while they wait for what they have been taught to regard the end in life—marriage. For this reason women workers as a rule accept conditions as they find them and make little effort to bring about improvements.

They have failed to realize that they are responsible members of the industrial organization and that their influence will either aid or retard progress. They have failed to realize that they can not escape the consequences of their decision even in marriage, for the economic welfare of their husbands and their children is involved. In other words, women have not been taught that they can not shift the responsibility of their own lives, and have not been taught by experience or otherwise the value of organization.

The spirit and the habit of organization must become ingrained in all workers. Not all men have learned this yet. Some women have learned and have proved themselves staunch trade unionists. More women will learn it in time, but their failure to understand now constitutes one of the greatest difficulties to the campaign proposed in Resolution No. 70.

It has been the policy of the E. C. to promote organization of women by making an appropriation for The National Women's Trade Union League. At its January meeting the E. C. voted to continue that appropriation with the provision that regular reports upon the expenditure of the money be made by the League. Of course the results from the use of this fund will appear in the reports of the Women's Trade Union League. At that same meeting the E. C. ordered the one-cent assessment provided by Resolution No. 70.

There was a vast field awaiting this campaign. In order to use efforts and funds to the best advantage and to secure manifest results the Federation selected such industries as had

Digitized by Google

organization or as were in close relation or contact with organized trades—natural points of attack for natural progress.

Up to September 1, 1914, eighteen organizers participated in this work—men and women were appointed special organizers. Some regular organizers were instructed to co-operate with this special movement.

The textile industry was selected as one of those upon which efforts were to be centered. Organization already existed in that industry. The campaign inaugurated by the A. F. of L. came at a particularly opportune time for this organization. Almost every branch of the industry was affected by the depression prevailing during the summer which was augmented by the European war situation. So unsatisfactory are the standards prevailing in the textile industry that every change in industrial conditions is immediately reflected in the organization. Loss of employment or reduction of hours of employment has been immediately followed by decrease in union membership—the workers being unable to pay dues. In the face of unparalleled difficulties, the strenuous organizing campaign has prevented this organization from losing ground.

Organizing work in this industry presents many difficulties. In the northeastern states the textile workers are mainly immigrants who have not yet learned our language or our customs. Educational work among them is necessary as the basis for permanent organization. This requires time and does not afford immediately tangible results. In the south organization has been retarded by the effects of slavery. Old prejudices must yet be combated.

Yet despite the normal and the additional difficulties, despite losses of old members and disbanding of unions, the organization has not lost in total membership for the year. The campaign which the A. F. of L. conducted with the co-operation of the international has enabled this organization to hold its own; it has prevented losses in members; because of the unusually large number of organizers available it has enabled the international to render a greater amount of effective assistance at critical times, and thus hold together unions upon the verge of dissolution. In addition to these results that can not be computed, 4,655 new members have been added to the organization. Eight hundred and sixty-nine of these are women. Ten organizers worked in this campaign.

Already there are indications that industrial conditions are improved in the textile industry. The vigorous trade organization which has been maintained is ready to keep pace with every industrial improvement and to secure to the workers improved conditions and better wages. The workers will not have to lose time and benefits while building an organization—the organization is ready. The results of our campaign will be even more gratifying when the return of normal conditions makes evident all the results.

A spirited campaign in the textile mills of Georgia strengthened the organization and was a most effective element in securing the adoption of the new child labor law by the legislature of Georgia. No more fundamental or important aid could be given to the labor movement than the protection and conservation of the children, the future workers.

Other efforts made extended organization among the furriers, stenographers, muff bed workers, laundry workers, candymakers, nurses and their assistants. It is impossible at this stage to estimate the results of all these efforts.

In Illinois three unions were formed of nurses and their assistants. There are prospects for similar organizations in other states.

In New York City over 300 muff bed workers have been organized. The spirit of organization has been aroused in these workers. They are stirred by desire for better conditions.

In connection with this campaign should be noted another movement which demonstrates that wage-earning women feel the need of organization—we refer to the union movement among the teachers, notably of Cleveland, Ohio.

More and more it is realized that women do not live apart from the political, social, and economic organization of society, but that they are responsible members and should share in its burdens and contribute to its progress. What has been done in organization this year is a mere beginning whose results are not yet appreciable. The work should be continued with unremitting vigor. Women wage-earners must be organized or they will retard the progress of all organization.

LABOR FORWARD MOVEMENT

The work of organization is one of the most important activities of the American Federation of Labor. Organization gives bone and sinew to the labor movement. It is the life-giving power. The movement can be no greater than the energy, the spirit, and the resourcefulness that create the organization.

Digitized by Google

Nothing can continue to exist without food, nourishment. The paramount importance of planning for the work of organization is beyond dispute. In addition to regular methods there must be special endeavors to arouse enthusiasm and to renew desire to work for the extension of the movement. For this purpose the Rochester Convention of the A. F. of L. approved and urged the systematic extension of a Labor Forward Movement. The Labor Forward Movement proceeds along the most effective line—it creates ideals and furnishes opportunities for immediately giving them practical reality.

The Executive Council believes that the Labor Forward Movement is one of the most effective supplements to the regular organizing work. We believe that this method should be used increasingly in various localities and finally the full plan endorsed by the Rochester Convention put into effect, crowned by the national campaign. In order that the value of the local Labor Forward Movement might be fully appreciated the headquarters of the A. F. of L. should be furnished with more comprehensive reports of each movement, setting forth the methods employed and the results obtained. Such reports will enable the A. F. of L. not only to give proper publicity to these efforts but to put the experiences of different localities at the service of other localities inaugurating movements. The organizers interested in each campaign should consider a full and comprehensive report to headquarters an imperative duty to the cause of Labor. The organizing history and the working materials of the A. F. of L. are made up of such reports.

We received many, but we endeavored to obtain complete reports of the labor forward movements that have been conducted during the past year. The reports that have been forwarded to headquarters are representative rather than comprehensive or adequately complete. However we hope that they will be sufficiently suggestive and stimulating to prove the effectiveness of the Labor Forward Movement and to demonstrate the service that reports render.

The longest and most important campaign made during the past year was in Philadelphia. The campaign was undertaken for the purpose of organizing all the workers of Philadelphia in anticipation and in compliment of the annual convention of the A. F. of L. The Central Labor Union appointed a Labor Forward Committee. One man was made the special business agent of the committee.

The plans for work provided for open meetings of the unions and for mass meetings in union halls and at the shops. Literature was distributed at all these meetings.

Large numbers of previously unorganized workers have been added to the unions as a result of the campaign. The President and the Secretary of the A. F. of L. have assisted this movement and have appointed organizers to co-operate. Practically every international has organizers helping in the work.

From time to time the committee published a bulletin to secure publicity for the purposes and successes. Different issues of this bulletin stated the concrete gains made by different unions and the concrete difficulties confronting different organizations in organizing the workers in a particular shop, trade, calling, or industry. Various unions have extended their work of organization to neighboring towns.

A Labor Forward Movement was inaugurated in Canton, Ohio. The A. F. of L. sent an organizer to assist, as did several internationals from time to time. A report of the movement showed the following gains in organization: Carpenters, from 108 to 325; Bartenders, from 53 to 107; Plumbers and Plasterers made their organization 100 per cent; Painters and Decorators, from 10 to 137; Stationary Engineers increased 10 per cent. New organizations were formed. These included the Teamsters with 325 members; Retail Clerks with 127; Bakers with 50; Building Laborers with 70.

A Building Trades Council was organized. Improvements in conditions generally showed the effectiveness of the campaign.

In Massillon, Ohio, a similar campaign was conducted. Good progress was made in organization. The results of the movement were manifest in the Labor Day parade in which two thousand men with paid-up cards marched in uniform. Massillon as a result of the Labor Forward Movement has a live Trades and Labor Assembly and has practically every craft 100 per cent organized.

Kansas City has conducted a Labor Forward Movement of considerable force and interest. A central committee was in charge of the work. The city was divided into districts and a subcommittee appointed for each district to reach non-unionists by a house-to-house canvass. The movement attracted attention throughout the state, created a strong sentiment for trade unionism, and increased the membership of the unions.

Another report states that a general Labor Forward Movement conducted in Seattle was successful and that a movement at Spokane took the form of advertising union labels

Digitized by Google

and cards at the Interstate Fair. By donations of labor and material the Washington trade unionists constructed a permanent label building at the Interstate Fair. This union-made building was adorned with labels of the various organizations. Within it were distributed union literature and cards; labels and other union insignia were exhibited.

A report from another organizer states that the Georgia State Federation of Labor has set aside a day in February as "organizing day." Mass meetings were held throughout the state with good results.

These inadequate reports of the results of labor forward movements demonstrate the great possibilities from this method and are suggestive of the different agencies that may be made to serve the labor movement. The E. C. most earnestly urges upon every community the adoption of some special and organized effort to strengthen and extend the trade union movement and presses upon the attention of all the value attaching to definite, adequate reports of work done for the movement. The reports constitute Labor's sources of information and the real organizing history of the movement.

ORGANIZERS

The great things in this world are done by those who see great possibilities in life and in men; by those who recognize limitations and restrictions but look beyond them into what may be. Only as we catch a glimpse of what may be, do we get courage and inspiration for the hard ungrudging toil necessary to bring "it is" out of "it may be." The ideals of those who do the work are what determines the direction, the nature, and the progress of any movement.

Many of the better things that have come to humanity have come from earnest, honest lives that are love and ideals made reality. Nowhere is this more evident than in the labor movement.

The labor movement is what its devotees and votaries make it. It can be no greater and no less. The labor movement can be no greater and no less than all those in the movement, for the labor movement exists only in men and women. They are plain men and women without special opportunities, yet from them have come so much help, hope and comfort into the lives of those who bore heavy burdens and suffered oppression.

The greatest power for human betterment and welfare is the labor movement of the world—the practical idealism of those whose bodies and minds are scarred by labor and injustice disguised as "business" and whose hearts gained knowledge of sad things.

Every member of organized labor gives purpose and character to the movement—some have more of influence, some less. Those who have most give most. There are those who after their day's work is done try to carry organization among the unorganized and try to make them understand that organization pays. Who can estimate the value of the work of these volunteer organizers? Who can estimate the personal influence of a life or a character? Quietly, purposefully, unpaid organizers have been doing work that makes the history of the great masses of the people. They are meeting the concrete needs of individuals—the practical part of putting every plan into execution.

Each month these organizers send to the American Federation of Labor reports of what has been done in their communities. These brief statements of wage increases, trade movements, labor forward movements, progress in organization, are live matter that make up human progress. Translate them into terms of human values and they loom large with importance. Such work brings with it the reward of fellowship with men and women and the consciousness of having made some real contribution that will extend as far as the life influences of those helped.

CO-OPERATION IN RELATED INDUSTRIES

The substance of Resolution No. 72 of the last convention requesting the Executive Council "to extend its good offices in the establishment of the federation agreement between all unions in a given industry," was referred to the E. C. with the request that the E. C. give its assistance and advice wherever it may be of service. We have endeavored to comply therewith to the fullest limit of our ability, through conferences and meetings from time to time with the officers of the different organizations, through the various Departments of the American Federation of Labor and by attending and addressing conventions of affiliated unions. It is not necessary to take up the time of this convention or the space in the official proceedings to recount in detail the instances when,

Digitized by Google

and the organizations to which we as an entity and as individual members have been permitted to be of help when the officers of such organizations were trying to solve perplexing problems of overlapping jurisdiction, of apparently conflicting interests, or varying hours, wages, and conditions of employment. The delegates to this convention who hold official positions in their respective organizations can testify that we have endeavored to be of some value and assistance in the affairs in which their organizations are interested. The E. C. regards it as a privilege, and no doubt future Executive Councils will hold it equally as an honor and a duty, to be individually or collectively of service to further the rights and interests of the workers; to perfect the organizations of which they are members; to inculcate a higher concept of justice, right, freedom, and humanity; to understand and practice the principles of interdependence, solidarity, and fraternity for all the toilers of America—aye, for the whole world.

BETTER CO-OPERATION IN STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

The Seattle Convention referred to the Executive Council Resolution No. 111, requesting the convention to provide for the creation of a committee to devise ways and means for better co-operation between affiliated unions in cases of strikes and lockouts. President Gompers and Secretary Morrison, President Williams and Secretary Spencer of the Building Trades Department, President O'Connell and Secretary Berres of the Metal Trades Department, and Secretary Tracy of the Union Label Trades Department, were appointed as the committee in conformity with this resolution. This committee endeavored to work out a plan whereby power might be placed in the hands of the American Federation of Labor to levy, collect, and distribute, in accordance with rules to be provided, a tax upon each member directly under the jurisdiction of the A. F. of L., through its affiliated national and international unions for the purpose of meeting the expense of any strike or lockout of a national character. The question then presented itself to the committee whether the international unions would agree to power being vested in the A. F. of L. to levy assessments, collect the same, and distribute them for the purpose of financially aiding strikes and lockouts of a national character. A letter was sent to each affiliated national and international union requesting their advice. A synopsis of the replies received is here given:

Opposed

JOURNEYMEN BARBERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION.

LAUNDRY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION.

INTERNATIONAL BRICK, TILE, AND TERRA COTTA WORKERS' ALLIANCE—Secretary states that the majority of national and international unions are unable to finance properly their own strikes and lockouts, and to add additional burdens would only tend to make their struggle all the harder under present conditions.

BROTHERHOOD RAILWAY CARMEN OF AMERICA—Secretary is of the opinion that it would be difficult to collect assessments levied from the members of his organization.

SWITCHMEN'S UNION—If there were a compulsory assessment levied for every strike or lockout, it would frequently mean several assessments a month, and it would involve a task upon the secretaries of the affiliated organizations trying to collect this assessment from the rank and file. While perhaps a great number of the crafts would respond, others would not, and this would create a great deal of dissatisfaction.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS—Strikes should be conducted by national and international unions. If the A. F. of L. once becomes involved in them it will mean the beginning of the end of the usefulness of the A. F. of L.

TOBACCO WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION—We are of the opinion that it is not the part of wisdom to delegate plenary powers with financial or other ends in view to the A. F. of L. That for the present, at least, sufficient powers to the end sought are now reposed in that body.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF POST-OFFICE CLERKS—The most effective argument used to induce civil service employes to become affiliated and identified with the labor movement is the fact that beyond the present limitations the A. F. of L. has no power to levy assessments or taxes upon the membership. To remove this limitation would make it difficult, and in many instances impossible, to get any great number of civil service employes to become identified with the organized labor movement.

AMALGAMATED SHEET METAL WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE.

Digitized by Google

INTERNATIONAL MOLDERS' UNION OF NORTH AMERICA—The American trade unions must learn to finance their own organizations.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS—Could not conceive the possibility of such power being reposed in the A. F. of L. by any national or international organization affiliated therewith.

THE GRANITE CUTTERS' INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA—We adhere to the autonomy and management of our own trade affairs, financial and otherwise.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS, CHAUFFEURS, STABLEMEN, AND HELPERS OF AMERICA—We believe that international unions properly organized and properly financed should be able to handle their own difficulties without assessing the general movement.

LITHOGRAPHERS' INTERNATIONAL PROTECTIVE AND BENEFICIAL ASSOCIATION—We believe that unless power be given through the A. F. of L. to regulate strikes or rather give to that body the right to approve or disapprove of a contemplated strike and also to permit that body to review the circumstances that may lead to a lockout, it will be a question whether any thought and consideration will be given on the part of the union involved as to the wisdom of a strike, and we are satisfied that even the advocates of the resolution would not agree to give such authority to the A. F. of L. which in itself would be departing entirely from the principle upon which the A. F. of L. has been organized.

CERAMIC, MOSAIC AND ENCAUSTIC TILE LAYERS AND HELPERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION.

NATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF OPERATIVE POTTERS.

STOVE MOUNTERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION—Is of the opinion that a plan whereby organizations engaged in a strike or lockout of a national character would receive active support of the organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. would prove of considerable value, and is also of the opinion that more progress could be made in those industries where more than one international union is represented, if some plan was adopted whereby in event of one organization being engaged in a strike or lockout, that the other organizations employed in the same industry should render active support to the extent of a sympathetic strike, provided that the organization having the grievance had the endorsement of the other organizations in the same industry.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF BOILER MAKERS, IRON SHIP BUILDERS AND HELPERS OF AMERICA—We feel that the international unions desiring financial assistance should first place their organization on a financial basis that would enable them to be of greater assistance to their membership in time of industrial disputes.

INTERNATIONAL WOOD CARVERS' ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA.

INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION.

THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF COMPOSITION ROOFERS, DAMP AND WATERPROOF WORKERS.

AMERICAN FLINT GLASS WORKERS' UNION—The organization is now and has been since 1888 in a self-sustaining financial condition. It is obliged to expend an enormous amount of money in the protection of the membership and the advancement of their interests and objects to assuming obligations to give support to other organizations.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF TIMBER WORKERS—Objects to centralizing the power of the E. C. of the A. F. of L. against the power of the executive boards of the international and national unions, and believes the policy would also have the tendency to work hardship against the financially weaker organizations through the compulsory assessments.

PATTERNMAKERS' LEAGUE OF NORTH AMERICA.

JOURNEYMEN TAILORS' UNION OF AMERICA—Believes such a proposition might be overdone.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS—Believes that the A. F. of L. could do a great deal more good by reducing the taxation upon the organizations that are now overtaxed than by undertaking to provide for the payment of strike and lockout benefits which should be left to the affiliated organizations to do themselves.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF MAINTENANCE OF WAY EMPLOYES.

PAVING CUTTERS' UNION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA—Executive Board doubts the advisability of any body of men assuming the authority to assess all members at critical times unless the question be first passed upon by referendum vote.

Digitized by Google

In Favor

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF THE UNITED BREWERY WORKMEN OF AMERICA—Feels that it is an absolute necessity and one of the most needed innovations in the A. F. of L.

INTERNATIONAL PRINTING PRESSMEN AND ASSISTANTS' UNION OF NORTH AMERICA—The five international unions connected with the printing trades have already adopted a plan for closer affiliation.

NATIONAL PRINT CUTTERS' ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

INTERNATIONAL BROOM AND WHISK MAKERS' UNION.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS.

UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA.

POCKET KNIFE BLADE GRINDERS' AND FINISHERS' NATIONAL UNION.

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS—Believes assessment should not exceed 25 cents in any one month.

DIAMOND WORKERS' PROTECTIVE UNION OF AMERICA.

AMERICAN BROTHERHOOD OF SLATE WORKERS.

WHITE RATS ACTORS' UNION OF AMERICA—The financial condition of all unions must be taken into consideration and if assessments can not be met promptly, time be allowed for the payment of same.

INTERNATIONAL HODCARRIERS, BUILDING AND COMMON LABORERS' UNION OF AMERICA.

AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF IRON, STEEL, AND TIN WORKERS.

UNITED POWDER AND HIGH EXPLOSIVE WORKERS OF AMERICA.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF CUTTING DIE AND CUTTER MAKERS OF AMERICA.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINE PRINTERS AND COLOR MIXERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD SIGNALMEN OF AMERICA—Favorable if the A. F. of L. can control the fund so raised and no strike called except with the consent of the A. F. of L. and the assessments are not very large.

UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA—If properly safeguarded.

Undecided

CIGAR MAKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA—No convention has been held and the Executive Board has no power to declare what the international union would do. President Perkins as chief executive officer states that the C. M. I. U. is committed to a chain of benefits and that it believes labor organizations should pay in times of peace sufficiently large dues to enable them to pay strike benefits in the event of strikes and that he believes that every organization ought to pay reasonable dues and create a defense fund to finance strikes and that if the A. F. of L. goes into the business of paying strike benefits, he is of the opinion that the members of affiliated unions would say, "What's the use of paying dues for strike benefit purposes when the great A. F. of L. will take care of us during strikes and lockouts."

BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS AND PAPERHANGERS OF AMERICA—The Executive Board, under the constitution, has no power to levy an assessment upon the membership, nor to delegate such power to the A. F. of L., but should the Philadelphia Convention adopt the proposition, the painters will submit the matter to the membership. Does not anticipate any serious opposition to the proposition if it be favorably acted upon by the Philadelphia Convention.

AMALGAMATED GLASS WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA—Has held no convention this year and under the constitution the proposition would have to be decided by convention or by referendum vote.

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION—The next convention will not be held until June, 1915, and no decision can be given upon this question previous to that time. The Secretary is personally of the opinion that the organization would be opposed to the proposition.

HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYES' INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE AND BARTENDERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE OF AMERICA—No decision can be reached until the next convention in June, 1915, but the Secretary is personally in favor.

INTERNATIONAL UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF LEATHER WORKERS ON HORSE GOODS—The organization can not be committed to the question until there is something more definite to act upon. Believes the movement is now considered too burdensome through the various affiliations.

Digitized by Google

METAL POLISHERS, BUFFERS, PLATERS, BRASS AND SILVER WORKERS' UNION OF NORTH AMERICA—No decision can be reached until the next convention. Calls attention to the fact that the organization has never protested the payment of any assessment levied by the A. F. of L.

COOPERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION—No decision can be given until next convention, September, 1915.

THE ORDER OF RAILROAD TELEGRAPHERS—No decision until the convention, May, 1915. Personally, the President is opposed to the proposition.

INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF THEATRICAL STAGE EMPLOYES—The question must be decided by the next convention, July, 1915.

INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF BILL POSTERS AND BILLERS OF UNITED STATES AND CANADA—No decision can be given until next convention, December 7, 1914.

AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF STREET AND ELECTRIC RAILWAY EMPLOYES OF AMERICA—Not within the power of the Executive Board to act, as decision could only be given by the entire membership, expressed either by a referendum vote or through the regular conventions. Therefore, the Executive Board recommends to the E. C. of the A. F. of L. that its committee carefully prepare in detail the proposed program and that the same be submitted to the Philadelphia Convention so that the matter may be submitted to all the affiliated organizations to act upon through referendum or otherwise, as their laws may provide and that the answers be submitted to the 1915 convention of the A. F. of L.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF PAPERMAKERS—President Cary states that he has no authority to say what position the papermakers would take on the question but under the present laws, assessments can not be levied on the membership except upon a referendum vote.

BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY POSTAL CLERKS—Secretary Walter does not feel that he is in a position, in behalf of the membership, to agree to the proposition and does not believe that it would be wise for the officers of the brotherhood to participate in the formulation of the plans.

AMERICAN BROTHERHOOD OF CEMENT WORKERS—Has nothing to submit on the question. The smaller organizations will have to abide by the will of the larger organizations.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF MUSICIANS—No decision until 1915 convention.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF FOUNDRY EMPLOYES—Secretary Bechtold is personally in favor but the brotherhood is at times unable to collect per capita tax, which is only 15 cents per month, much less an assessment, regardless of who may levy same. The Secretary is therefore unable to give any assurance that the brotherhood will be able to carry out the proposed plan should it be adopted.

UNITED ASSOCIATION OF PLUMBERS AND STEAMFITTERS OF UNITED STATES AND CANADA—Officers have no power to permit the assessment and decision will have to be given by referendum vote. Personally they favor the proposition.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MARBLE WORKERS—Secretary Hogan unable to say that the association would agree to the plan, but that he will recommend it to his International Association should it be favorably decided by the A. F. of L.

WOOD, WIRE AND METAL LATHERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION—Secretary Brandt states that at this time he has no means of obtaining information upon which an accurate statement as to the light in which the membership would view the proposition can be given.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD PULP, SULPHITE, AND PAPER MILL WORKERS—Secretary Malin is not in a position to say what the brotherhood would decide, but is of the opinion that the decision of the Philadelphia Convention will have considerable influence upon the conclusion reached by his organization.

INTERNATIONAL GLOVE WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA—Executive Board not prepared yet to express an opinion.

From the reports made, from the expression of opinions given, it is quite evident that there are but a few of the affiliated organizations which feel disposed to concede the authority and the power to the A. F. of L. to levy assessments upon the membership of their respective international unions, and to vest the power and authority in the A. F. of L. to collect these assessments or to distribute the funds thus secured. In view of the adverse expressions of opinion to the project as outlined in Resolution No. 111 of the Seattle Convention, it is for this convention to determine whether any further efforts be made along this line at present.

Digitized by Google

SOCIAL INSURANCE

Two resolutions of the Seattle Convention represent general recognition of the necessity of providing for emergencies and disabilities which accompany wage employment.

Resolution No. 144 proposed an educational campaign on accident prevention and safety appliances. No one would venture to deny the need of such a campaign or of the importance of saving human life and energy through intelligent self-protection. The dangers incident to the various occupations differ so widely, however, that information helpful to the workers in one line of labor might have little bearing upon the problems existing in another line. Consequently the specific information needed by each group of workers can be the more easily and advantageously furnished by its own international union. As a matter of course, our Federation holds itself willing and able to furnish information to the internationals from time to time through its publications, giving special attention to sources of information in regard to hygiene and shop conditions necessary for the conservation of physical powers.

Resolution No. 162 relates to even a larger field of endeavor. The majority of wage-workers are rapidly learning the importance and practicability of meeting economic emergencies through mutual assistance. Many labor organizations provide trade benefits. These in their nature are not only insurance undertakings but also means of strengthening the cause of trade unionism.

A sentiment of considerable force has been developing in this country in favor of social insurance as the form of insurance which peculiarly affect the wage-workers has come to be called. The movement has gained impetus from compensation laws enacted in states of our Union, at present twenty-four in number, and from the operation of special working-class insurance acts in certain foreign countries. Recognizing insurance as a current issue of great importance, the Seattle Convention passed a resolution (No. 162) containing the following section:

> *Resolved*, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and is hereby, authorized and instructed to make an exhaustive investigation and study of this whole matter and report to the next convention: First, the cost of the payment of each of these benefits to the union now paying them; second, a skeleton law covering and applicable to all unions; third, a report on the laws of other countries, and cost of insurance to those insured by private companies; fourth, the advisability of the A. F. of L. establishing an insurance department for the purpose set forth in the foregoing, such department to run without profit, and in which membership in, or affiliation to, shall be absolutely voluntary.

To do the work adequately which is outlined in this section would necessitate the employment of experts and the expenditure of funds entirely beyond the present means of the A. F. of L. But by utilizing our own resources and whatever outside facilities were available we have been able to secure considerable information.

In regard to the first item upon which a report was to be made—"the cost of the payment of each of these benefits to the unions now paying them," a circular letter, together with a blank form upon which specific information was to be inserted, was sent to the headquarters of the nationals and internationals. The statistics which the organizations returned have been tabulated and are made an appendix to this report.

The second provision of the resolution is the draft of a skeleton law applicable to all unions. We have found it impossible to comply with this feature of the instructions. In certain industries the workers are concentrated in a few places; in others, they are diffused throughout the continent; in others, especially in transportation work, but few are massed together, while many are isolated from their fellows. Some large unions have a fluctuating membership, some occupations are seasonal, some have a much higher scale of wages than others. All such conditions affect systems of organization and administration. In particular they govern the benefits that can be paid. Desirous, however, of complying as nearly as possible with our instructions in this respect, we make the following tentative suggestions, founded on successful experience of many years on the part of some of our affiliated unions:

> In every local union of an international the initiation fees and dues should be uniform. The initiation fee should be low, the dues high enough to fulfill every usual obligation of the organization and to create a reserve fund to meet trade emergencies as well as extraordinary situations of health and life, such as epidemics. There should be but one strong general fund in the international union. Where cir-

Digitized by Google

cumstances permit, the funds should be held by the local unions subject to call of the international executive board, or the funds, under proper regulations and after local expenses have been met, should be sent to headquarters of internationals for safe investment in the name of the international. In either event the funds should be in amount and in availability in a position properly to support the contentions of the membership with strike or lockout pay, as well as to provide for commendable incidental trade union benefits, and for the constructive interests or general development of the organization. The sums to be paid in the form of benefits, including insurance, should be well calculated and absolutely within the means of the organization to meet the obligations. It is better that the stipulated payments of benefits be small, with the opportunity of increasing them as experience shall warrant, than to place them at so high a figure as to make meeting obligations impossible, thus destroying not only the system of insurance but the confidence of the members in the organization itself. While a study of these systems is recommended, it is to be said also that international unions which are among the largest and most stable of those affiliated in our Federation maintain separate funds under various headings—"pensions," "mortuary," and the like. Our American labor movement in itself furnishes models for the study and imitation of unions either not yet having insurance features or not having all the forms possible for them to develop.

In regard to the third provision of the resolution, "a report upon the insurance laws of other countries and cost of insurance to those insured by private companies," it is to be observed that this transfers our investigation from the sphere of the trade union to that of the state or of a commercial organization, or a combination of both, as the agencies governing and operating the insurance. This opened a large field of inquiry. Copies of many laws bearing on this phase of the subject have been obtained, the State Department and the Department of Labor assisting in the matter by advice or by furnishing material. But the nature and the scope of the investigation ordered are so extensive and intensive that the E. C. should be given more time in which to continue its labors pertaining thereto. However, the attention of workers should be called to a condition dangerous to their welfare which has developed out of social insurance and welfare provisions—the requirement of physical examination of workers as a condition requisite for employment or for continuation of employment. The workers should be on their guard against provisions of this nature which are only disguised methods of eliminating workers whose health has been impaired by the work. These methods decrease costs of production by creating an unemployable class. As to the cost of insurance in this country by private companies no report can now be made. As to costs in foreign lands, the International Permanent Committee on Social Insurance has undertaken an international inquiry. This subject was to have been discussed at the Paris meeting of the International Conference on Social Insurance September 21-24, 1914. That conference was prevented by the war, but the subject will probably be included in the program of the International Congress on Social Insurance to be held in Washington in September, 1915. Some of the papers prepared for the Paris conference have been published and may later be translated and made available for the use of the A. F. of L. The E. C. should be authorized to continue its inquiry into the problems of insurance costs—that is, premiums paid by the insured, cost of office administration, amounts paid to agents, etc.

The Permanent International Committee was organized in Paris in 1889 to contribute to the progress of social insurance by promoting international congresses, by researches and investigation. Eight international congresses have already been held and four international conferences. The Permanent International Committee on Social Insurance carries on the investigation and propaganda between congresses, maintaining headquarters at Paris, and publishing a monthly journal in French. President Wilson appointed during the past year an organization committee to perfect plans and preparations for the Ninth International Congress to be held in Washington, D. C., in October, 1915. President Gompers, Mr. John Mitchell and a number of other labor men were appointed members of the committee. No doubt the discussions of the congress will bring many suggestions and much information.

As to the fourth feature, the advisability of an insurance department for the A. F. of L., we endorse the proposal to the extent of approving of a serious study of the first steps of organization and administration. The department, it is a certainty, must be an incorporated body with a charter from either the federal government or one of the states. It must be

Digitized by Google

independent of other departments of the Federation. Most probably it should be under control of a board of managers composed of members of the E. C.—that is, eligibility for directorship in the insurance department would be dependent upon membership in or approval by the E. C. of the A. F. of L., the department and the Federation remaining separate and independent. Insurance in this department should be voluntary and should be extended only to members of organizations directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. Perhaps insurance could be afforded to individuals or entire local unions. Insurance should be inaugurated with the straight life and then extended to other forms of benefits as experience and resources warranted. Instead of aiming at profits, as old-line companies do from their business enterprises, the A. F. of L. would undertake insurance merely to secure to the workers the highest benefits at the lowest possible rates. The A. F. of L. might find ways to eliminate many of the expenditures of the regular companies, such as "overhead" expenses, costly offices, numerous clerks, advertising, soliciting, bonuses, etc. Success in these economies would enable the organization to furnish insurance at a saving of a considerable percentage of the rates charged by private insurance companies. Moreover, the chief argument against mutual benefit associations—the impossibility of recruiting "new blood"—does not exist in the trade unions. As a general fact their membership grows. Actuarial calculations relating to them may be safely based on stable membership, a continuous ability to pay dues, an unfluctuating death and sickness rate. Other features pointing to success would be a democratic guardianship of the interests of all the insured and the advantage to the trade union accruing through the assistance of each member by the common efforts of all the membership.

FREED FROM TRUST LAW—INJUNCTION AND CONTEMPT ABUSES

Clayton Antitrust Act

The greatest legislative victory that was secured by Labor during the past year was the enactment of the labor sections of the Clayton Antitrust Act, securing to the workers of America those fundamental principles of industrial liberty which were among the chief features of the Bill of Grievances and were the objectives of the political policy which the American Federation of Labor inaugurated in 1906.

From the time trust legislation was first discussed there was a purpose on the part of the enemies of Labor to bring organizations of workers under the provisions of such legislation. The representatives of organized labor were constantly on the alert to prevent the consummation of that purpose. The Sherman antitrust law was never intended to apply to organizations of human workers banded together for mutual protection and betterment. That law was intended to protect human beings from the power and the rapacity of soulless corporations and trusts. But courts by interpretation perverted that law, intended to apply to the products of labor—perverted it to apply to the human labor power of the workers themselves. By these perversions of the law the courts placed in the same legal category the steel worker and the steel rail he produces; the engineer and the throttle he pulls; the carpenter and the saw he uses; the printer and the type he sets.

These judicial perversions of justice ignore the fact that labor power is inseparable from the body and personality of the worker—that it is part of his very being. Labor in the speech of commerce and economic theory would not infrequently imply an inanimate something to be bought and sold exactly as an article of trade or commerce. Labor is the great, creative, productive force of the universe. It is that which gives dignity, nobility, and purpose to human life.

The workers through their organization have been urging this principle as the reason why trust laws should not apply to them. Upon innumerable occasions in writing, in publications and in public statements has this principle been pressed home upon the minds and the consciences of the citizens of our land. It has been urged in the form of demands for legislation upon the political representatives whom the people had placed in offices of responsibility. For twenty-four years this campaign of education and agitation has been in progress. Now the results of that campaign are apparent in the views of all manner of public representatives—judicial, executive, and legislative. Those views are manifest in public speech and official action. There can be nothing more gratifying than this common and implicit acceptance of the fundamental principle for which Labor of America has contended these many years. It has become a part of the thought and the action of our nation.

Its acceptance and incorporation in the law of the land has been gradual. In reports

Digitized by Google

to former conventions its progress has been recorded as shown by the affirmation of this principle in amendments to the trust sections of Sundry Civil bills, providing that the funds appropriated for the enforcement of the trust law should not be used in the prosecution of a worker or an organization of workers for entering into any combination or agreement having in view the increasing of wages, the shortening of hours, or bettering the conditions of labor, or any act done in furtherance thereof not in itself unlawful.

These amendments did not secure to the workers the full protection to which they were entitled. Full and complete justice could be done only by removing them from the provisions of the Sherman act and establishing their freedom by legislation of a constructive, substantive character.

Legislation to regulate the trusts was one of the big measures which the party in power had pledged itself to enact. The Democratic party had twice made its pledge in the following platform provision:

> The expanding organization of industry makes it essential that there should be no abridgment of the right of wage-earners and producers to organize for the protection of wages and the improvement of labor conditions to the end that such labor organizations and their members should not be regarded as illegal combinations in restraint of trade.

The Progressive party in its platform declared:

> The Progressive party, in order to secure to the people a better administration of justice, and by that means bring about a more general respect for law and the courts, pledges itself to work unceasingly for the reform of legal procedure and judicial methods.
>
> We believe that the issuance of injunctions in cases arising out of labor disputes should be prohibited when such injunctions would not apply when no labor disputes existed.
>
> We believe also that a person cited for contempt in labor disputes, except when contempt was committed in the actual presence of the court, or so near thereto as to interfere with the proper administration of justice, should have a right to trial by jury.
>
> We favor the organization of the workers, men and women, as a means of protecting their interests and of promoting their progress.

The Republican party refused to make any favorable declaration on the subject. Mr. Wilson, presidential candidate of the Democratic party, and Mr. Roosevelt, candidate of the Progressive party for President, represented the principles enunciated in the two party platforms of 1912. Those principles quoted above declared in favor of this legislation urged by the workers, and received, computing together the votes for both the Democratic and Progressive presidential candidates, 10,412,977 votes as against 3,484,974 votes for Mr. Taft, the candidate of the Republican party which did not declare for Labor's principles. Surely no one can truthfully declare that the people are not in sympathy with that which the workers deem necessary for their welfare. The spirit of the age is sympathetic, humane.

Those in charge of the trust legislation thought it best to redeem these pledges by incorporating in the measure to regulate commercial and industrial organizations provisions securing to the workers the right of organization and to the activities necessary to make organization effective for protection and betterment. As this line of action seemed most practical and most promising of early results the representatives of the A. F. of L. agreed to the plan.

The representatives of the A. F. of L. had many conferences with the members of the House Judiciary Committee and the Labor Group in the House upon the labor provisions of the t ust bill.

The Labor Group in Congress, consisting of seventeen union card men, was of material assistance in outlining and carrying into effect a campaign to secure favorable action by Congress upon Labor's demands. The legislative representatives of the Railroad Brotherhoods met frequently with the representatives of the A. F. of L. and co-operated with us in every way. They heartily joined us in circularizing the members of Congress and in keeping the membership of organized labor in touch with the legislative situation and advising them when their aid was necessary in convincing Congress that immediate and favorable action was demanded by the people.

Digitized by Google

The administration trust bill, known as H. R. 15657, was reported by Representative Clayton for the Judiciary Committee on May 6, 1914. Section 7 of the bill as reported by the committee intended to exempt labor organizations from trust legislation was not satisfactory to the A. F. of L., but a rule had been secured from the Rules Committee which threw the whole bill wide open to amendment on the floor of the House. The representatives of Labor knew that if the fight was made on the floor of the House to secure amendments which would make the bill satisfactory to Labor there would be no difficulty in securing action. It is a most significant feature of our efforts to secure legislation for the workers, that whenever these measures have come before the members of Congress for vote they have never failed to endorse Labor's principles of equity and justice. However, the Judiciary Committee offered as committee amendments the changes which Labor demanded and which were necessary in fulfillment of party pledges.

As we said above, section 7 of the bill freed the workers from the provisions of trust legislation, thus assuring them the right to organize and the exercise of their normal activities. Because this section contained the fundamental right necessary for industrial freedom, a right that must precede every effort for protection and betterment, it is known as Labor's Magna Carta, or Labor's Charter of Industrial Freedom. Section 18 established the right of the workers to such activities as are necessary to secure the purposes of organization. It is to prevent abuses of the injunctive process which has been used to deny to workers rights secured them by laws and customs. The use of the injunction was further dealt with in other sections which also provide trial by jury and other protective features in proceedings for indirect contempt.

On June 1 Chairman Webb for the Judiciary Committee offered an amendment which made section 7 satisfactory to the representatives of organized labor. The House in Committee of the Whole voted to adopt that amendment by 207 ayes with not a single dissenting vote. An amendment to section 18 which Labor desired was adopted without a dissenting vote.

The House then passed the Clayton bill with the labor provisions satisfactory to the representatives of organized labor by a vote of 277 yeas, 54 nays, 3 answering present and 99 not voting.

The bill then went to the Senate. On June 5 the Senate referred the bill to the Judiciary Committee which reported it out with amendments July 22. The committee report left the principle of section 7 unchanged, but struck the picketing proviso out of section 18 together with other less vital changes.

The representatives of organized labor urged upon the individual Senators the justice of Labor's contentions. Their efforts were supplemented emphatically and vigorously by the workers all over the country who left no doubt in the minds of their Senators that the bill as reported by the committee was not adequate to meet the platform pledges of the party.

The debate in the Senate as well as in the House was of unusual interest and power. On every hand were manifest evidences of the campaign of protest and education which the workers had been waging for greater and larger conceptions of freedom. Men accepted as a matter of course the distinction between labor and the products of labor, which was treated as absurd or inconsequential when first advocated by the representatives of Labor. The needs of Labor were considered with understanding and with appreciation.

On September 1 Senator Cummins moved that in lieu of section 7 the following be inserted:

> That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, and nothing contained in the antitrust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor organizations having for their objects bettering the conditions, lessening the hours, or advancing the compensation of labor, nor to forbid or restrain individual members of such organizations from carrying out said objects in a lawful way; nor shall said laws be construed to prevent or prohibit any person or persons, whether single or in concert, from terminating any relation of employment or from ceasing to work, or from advising or persuading others in a peaceful, orderly way, and at a place where they may lawfully be, either to work or to abstain from working, or from withholding their patronage from a party to any dispute growing out of the terms or conditions of employment, or from advising or persuading other wage-workers in a peaceful and orderly way so to do, or from paying or giving to or withholding from any person engaged in such dispute any strike benefits or other moneys or things of value, or from assembling in a peaceful

Digitized by Google

and orderly way for a lawful purpose in any place where they may lawfully be, or from doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute. Nothing contained in said antitrust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of agricultural, horticultural, or commercial organizations instituted for mutual benefit without capital stock and not conducted for the pecuniary profit of either such organization or the members thereof, or to forbid or restrain such members from carrying out said objects in a lawful way.

This substitute was a combination of sections 7 and 18 of the House bill. This splendid declaration won favor with many Senators particularly because of the impressive wording of the principle set forth in the first sentence.

On the next day, September 2, while Senator Cummins was discussing his proposed amendment, Senator Culberson, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, asked Senator Cummins if he would be satisfied with section 7 if the words "That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, and" were inserted therein. Senator Cummins replied that he had intended making that suggestion if his amendment was rejected.

Without a dissenting voice the Senate agreed to the suggestion and the splendid statement was incorporated in section 7.

Senator Cummins then moved that section 18—as it was numbered in the House bill—be amended by inserting in place of the section on picketing struck out by the committee a provision which incorporated the contention of Labor. This amendment was accepted by the committee and adopted by the Senate as Committee of the Whole without a dissenting vote. The unanimity of the endorsement given to Labor's contentions was one of the most impressive features of the legislative declarations of both houses.

The bill was adopted by the Senate by a vote of 46 yeas to 16 nays. The bill then went to conference. The conference committee made its report September 24 with the labor provisions of the bill practically unchanged. The opposition which occurred in the Senate to the conference report was directed only against the industrial and business sections of the bill. However, the Senate adopted the report of the conference committee October 5. On October 8 the House agreed to the report.

On October 15, 1914, President Wilson approved the bill and the pen with which he signed the act was presented to President Gompers.

The labor provisions of the bill are a splendid victory for organized labor. A few days after signing the bill, in a letter to Representative Underwood, President Wilson wrote the following as his interpretation and understanding of them:

> "Incidentally, justice has been done the laborer. His labor is no longer to be treated as if it were merely an inanimate object of commerce disconnected from the fortunes and happiness of a living human being, to be dealt with as an object of sale and barter. But that, great as it is, is hardly more than the natural and inevitable corollary of a law whose object is individual freedom and initiative as against any kind of private domination."

In these incisive and forceful words President Wilson endorses the principle for which we have waged this long fight.

The labor sections of the Clayton bill, as finally enacted, are section 6, known as section 7 of the House bill, and sections 20-25, which were sections 18-23 of the House bill. The text of these sections is as follows:

> **Sec. 6. That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. Nothing contained in the antitrust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor, agricultural, or horticultural organizations, instituted for the purposes of mutual help, and not having capital stock or conducted for profit, or to forbid or restrain individual members of such organizations from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof; nor shall such organizations, or the members thereof be construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade, under the antitrust laws.**
>
> . . . . . .
>
> **Sec. 20. That no restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of the United States, or a judge or the judges thereof, in any case between an employer and employes, or between employers and employes, or between employes, or between persons employed and persons seeking employment, involv-**

Digitized by Google

ing, or growing out of, a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property, or to a property right of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law, and such property or property right must be described with particularity in the application, which must be in writing and sworn to by the applicant, or by his agent or attorney.

And no such restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether single or in concert, from terminating any relation of employment, or from ceasing to perform any work or labor, or from recommending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful means so to do; or from attending at any place where any such person or persons may lawfully be, for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or from peacefully persuading any person to work or to abstain from working; or from ceasing to patronize or to employ any party to such dispute, or from recommending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful and lawful means so to do; or from paying or giving to, or withholding from, any person engaged in such dispute, any strike benefits or other moneys or things of value; or from peaceably assembling in a lawful manner, and for lawful purposes; or from doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute by any party thereto; nor shall any of the acts specified in this paragraph be considered or held to be violations of any law of the United States.

Sec. 21. That any person who shall wilfully disobey any lawful writ, process, order, rule, decree, or command of any district court of the United States or any court of the District of Columbia by doing any act or thing therein, or thereby forbidden to be done by him, if the act or thing so done by him be of such character as to constitute also a criminal offense under any statute of the United States, or under the laws of any state in which the act was committed, shall be proceeded against for his said contempt as hereinafter provided.

Sec. 22. That whenever it shall be made to appear to any district court or judge thereof, or to any judge therein sitting, by the return of a proper officer on lawful process, or upon the affidavit of some credible person, or by information filed by any district attorney, that there is reasonable ground to believe that any person has been guilty of such contempt the court or judge thereof, or any judge therein sitting, may issue a rule requiring the said person so charged to show cause upon a day certain why he should not be punished therefor, which rule, together with a copy of the affidavit or information, shall be served upon the person charged, with sufficient promptness to enable him to prepare for and make return to the order at the time fixed therein. If upon or by such return, in the judgment of the court, the alleged contempt be not sufficiently purged, a trial shall be directed at a time and place fixed by the court; *Provided however*, That if the accused, being a natural person, fail or refuse to make return to the rule to show cause, an attachment may issue against his person to compel an answer, and in case of his continued failure or refusal, or if for any reason, it be impracticable to dispose of the matter on the return day, he may be required to give reasonable bail for his attendance at the trial and his submission to the final judgment of the court. Where the accused is a body corporate, an attachment for the sequestration of its property may be issued upon like refusal or failure to answer.

In all cases within the purview of this act, such trial may be by the court, or, upon demand of the accused, by a jury; in which latter event the court may impanel a jury from the jurors then in attendance, or the court or the judge thereof in chambers may cause a sufficient number of jurors to be selected and summoned, as provided by law, to attend at the time and place of trial, at which time a jury shall be selected and impaneled as upon a trial for misdemeanor; and such trial shall conform, as near as may be, to the practice in criminal cases prosecuted by indictment or upon information.

If the accused be found guilty, judgment shall be entered accordingly, prescribing the punishment, either by fine or imprisonment, or both, in the discretion of the court. Such fine shall be paid to the United States, or to the complainant, or other party injured by the act constituting the contempt, or may, where more than one is so damaged, be divided, or apportioned among them as the court may direct, but in no case shall the fine to be paid to the United States

Digitized by Google

exceed, in case the accused is a natural person, the sum of $1,000, nor shall such imprisonment exceed the term of six months; *Provided*, That in any case the court or a judge thereof may, for good cause shown, by affidavit or proof taken in open court or before such judge and filed with the papers in the case, dispense with the rule to show cause, and may issue an attachment for the arrest of the person charged with contempt; in which event such person, when arrested, shall be brought before such court or a judge thereof without unnecessary delay and shall be admitted to bail in a reasonable penalty for his appearance to answer to the charge or for trial for the contempt; and thereafter the proceedings shall be the same as provided herein in case the rule had issued in the first instance.

Sec. 23. That the evidence taken upon the trial of any persons so accused may be preserved by bill of exceptions, and any judgment of conviction may be reviewed upon writ of error in all respects as now provided by law in criminal cases, and may be affirmed, reversed, or modified as justice may require. Upon the granting of such writ of error, execution of judgment shall be stayed, and the accused, if thereby sentenced to imprisonment, shall be admitted to bail in such reasonable sum as may be required by the court, or by any justice, or any judge of any district court of the United States or any court of the District of Columbia.

Sec. 24. That nothing herein contained shall be construed to relate to contempts committed in the presence of the court, or so near thereto as to obstruct the administration of justice, nor to contempts committed in disobedience of any lawful writ, process, order, rule, decree, or command entered in any suit or action brought or prosecuted in the name of, or on behalf of, the United States, but the same, and all other cases of contempt not specifically embraced within section 21 of this act, may be punished in conformity to the usages at law, and in equity now prevailing.

Sec. 25. That no proceeding for contempt shall be instituted against any person unless begun within one year from the date of the act complained of; nor shall any such proceeding be a bar to any criminal prosecution for the same act or acts; but nothing herein contained shall affect any proceedings in contempt pending at the time of the passage of this act.

MASSACHUSETTS' MODEL LABOR LAW

Beginning with the Revolutionary days, the old Bay State has been a leader in the cause of human freedom. Nor does that Commonwealth now lag behind in the march of progress—it is one of the foremost states in progressive enlightened legislation. During the past year Massachusetts has placed upon its statute books a law securing to the working people—the masses of the people—the legal right to activities necessary for promoting their industrial welfare. This legal right carries with it a greater degree of industrial freedom—a freedom that vitally concerns the lives and the welfare of the people. This law in a very direct and positive manner guarantees to laborers the right to organize, the right to exercise the normal activities of organization in order to better economic conditions, and forbids the misuse of the injunctive process to deny workers the right to legitimate activities in industrial disputes. The law is founded upon the bill drafted and supported by the American Federation of Labor for federal enactment. (The "Pearre Bill," and later the "Wilson Bill.")

The Executive Council recommends that all state federations and central bodies make every effort to secure the passage by their respective state legislatures of a law such as now exists in Massachusetts.

For the information and convenience of our fellow workers in furthering this legislation, we give the full text of the law as follows:

An Act to Make Lawful Certain Agreements Between Employes and Laborers, And to Limit the Issuing of Injunctions in Certain Cases

Be it enacted, etc., as follows:

SECTION 1. It shall not be unlawful for persons employed or seeking employment to enter into any arrangements, agreements, or combinations with the view of lessening the hours of labor or of increasing their wages or bettering their condition; and no restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of the commonwealth or by any judge thereof in any case between an

Digitized by Google

employer and employes, or between employers and employes, or between persons employed and persons seeking employment or involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, or any act or acts done in pursuance thereof, unless such order or injunction be necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property or to a property right of the party making the application, for which there is no adequate remedy at law; and such property or property right shall be particularly described in the application, which shall be sworn to by the applicant or by his agent or attorney.

SEC. 2. In construing this act, the right to enter into the relation of employer and employe, to change that relation, and to assume and create a new relation for employer and employe, and to perform and carry on business in such relation with any person in any place, or to do work and labor as an employe, shall be held and construed to be a personal and not a property right. In all cases involving the violation of the contract of employment, either by the employe or employer where no irreparable damage is about to be committed upon the property or property right of either no injunction shall be granted, but the parties shall be left to their remedy at law.

SEC. 3. No persons who are employed or seeking employment or other labor shall be indicted, prosecuted, or tried in any court of the commonwealth for entering into any arrangement, agreement, or combination between themselves as such employes or laborers, made with a view of lessening the number of hours of labor or increasing their wages or bettering their condition, or for any act done in pursuance thereof, unless such act is in itself unlawful (Approved July 7, 1914).

EIGHT HOURS

Resolution No. 19 of the Seattle Convention recommended that the Eight-Hour law, approved June 19, 1912, be further amended by distinctly specifying the articles or materials, to which, in the opinion of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and its Departments its application would benefit the largest number of working people.

We have deemed it advisable to hold this matter in abeyance owing to strenuous efforts put forth by us in behalf of effective antitrust, injunction limitation, and jury trial legislation. We recommend that the matter be left in the hands of the Executive Council for further attention.

The eight-hour bill for working women in the District of Columbia, introduced by Senator LaFollette as S. 1294, passed the Senate without amendment on July 10, 1913, and was referred to the House Committee on District of Columbia. That committee favorably reported the bill on February 6, 1914. It passed the House without an opposing vote on February 12, 1914, and was signed by President Wilson on February 24, 1914. The law is now in operation in the District of Columbia; the full text of it was published in the March, 1914, issue of the *American Federationist*. An effort is now being made by some Representatives to obtain the enactment of a federal law preventing the transportation in interstate commerce of products upon which women and children have been employed over eight hours per day.

Representative Stevens of New Hampshire introduced bill H. R. 12102, for the purpose of making eight hours the maximum workday for railroad telegraphers employed by railroad companies engaged in interstate commerce. This bill is being strongly urged by the order of the Railroad Telegraphers and affiliated organizations. It is before the House Committee on Interstate Commerce, which has given hearings to it. We believe that if this measure is strongly urged we can obtain complete action upon it during the next session of Congress.

When the Alaska Coal Land bill was up in the House, Representative Lewis of Maryland, Chairman of the House Committee on Labor, secured the inclusion of the following eight-hour and other protective features for Labor in the measure:

The clause in the Alaska bill H. R. 14233, provides in section 12 that, "each lease shall contain provisions for the purpose of insuring the exercise of reasonable diligence, skill, and care in the operation of said property, and for the safety and welfare of the miners, including a restriction of the workday not to exceed eight hours in any one day for underground workers, provisions securing the workers complete freedom of purchase, requiring the payment of wages at least twice a month in lawful money of the United States, and providing proper rules and regulations to secure fair and just weighing or measurement of the coal mined by each miner and such other provisions as are needed for the protection of the

Digitized by Google

interests of the United States, for the prevention of monopoly, and for the safeguarding of the public welfare."

The Senate retained this section in the bill without change; neither was it changed by the conferees when they reported the bill to the House and Senate. It is now part of the organic act dealing with the coal lands of Alaska.

We are also pleased to report that when the Conservation bill, H. R. 16136, was before the House, Representative Lewis was again alert in the interests of the miners and other employes of contractors and lessees who may obtain rights from the Secretary of the Interior under the act. At the instance of Representative Lewis, the House adopted by practically unanimous vote the same eight-hour and labor protective section as is contained in the Alaska Coal bill.

The Conservation bill is before the Senate Committee on Public Lands. Hearings will be held upon it December 16, 1914. We confidently expect the passage of this measure with the eight-hour and other labor provisions.

CHILD LABOR

A number of bills have been introduced for the purpose of regulating or prohibiting the employment of children, viz, S. 222 by Senator Kenyon of Iowa; S. 879 by Senator Williams of Mississippi; S. 1639 by Senator Smith of Maryland; S. 4571 by Senator Owen of Oklahoma; H. R. 1705 by Representative Cullop of Indiana; H. R. 4874 by Representative Taylor of Colorado; H. R. 6146 by Representative Copley of Illinois; H. R. 6562 by Representative Barnhart of Indiana; H. R. 12292 by Representative Palmer of Pennsylvania, and others.

Some of these bills apply to children of the District of Columbia only, but most of them were introduced for the purpose of preventing interstate transportation of products in the production of which the labor of children under certain ages was employed. Some of the bills make the carrier liable and others the manufacturer or shipper.

The Owen-Palmer bills are undoubtedly the best prepared measures and would be the most effective if enacted into law. Extended hearings were granted by the House Committee on Labor on the Palmer bill, and on August 13, 1914, Representative Lewis of Maryland, chairman of the House Committee on Labor, reported a substitute for the Palmer bill, complete copy of which is included herewith. Chairman Lewis announced that a supplemental report setting forth at length the reasons moving the committee to recommend the above substitute will be filed with the House at a later date.

Child Labor Bill Recommended for Passage by the House Committee on Labor

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it shall be unlawful for any producer, manufacturer, or dealer to ship or to deliver for shipment in interstate commerce the products of any mine or quarry which have been produced in whole or in part by the labor of children under the age of sixteen years, or the products of any mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment which have been produced in whole or in part by the labor of children under the age of fourteen years, or by the labor of children between the age of fourteen years and sixteen years who work more than eight hours in any one day or more than six days in any week, or after the hour of seven o'clock postmeridian or before the hour of seven o'clock antemeridian.

SEC. 2. That the Attorney-General, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Labor shall constitute a board to make and publish from time to time uniform rules and regulations for carrying out the provisions of this act.

SEC. 3. That for the purpose of securing proper enforcement of this act the Secretary of Labor, or any person duly authorized by him, shall have authority to enter and inspect at any time mines, quarries, mills, canneries, workshops, factories, and manufacturing establishments in which goods are produced for interstate commerce.

SEC. 4. That it shall be the duty of each district attorney to whom the Secretary of Labor shall report any violation of this act or to whom any state factory or mining or quarry inspector, commissioner of labor, state medical inspector, or school attendance officer, or any other person shall present satisfactory evidence of any such violation to cause appropriate proceedings to be commenced and prosecuted in the proper courts of the United States without delay for the enforcement of the penalties as in such cases herein provided.

Digitized by Google

SEC. 5. That any person, partnership, association, or corporation, or any agent or employe thereof, manufacturing, producing, or dealing in the products of any mine, quarry, mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment who shall violate any of the provisions of section one of this act, or who shall refuse or obstruct the entry or inspection authorized by section three of this act, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be punished by a fine of not more than $1,000 nor less than $100 or by imprisonment for not more than one year nor less than one month, or by both fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court: *Provided*, That no dealer shall be subject to conviction under the provisions of this section who shall establish a guaranty issued by the person by whom such goods were manufactured or produced, and residing in the United States, to the effect that in the manufacture and production of such goods neither in whole nor in part had children been employed or permitted to work in any mine or quarry under the age of sixteen years, or in any mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment under the age of fourteen years, or between the ages of fourteen years and sixteen years who worked more than eight hours in any one day or more than six days in any week, or after the hour of seven o'clock postmeridian or before the hour of seven o'clock antemeridian. Said guaranty, to afford the protection above provided, shall contain the name and address of the person giving the same, and in such event such person shall be amenable to any prosecution, fine, or penalty to which the person seeking the protection of such guaranty would otherwise have been subject under the provisions of this act. The word "dealer" as used in this act shall be construed to include any individual or corporation, or the members of any partnership or other unincorporated association.

SEC. 6. That in prosecutions under this act each shipment or delivery for shipment shall constitute a separate offense.

SEC. 7. That this act shall take effect from and after one year from the date of its passage.

On July 8, 1914, Representative Rogers of Massachusetts introduced a House joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States that "the Congress shall have power to regulate throughout the United States the employment of women and persons under the age of twenty-one years." That resolution was referred to the House Committee on Judiciary and is still pending.

The expression of sentiment which we have gathered and the cordiality with which our arguments have been received incline us to the belief that the Owen-Palmer bills may receive a substantial support by Congress. They of course deal with the limited jurisdiction of Congress—its power to authorize, regulate, and control commerce between the states. As a further step in behalf of the children we believe that these bills would result in splendid benefits. The immediate and best course to pursue would be to encourage the enactment of the principles contained in the Owen-Palmer bills, or the substitute recommended for passage by the House Committee on Labor, as quoted.

We are safe within the limits of truth when we say that at some time during every meeting of the Executive Council the subject of child labor in one phase or another comes up for discussion. At our meeting in May we made the following declaration, which we recommend shall be the declaration of this convention:

> No dividends, no profits can compensate for the waste and the wrong of child labor. The greatest thing that any nation has is its men and its women. No nation can be greater than the masses of its men and women. There is no more deadly certain way to undermine national power than to deny its children rights necessary to most complete development of heart, mind, and body.
>
> Child labor denies these opportunities, not only to the individuals themselves but to their children and their children's children. The effect of the wrong and waste is cumulative, sapping the life-force of the nation.
>
> Many industries in our country are soulless corporations as heartless as the "ogres" that were said to eat children. They have taken these little ones and have done their most to them. They have set dreary, tiresome tasks for little hands, they have permitted little feet to tread in dangerous places—all that they might have higher profits.
>
> Statistics of child labor, however appalling, are a most inadequate method of evaluating the incalculable—the effect of child labor upon human minds, bodies,

Digitized by Google

and ideals. Child labor robs children of a chance to grow, a chance to learn and a chance to dream. It robs them of the chance to attain the fullest development of manhood and womanhood. It leaves them with a sense of the world's injustice burned into their inmost beings.

Children will become better citizens when the wrong of child labor is abolished. They will become healthier, more capable men and women when uninjured by premature overwork. They will become greater men and women when removed from associations that degrade and injure.

Child labor is not essential to any industry. An industry which can not be profitably conducted without using child labor is not necessary to society and is abhorrent to the social conscience. Men and women with hearts do not wish to encourage or to endorse in any degree those who profit by child labor. But often they are placed in the unfair position of giving seeming approval through patronage because they do not have access to information that will enable them to act in accordance with their sense of justice and their conviction of right.

It is due to those who earnestly desire the welfare of the nation's children that they should have the opportunity to help in the conservation and protection of the children.

It is a most solemn obligation due the children that all organizations for human welfare should use every available agency to promote humanity's progress.

Therefore, we, the E. C. of the A. F. of L., as authorized representatives of the greatest humanitarian movement of the country, declare that any who profits by the toil of children at all or by the labor of other minors required to toil more than eight hours a day, is unfair and unworthy of the patronage of true patriots and those who desire human welfare.

SAFETY APPLIANCE INSPECTORS

Resolution No. 25 of the Seattle Convention called for an increase in the number of safety appliance inspectors upon railroads and instructed the Executive Council to use every honorable means within its power to impress upon Congress the importance of increasing the force of safety appliance inspectors on railroads.

We wish to report that due efforts have been made and that the matter is now before the Interstate Commerce Commission and its safety appliance departments. Appropriations by Congress for this service were slightly increased.

Representative Frank Buchanan of Illinois, during his membership in the House of Representatives, has spared no effort to advance legislation of interest and benefit to the workers. He particularly distinguished himself in the House during the last session of Congress in his advocacy of bill H. R. 8593, introduced by him for the purpose of improving and increasing safety regulations for men engaged in the construction of buildings, applicable to building regulations of the District of Columbia.

Representative Buchanan finally succeeded in having the bill passed by the House on June 29, 1914. It was then referred to the Senate Committee on District of Columbia. We have made efforts to obtain a favorable report from that committee to the Senate upon this bill, but up to the present writing we have not succeeded.

We trust that all will co-operate with Representative Buchanan and render him every possible assistance in behalf of this exceptionally necessary and meritorious measure.

SAFETY APPLIANCES

A variety of bills designed to improve and extend safety appliances on railroads have been introduced, among them being H. R. 103 by Representative Raker of California; S. 2675 by Senator Cummins of Iowa, and H. R. 7952 by Representative Talcott of New York (identical bills) for the purpose of establishing standard headlights on locomotives. Representative Sherwood of Ohio introduced H. R. 5152 as a full crew bill endorsed by the Switchmen's Union of North America. The bills, H. R. 2478 by Representative Esch of Wisconsin and H. R. 2880 by Representative Hardwick of Georgia, called for a standard block system.

All of the bills mentioned are before the respective committees on interstate commerce, and no definite action has yet been taken upon them.

Digitized by Google

BUREAU OF LABOR SAFETY

The Seattle Convention instructed us to give our efforts in support of the bureau of labor safety measures before Congress. We take pleasure in reporting as follows:

Representative Mann of Illinois introduced the first bureau of labor safety bill, H. R. 7083, and former Representative Bremner (since deceased), introduced the second, H. R. 8948. These bills were referred to the House Committee on Labor. The principles of these bills, including provisions for a museum of safety, received the emphatic endorsement of our Rochester and Seattle conventions. The House Committee on Labor made a favorable report upon these measures on January 16, 1914, and introduced a new bill, by Representative Lewis of Maryland, Chairman of the House Labor Committee, H. R. 10735, which combined the best provisions of the Mann and the Bremner bills. It was debated on March 4, 1914, and passed the House without an opposing vote on March 11, 1914. It was then referred to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, and on August 1, 1914, Senator Shively of Indiana made a favorable report on it to the Senate, in which he, for the Senate Committee, paid the following splendid tribute to Representative Lewis of Maryland, on his report of January 16, 1914:

> "The report of the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives upon the bureau of labor safety bill is quite exhaustive. It covers the ground so admirably that we reproduce it in the words and figures following."

The Senate Committee then recommended that the bill pass the Senate without amendment. Several efforts have been made to have this splendid measure considered in the Senate, but pressure of many other matters has prevented its being brought up. This bill, with its accompanying provision for a museum of safety, is of so much value and importance to the life, safety, health, and comfort of all our working people that they should urge their United States Senators to give prompt approval to this meritorious labor safety act in the approaching short session of the Sixty-third Congress.

In a vague sort of way the people of the United States feel that great risks are encountered by the working people in the various industries, not only risks attended by danger to life and limb from physical accidents but great risks to the normal health of the working people. A few years ago we knew practically nothing about the morbidity and the fatality of our dangerous trades. Now we are slowly beginning to learn, and the greatest need in the country at present is more knowledge upon this subject. We are, as a people, expecting that measures of correct action will follow at an early date after such knowledge is officially published. That was shown by the prompt passage of legislation in regard to the use of poisonous phosphorous matches within a very short time after conditions in our match factories had been made public. We can also point to the readiness with which the legislature of Illinois passed a law framed on British models for the control of occupations involving the handling of poisons, within a few weeks after the appearance of a report depicting the awful industrial diseases prevailing in Illinois.

We can not close this subject without making reference to the fact that some United States Senators have shown a disposition to ridicule the term "occupational diseases," where it has been referred to in the bureau of labor safety bill, or in the Sheppard resolution referred to in another part of this report. We anticipate that when the bureau of labor safety measure comes before the United States Senate for final action, considerable discussion will be given to this phase of the matter. Fortunately, however, there are some official reports already in existence published by the Department of Labor. In addition to official matter on industrial accidents and trade diseases touching some of the industries, these deal with lead poisoning in the pottery industry and the causes of death among women and child operatives in cotton mills.

We must through our organizations urge favorable action upon the bureau of labor safety bill at an early date, and we trust that the United States Senate will act favorably upon the information which is now before it.

OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES

Resolution No. 76 of the Seattle Convention empowered the Executive Council to take such action as seemed most effective to secure data on industrial accidents and occupational diseases.

Reporting thereon, we must again refer to the McGillicuddy Compensation and Occupational Disease bill, H. R. 15222, endorsed by the Seattle Convention, and now upon the

Digitized by Google

calendar of the House of Representatives. We also report that Senator Sheppard of Texas displayed a very active interest in this subject; he introduced Senate Resolution No. 68, directing the Secretary of Labor "to investigate and report as far as it is practicable upon the mortality and the disability by accident or by disease incident to or resulting from the various occupations in which the wage-earners of the United States are engaged." That resolution was referred to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, and by it favorably reported on March 25, 1914. Many efforts were made to obtain favorable action by the United States Senate upon this resolution but without success. Finally when one of the deficiency bills was before the Senate, Senator Sheppard succeeded in having his resolution incorporated as an amendment to the Deficiency bill, H. R. 17824, on July 18, 1914. We regret to report that this valuable resolution was taken out of the bill while it was in conference and consequently failed to become law.

In reporting upon this subject, we may add that we have endeavored in the past, through the Census Bureau, through the former Department of Commerce and Labor, through the State Factory Inspection Departments, and through the State Bureaus of Labor Statistics and other public and semi-public agencies, to secure facts and reliable data on industrial accidents and occupational diseases, so that the workers would have reliable information, and so that legislators, state and federal, could be officially and properly informed as to the awful economic waste and individual suffering occurring in the industries of our nation because of the absence of salutary remedial humanitarian legislation. We trust, however, that the United States Department of Labor will, on its own initiative and under the provisions of the organic act establishing the Department, be enabled to conduct such an investigation annually, if possible, and incorporate its findings in one of its bulletins to appear on a uniform date each year. If this can be accomplished, it will supplement and aid the administration of the several state insurance and compensation laws, and will be an exceptionally valuable guide to our unions and legislators in the remaining twenty-four states that have not yet enacted any accident investigation and compensation legislation.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY AND WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Several bills have been introduced in the Sixty-third Congress for the purpose of strengthening the Employers' Liability law, among them being H. R. 132, by former Representative Clayton of Alabama, and H. R. 6853, by Representative Stephens of Texas—both these bills were duly referred to the House Committee on Judiciary, but no report made to the House on either. H. R. 11243, by Representative Barkley of Kentucky, and H. R. 17020, together with H. R. 18171, by Representative Buchanan of Illinois, were referred to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. The bills introduced by Representative Buchanan were those most favored by Labor, but it was not possible to secure any favorable action upon them by the committee.

A large number of bills were introduced in the House and Senate as amendments to the Federal Employes' Compensation law. S. 738, by Senator Kern of Indiana, and H. R. 15222, by Representative McGillicuddy of Maine, are very complete, comprehensive compensation bills, both of which were approved by the Seattle Convention, and strongly advocated because of the fact that they make provision for beneficial payments to federal employes suffering from occupational diseases, as well as those directly injured while in the employment of the government. No action has been taken in the Senate Committee on Education and Labor on the bill by Senator Kern, but the bill by Representative McGillicuddy was reported out of that committee favorably on April 21, 1914, and is now on the "union" calendar. It was called up in the House June 15, 1914, but no decisive action taken upon it. This is an exceptionally meritorious measure and its passage through Congress should be urged by our membership. The subject-matter of this bill should be particularly called to the attention of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor of which Hon. Hoke Smith of Georgia, is chairman.

Through the efforts of Representative Reilly, in co-operation with the Labor Group in the House of Representatives, the present Federal Employes' Compensation Act was extended to the clerks, carriers, and special messengers employed in the Post-office Department, in accordance with the instructions contained in Resolution No. 51 by the National Federation of Post-office Clerks, endorsed by the Seattle Convention.

The compensation bills designed to protect railroad employes engaged in interstate commerce are H. R. 2944, by Representative Sabath of Illinois, and S. 959, by Senator Sutherland of Utah. Both were referred to the respective Committees on the Judiciary

Digitized by Google

The Sutherland bill is similar in character to the one which passed both houses in the last (Sixty-second) Congress, but which died in the closing hours of the Senate because of a filibuster by its opponents.

Efforts to secure the enactment of a workmen's compensation law for employes engaged in interstate commerce have for some time been embarrassed and impeded because those who would be affected by such legislation have been unable to come to any unanimous decision in regard to any proposed act. However, the officers of the American Federation of Labor have tried to reconcile these differences. At their October meeting the Executive Council held a conference in regard to compensation legislation, at which the following met with the council:

W. G. Lee and Val Fitzpatrick, of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen; Warren S. Stone and H. E. Wills, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; P. J. McNamara, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen; W. M. Clark, of the Order of Railway Conductors; Arthur E. Holder, Legislative Committeeman of the A. F. of L.; and A. J. Berres, Secretary-Treasurer of the Metal Trades Department.

This conference considered the subject of workmen's compensation legislation and the efforts during the past ten years to secure an adequate comprehensive federal law. In discussing the differences that have stood in the way of securing any particular law, the positions of the various railway organizations were stated by their representatives, substantially as follows:

W. S. Stone said that the convention of the Locomotive Engineers had endorsed the Sutherland bill.

H. E. Wills stated that the increasing number of such laws enacted in the various states proves that the general trend of opinion is favorable to comprehensive compensation laws. In his opinion the compensation bill now pending in Congress is superior to any existing law, and should be passed; in his opinion opposition to the bill comes from those personally interested in its defeat.

W. G. Lee stated that the last convention of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen declared against the enactment of compensation laws. It unanimously agreed to permit Canadian laborers to endeavor to secure compensation legislation. He further stated that the Canadian delegates voted unanimously in favor of compulsory compensation, and that two conventions of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen had declared in favor of workmen's compensation laws.

W. M. Clark stated that the convention of the Railway Conductors opposed the Sutherland bill because the compensation provided was not adequate and because the compensation was made the exclusive remedy. His organization was not opposed to compensation if it could be made optional, and favors improving and strengthening liability laws.

P. J. McNamara stated that the decision of the convention of the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen was opposed to the enactment of federal compensation legislation as an exclusive remedy, and was opposed to any legislation that would interfere with, impair, or obstruct the operation of the federal employers' liability law. That convention concluded that the best policy was to strengthen and improve the present liability law rather than to work for compensation legislation.

This conference disclosed that there was still considerable division of opinion among the representatives of the various Brotherhoods in regard to compensation legislation. For this reason, we recommend to this convention—

> That efforts should be continued for the purpose of reconciling these differences, so that a comprehensive and generous workmen's compensation law may be enacted at the earliest possible time by the Congress of the United States.

We feel, however, that it is only proper for us to report now that we have lost no opportunity to advance the principles of comprehensive and equitable automatic workmen's compensation. At the E. C. meeting in January, 1914, the special committee appointed by us to investigate and report on the subject of workmen's compensation, Vice-President James Duncan and former Vice-President John Mitchell, informed us that its report was ready to be published. The report was duly published as a Senate Document No. 419, Sixty-third Congress, second session. Through the kindness and courtesy of Senator Duncan U. Fletcher of Florida, many thousand copies of this valuable document have been printed and distributed to officials and members of our organizations, as well as to students of the subject in other walks of life. We are glad to say that this document has been much appreciated by those who have analyzed its contents.

Digitized by Google

The best principles of workmen's compensation are being rapidly accepted by the legislatures of many of the states, and we feel highly gratified with the results of our efforts in co-operation with the efforts of our members throughout the country in being able to report now that twenty-four, or one-half of the forty-eight states, have enacted workmen's compensation laws during the last six years since we secured the enactment of the first measure in behalf of federal employes by the United States government in May, 1908.

It is practically certain that within the next five years numerous bills will be drafted to strengthen existing laws, and to extend over the remaining states the system of automatically compensating workmen for injuries sustained in the course of their employment. The time therefore seems opportune for a consideration of results and for the adoption of the best standards.

The features especially to be emphasized when seeking the enactment of new laws, or the modification of existing statutes, are the basing of the scale of compensation or the injured on two-thirds of wages, with provision for necessary medical attendance; security for the payment of compensation awards, and the necessity of commissions to administer and enforce the law.

Several years ago when compensation legislation was in an experimental stage, the A. F. of L. expressed itself as being willing to accept the basis of 50 per cent of wages as a preliminary standard for compensation, but for some time we have been striving—in some states successfully—to secure 66⅔ per cent of wages as a mimimum. Recently in the various states and before Congress, when workmen's compensation laws have been urged, opponents of adequate compensation have attempted to hide behind the earlier recommendations of the A. F. of L. In order that the Federation's position may be clearly understood, this authoritative statement is made: The A. F. of L. holds that one-half of wages is inadequate as a basis for compensation payments, and in the light of experience and developments it now insists upon compensation on a basis of not less than two-thirds of the average daily or weekly wages; it advises all legislative committees and all others interested in this question to work for this standard and to co-operate with associations adopting the same program.

The A. F. of L. urges state federations, central bodies, legislative committees and all others to strive earnestly during the coming sessions of the legislatures in states already having compensation laws, to bring the basis of compensation up to this point, and to seek the enactment of laws with this standard of compensation in those states in which workmen's compensation legislation has not been enacted.

In our report to the Seattle Convention we said that twenty-one states had enacted such legislation. We enumerate them again, together with the names of states in which no progress has been made for the double purpose of congratulating our members in those states that have made successful progress, and with the hope that this report may stimulate our membership in those states where little or no progress has been made. The affirmative or successful states are: Arizona, California, Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, Texas, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

The negative or unsuccessful states: Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Maine, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Wyoming.

We are pleased to say, however, that the following progress is being made:

Commissions appointed by the legislatures are now preparing bills in Indiana, Missouri, Pennsylvania, and Vermont. The latter state adopted a constitutional amendment in April, 1913, permitting the enactment of a compulsory compensation law.

Wyoming will vote in November upon a constitutional amendment giving authority to the legislature to provide a state insurance fund.

Montana will vote by referendum on an initial measure.

In Nebraska the compensation law of 1913 has been held up by a referendum petition because of the interference by personal injury attorneys working under the deceptive title of "Workmen's Protective League." We have strongly advised members of organized labor and the citizens of Nebraska to vote for the compensation law enacted by their legislature.

The legislative commissions of Colorado, Delaware, and North Dakota failed to secure any legislative results. Compensation bills are now being considered in Maine and Alabama

Digitized by Google

and we believe from reports that reach us that the coming session of the state legislatures will be exceptionally progressive in behalf of still better legislation for the workers injured in industry.

WAGE INCREASE FOR POSTAL EMPLOYES

Resolution No. 12 of the Seattle Convention endorsed the Lewis bill providing for a reclassification of salaries of postal clerks and letter carriers, increasing the maximum salaries to $1,400 per annum in first-class offices and to $1,300 in second-class post-offices. We found that political exigencies and other circumstances made it inopportune to secure the enactment of the Lewis bill in its entirety, but its provisions were to a large extent carried out by the following promotions: Approximately, 1,200 clerks and carriers were promoted from $1,100 to $1,200 per annum; about 1,000 clerks were promoted from $1,200 to $1,300 per annum, and over 700 clerks were promoted from $1,300 to $1,400 per annum. The current law provides for promotions in the lower grades of service, viz., those receiving salaries ranging from $800 to $1,100 per annum. There were no promotions for carriers above the $1,200 grade.

POST-OFFICE CLERKS AND NIGHT WORK

Resolution No. 10 of the Seattle Convention instructed the legislative committee to co-operate with the officers of the National Federation of Post-office Clerks in an effort to obtain a shorter tour of duty for clerks doing necessary night work in postal service.

A bill of this character was drafted and introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative A. Mitchell Palmer of Pennsylvania, on April 1, 1914, its number being H. R. 15287. On May 8, 1914, Senator J. Hamilton Lewis of Illinois introduced a similar bill, S. 5517. Both bills were referred to the respective committees on post-offices and post-roads, but it was impossible to obtain any consideration of them during the past session of Congress by either committee.

AMENDMENT TO POSTAL SAVINGS BANK LAW

Resolution No. 91 of the Seattle Convention urged the amendment of the Postal Savings law to enable school district trustees to take their school district bonds to the federal trustees of the postal savings fund and borrow money thereon direct without the intervention of any third party. Action upon this subject was deferred. The Postal Savings Bank law, however, was amended by Congress and liberalized in some particulars to harmonize with the context of Resolution No. 99, by the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers.

TEAMSTERS IN POST-OFFICE EMPLOY

Resolution No. 54 of the Seattle Convention instructed the Executive Council to have legislation enacted directing the Post-office Department to employ men to handle the mails directly and thereby abolish the present contract system. The resolution also suggested that pending such legislation the Postmaster-General shall be requested to insert a clause in all contracts given out in future so that the standard rate of wages for teamsters and chauffeurs in the locality where they are employed shall prevail among contractors hauling mails and that the eight-hour law shall be observed by such contractors handling the United States mails. This matter was taken up with the Post-office Department and ignored by it. It was found impossible to obtain consideration by the respective Post-office Committees of the technical matters contained in the resolution during the last session. However efforts will be made during the coming session of Congress to obtain redress of the grievances mentioned by the Brotherhood of Teamsters in its resolution.

PARCEL POST

Resolution No. 101 of the Seattle Convention petitioned the government for an extension of the parcel post system. The question of extending the parcel post is one of the live issues before Congress and all the people. During the last session of Congress efforts were made to restrict the parcel post but we are pleased to report that such efforts against the interests of the people were fruitless. The future is full of promise for a much larger extension of the parcel post system than ever.

Digitized by Google

AUTOMATIC STOP SYSTEMS FOR RAILROADS

During the session of Congress just closed it was not possible to obtain the enactment of any legislation requiring railroad companies to equip their lines with any specified kind of "automatic stop" systems. Several inventors and concerns manufacturing such devices have caused bills to be introduced making it mandatory upon railroads engaged in interstate commerce to install such automatic stop systems, but during the present period of experimentation and tests, jointly supervised by railroad officials, railroad employes and experts from the Interstate Commerce Commission, it can not be expected that any particular system will be adopted and recommended by Congress until these tests are completed.

We are pleased, however, to report that the inventive genius of many of our people is being directed towards the best results for safety on railroads.

AMENDMENT TO HOURS OF SERVICE LAW

The Stevens bill, H. R. 17893, introduced for the purpose of amending the hours of service act, passed the House on September 8, 1914, and is now before the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. This measure meets a deficiency that we found impossible to remedy in March, 1907, when the original act was passed; namely, fixing a minimum penalty for violation of the hours of service (16-hour act) for railroad employes. The way in which many of the courts have trifled with this exceptionally important law has been shameful; they have set penalties of only one cent in many cases against the railroad companies; the Stevens bill fixes the minimum penalty of "not less than $100." It is hoped that this bill will pass the Senate and that it will be productive of great benefit to the employes in operating service upon railroads.

PIECEWORK—TAYLOR SYSTEM—IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Resolution 152, submitted to the Seattle Convention by the delegates representing the metal trades and other occupations in the employ of the United States government, instructed the Executive Council to use its best efforts to abolish speeding up systems in government establishments under the piecework, stop-watch, Taylor and other systems.

We are pleased to report that the Labor Group in Congress succeeded in abolishing piecework in one of the divisions of the Post-office Department. Representative Deitrick introduced bill H. R. 17800 against the Taylor system in government navy yards and arsenals. Extended hearings were held before the House Committee on Labor on this bill. On September 30, 1914, Representative Keating of Colorado reported the bill favorably and it is now on the House calendar. We confidently expect this bill will be reached during the next session of Congress and passed by an overwhelming vote. Senator Borah of Idaho introduced a similar bill, S. 5826, in the United States Senate. It was referred to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. Up to the time of writing this report it has been impossible to obtain consideration of it by the chairman of that committee, Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia. Efforts are being persistently made by the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and the local and district organizations of metal trades affiliated to the Department, to abolish piecework in the government navy yards and arsenals wherever it exists.

PHYSICAL EXAMINATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYES

Resolution No. 18 of the Seattle Convention instructed us to take such steps as we deemed necessary in order to have eliminated or modified physical examinations of all applicants for appointment to civil service positions in the government navy yards.

After making several inquiries we find that there is not much ground for complaint against the physical examination of applicants for employment in the government navy yards, but that grievous complaints have been made by applicants for employment in the government arsenals. One flagrant case was reported to the Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance at Washington, D. C., that on a recent occasion at the arsenal of Frankfort, Pennsylvania, 500 applicants for positions were required to pay a doctor (who it was alleged was a friend of the local commanding officer) the fee of one dollar for examination. After examinations had been conducted it was found there were no vacancies for any employes. When this complaint was made, steps were immediately taken to prevent any similar abuse in the future either at Frankfort or other arsenals; all physical examinations to fill positions requiring exceptional physical energy will be conducted in the future by army surgeons and no charge will be made to the applicant.

Digitized by Google

SEAMEN'S LEGISLATION

We reported to the Seattle Convention that the Seamen's bill, by Senator LaFollette, passed the United States Senate with only one dissenting vote on October 23, 1913. The bill was then referred to the House Committee on Merchant Marine. Extended hearings were again held upon the bill by that committee. The most bitter opposition was waged against it by the ship owners, not only of the United States but of the whole world. Every financial interest including local Chambers of Commerce brought tremendous opposition to bear against it. On the other hand, the organizations of labor and friends of freedom and justice urged the House of Representatives to pass the LaFollette bill providing for greater safety at sea, better working conditions for sailors, and for the abolition of involuntary servitude among seamen.

Our membership with the aid of sympathetic citizens gave the International Seamen's Union all the assistance within their power. Finally, the House Committee on Merchant Marine reported the bill to the House in an amended form on June 19, 1914. We then found great difficulty in getting it taken up in the House, but finally, after many efforts it was brought up, debated and passed on August 27, 1914. The Senate bill as amended by the House was then referred back to the Senate Committee on Commerce. Every possible effort has been made by us to obtain some action by the Senate Committee upon the measure now before it, but without avail. The excuse for delaying action now is possible international complications, which no one believes really would take place. The real reason is the opposition of the ship owners who are utterly opposed to any real change.

We recommend that this convention insist upon the passage of the Seamen's bill practically as it passed the Senate, not only for the protection and advancement of the rights and interests of the seamen, but also for the safety of the traveling public so that as far as human ingenuity can prevail the terrible disasters which overtook the victims of such catastrophes as occurred in the wreck of the Titanic, the Volturno, the Monroe, and the Empress of Ireland shall be avoided in the future.

We urge that the Executive Council be authorized and directed to lend every assistance for the enactment of the Seamen's bill at the earliest possible date by the last session of this Sixty-third Congress.

IMMIGRATION

As usual a large number of immigration bills have been introduced in both Houses of Congress—altogether too many for enumerating herein. The principal one in which our organizations are and have been interested is H. R. 6060, by Representative Burnett of Alabama, Chairman of the House Committee on Immigration. This bill contains the "literacy test," which has been advocated by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations for many years.

Extended hearings were held upon this feature of the bill, at one of which Secretary Morrison was before the committee for fourteen consecutive hours in his advocacy of the "literacy test." Chairman Burnett made a favorable report upon the bill to the House on September 16, 1913. After a stormy period, lasting over five days, during which practically all the discussion was centered upon the "literacy test" part of the bill, it passed the House on February 5, 1914, by a vote of 252 ayes to 126 nays.

Senator Smith of South Carolina, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Immigration, made a favorable report to the Senate of the bill with the "literacy test" intact, on March 12, 1914. We have exerted ourselves to the utmost among members of the United States Senate to have this bill brought up and disposed of. Tremendous pressure has been brought to bear upon the Senators from many other organizations that favor the "literacy test." In opposition to our efforts the shipping interests, the railroads, the mining companies, the United States Steel Company, and other kindred trusts and corporations have done their utmost to prevent the bill's being brought up. They realize what a tremendous advantage it would be to American workers, as well as to the immigrants who are able to read, if this bill should become law.

We have been promised that the bill will be brought up during the approaching short session of Congress, but after the very peculiar experiences we have had in the past in our endeavor to obtain this legislation, we think it wise to urge the officers and members of all our organizations to redouble their efforts in behalf of this measure by urging their United States Senators to pass the immigration bill containing the "literacy test," without further

Digitized by Google

delay. Individual interviews, personal letters, resolutions, and petitions, and every other available means should be used to bring this subject with all its importance to the welfare of Labor to the attention of every United States Senator so that the working people of the United States may receive at an early date one of the greatest measures of protection that can be afforded by means of legislation.

We made every effort possible in the House to have an Asiatic exclusion section added to the bill. After a spirited debate of several hours, the House decided to defer including an Asiatic exclusion provision in the general immigration codification bill, H. R. 6060. The House finally decided to take up the question of Asiatic exclusion under a separate bill at a later period. Treaty complications and a delicate situation arising between our government and some foreign nations influenced the House to defer action upon further Asiatic exclusion legislation to an indefinite date.

CONVICT LABOR

The Convict Labor bill, H. R. 1933, by Representative Booher of Missouri, which contains the features always advocated by the American Federation of Labor, passed the House of Representatives March 4, 1914, with only three dissenting votes. It was then referred to the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and for the first time in the history of this bill we secured serious consideration of it by a committee of the Senate. Extensive hearings were held upon it, at which officials of the A. F. of L. made arguments, produced data, and urged a favorable report by the committee and passage through the Senate. At these hearings every agency and all the special interests that have profited at the expense of Labor, fair employers, and the unfortunate convicts appeared in force before the Senate committee in opposition to the bill. We spared no effort in urging a favorable report upon the measure from the committee, and we are pleased to say that on August 29 the bill was favorably reported and is now upon the Senate calendar. We confidently believe that if our membership urge their Senators we can secure the passage of this meritorious measure in the approaching short session of the Sixty-third Congress. We earnestly urge all the officers and members of our affiliated organizations to make a special endeavor in behalf of this measure. The bill before the United States Senate, which is similar to the Booher bill, is now known as the Hughes bill, S. 2321; consequently, in urging the passage of this measure before Senators it should be definitely mentioned as herein described.

Resolutions Nos. 77 and 112, adopted by the Seattle Convention, approved the enactment of suitable legislation prohibiting the importation of convict made goods. In harmony therewith, Representative Hensley of Missouri introduced H. R. 14330, which was referred to the House Committee on Labor. It was favorably reported by that committee on March 9, 1914, and passed by the House on March 25, 1914, by a practically unanimous vote. It was then referred to the Senate Committee on Manufactures, and on May 26, 1914, favorably reported to the Senate without amendment.

Several efforts have been made by friends of the measure to have it considered in the United States Senate but without success up to the present time. We confidently believe that this measure will be passed in the approaching short session of the Sixty-third Congress provided our officers and members strongly urge its passage by the United States Senate.

GOVERNMENT CONSTRUCTION OF RAILWAYS IN ALASKA

Resolution No. 150 of the Seattle Convention urged the endorsement of the construction of a system of railways in Alaska by the government of the United States and the proper development of the coal mines in the interest of the industries of Alaska. That resolution was referred to the Executive Council for suitable action.

We take pleasure in now reporting that the bill S. 48, by Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, passed the Senate January 24, 1914, and the House February 18, 1914. On March 12, 1914, it was signed by President Wilson. The measure authorizes the government to construct a thousand miles of railroads to connect the Alaska coal fields with the coast. The route of the railroad and many important details are to be determined by the President. An appropriation of thirty-five million dollars is provided for the initial undertaking.

In further reference to industrial progress in Alaska as it affects Labor directly, we are glad to report that when the Alaska Coal Land bill was up in the House, Representative

Digitized by Google

Lewis, Chairman of the House Committee on Labor, secured without opposing vote the following protective features for Labor:

> Each lease shall contain provisions for the purpose of insuring the exercise of reasonable diligence, skill, and care in the operation of said property, and for the safety and welfare of the miners, including a restriction of the workday to not exceeding eight hours in any one day for underground workers; provisions securing the workers complete freedom of purchase, requiring the payment of wages at least twice a month in lawful money of the United States, and providing proper rules and regulations to secure fair and just weighing or measurement of the coal mined by each miner, and such other provisions as are needed for the protection of the interests of the United States, for the prevention of monopoly, and for the safeguarding of the public welfare.

This measure remained intact in the bill in the Senate and in conference, and is now part of the organic Alaska Coal Land Act.

PUBLIC VERSUS PRIVATE CONSTRUCTION OF NAVAL AND OTHER VESSELS

Resolution No. 36 of the Seattle Convention instructed the Executive Council to use its best efforts in behalf of public versus private construction of naval vessels and to have all repairs to government vessels made at government navy yards.

We are pleased to report that continuous efforts have been made along the lines of the resolution. The proportion of repairs to government vessels being made in government navy yards is greater than in private yards. The Naval Appropriation bills provided for the construction of a supply ship in the Charlestown navy yard at Boston at an estimated cost of $1,171,713, and a transport vessel for the Navy at an estimated cost of $1,458,305 to be constructed at the League Island navy yard, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. A new battleship (No. 39) was ordered constructed in the New York navy yard.

Since the outbreak of the European war several bills have been introduced in Congress for public construction and public ownership of merchant marine. Representative Edmonds of Pennsylvania introduced H. R. 5980, referred to Committee on Naval Affairs. Representatives O'Shaunessy of Rhode Island and Moss of Virginia introduced, respectively, bills H. R. 18358 and H. R. 18338, both of which have been referred to the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Representative Humphrey of Washington introduced H. R. 18356, which was referred to the Committee on Post-office and Post-roads. Representative Hobson introduced H. R. 18362, referred to Committee on Merchant Marine. Senator Nelson introduced S. 4576; Senator Lewis introduced S. 5212; Senator Jones introduced S. 6441—all of which were referred to the Senate Committee on Commerce. No action has been taken by the committees on any of these bills.

REGULATIONS FOR LOADING VESSELS—PROTECTION OF LONGSHOREMEN

Resolution No. 87 of the Seattle Convention suggesting congressional regulations for the loading and unloading of vessels, was taken up for consideration by members of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. The question is still before the members of the committee, some of whom, however, are disposed to the opinion that questions involved in this resolution are not of a federal character, but that it is the duty of the city and state governments to afford protection for the longshoremen while at work and to see that compensation is provided for them if injured while on duty.

PANAMA CANAL RULES AND REGULATIONS

Resolution No. 26 of the Seattle Convention dealt with the rules and regulations governing the use of the Panama Canal. This matter was taken up by Congress early in the session, and the following new rules and regulations relative to the canal were adopted:

> [PUBLIC—No. 113—63D CONGRESS.]
> [H. R. 14385.]
>
> An Act to amend section five of "An Act to provide for the opening, maintenance, protection, and operation of the Panama Canal and the sanitation and government of the Canal Zone," approved August twenty-fourth, nineteen hundred and twelve.

Digitized by Google

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the second sentence in section five of the Act entitled "An Act to provide for the opening, maintenance, protection, and operation of the Panama Canal, and the sanitation and government of the Canal Zone," approved August twenty-fourth, nineteen hundred and twelve, which reads as follows: "No tolls shall be levied upon vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States," be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

SEC. 2. That the third sentence of the third paragraph of said section of said Act be so amended as to read as follows: "When based upon net registered tonnage for ships of commerce the tolls shall not exceed $1.25 per net registered ton, nor be less than 75 cents per net registered ton, subject, however, to the provisions of article nineteen of the convention between the United States and the Republic of Panama, entered into November eighteenth, nineteen hundred and three:" *Provided*, That the passage of this Act shall not be construed or held as a waiver or relinquishment of any right the United States may have under the treaty with Great Britain, ratified the twenty-first of February, nineteen hundred and two, or the treaty with the Republic of Panama, ratified February twenty-sixth, nineteen hundred and four, or otherwise, to discriminate in favor of its vessels by exempting the vessels of the United States or its citizens from the payment of tolls for passage through said canal, or as in any way waiving, impairing, or affecting any right of the United States under said treaties, or otherwise, with respect to the sovereignty over or the ownership, control, and management of said canal and the regulation of the conditions or charges of traffic through the same.

Approved June 15, 1914.

MARINE HOSPITAL AT SEATTLE

Resolution No. 118 of the Seattle Convention endorsed the location and erection of a public health and marine hospital at Seattle, Washington, as supplementary to the marine hospital service of Port Townsend, Washington. We requested the congressional representatives of Washington to introduce bills in Congress for this purpose; but, owing to a complicated political situation arising in that state it was deemed advisable to hold the matter in abeyance. We feel hopeful, however, of being able to obtain favorable consideration and action upon this request.

HETCH-HETCHY BILL

Resolution No. 171 of the Seattle Convention endorsed the Hetch-Hetchy bill, H. R. 7207, the essential provisions of which were the right to collect and distribute the surplus flood waters of the Hetch-Hetchy region of the Sierra Nevada mountains for the benefit of the inhabitants of San Francisco and surrounding communities.

We are pleased to report that the bill passed Congress and was signed by President Wilson on December 19, 1913, and we feel that the assistance the American Federation of Labor gave to this measure was of material aid. We congratulate organized labor and the people of California generally for the public spirit they displayed in behalf of this measure of so much importance to the health and the needs of the people in San Francisco and neighboring communities.

OLD-AGE PENSIONS

A number of bills have been introduced in the present Congress providing for old-age pensions and retirement of civil service employes of the federal government. Among the bills are H. R. 196 by Representative Austin of Tennessee; H. R. 3336 by Representative Gillett of Massachusetts; H. R. 5139 by Representative Hamill of New Jersey; H. R. 16137 by Representative Deitrick of Massachusetts; H. R. 17044 by Representative Neeley of Kansas; H. J. Res. 180 by Representative Sabath of Illinois, and S. 2202 by Senator Penrose of Pennsylvania. These bills have been referred to the Committees on Rules, Pensions, Post-office, and the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service. The bill H. R. 4352 by Representative Kelly of Pennsylvania is a general bill covering all workers. It has been referred to the Committee on Civil Service. Hearings have been held by the House Committee on Civil Service and conferences have been held in Washington, D. C., by representative employes of the United States government on the general subject of old-age

Digitized by Google

pensions, retirements and superannuations. There is a wide divergence of opinion among the civil service employes as to the character of measure which they desire. Some want a contributory plan, others a non-contributory plan. In our opinion there is no very pronounced inclination on the part of Congress to give serious consideration to the subject of an old-age pension to civil service employes. We believe that a general campaign of education in behalf of an old-age pension law would meet with a general response by the people and we so recommend.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND VAGRANCY LAWS

Resolution No. 174 of the Seattle Convention directed the Executive Council to make an examination of existing vagrancy laws in order to prepare a uniform bill to be introduced into the legislatures of the several states, having for its purpose the safeguarding of the rights and welfare of the unemployed.

It has been deemed advisable before attempting to obtain general state legislation safeguarding the rights and welfare of the unemployed, to endeavor to obtain federal legislation upon this subject. Several bills have been introduced in Congress having the particular object in view of providing free access to the post-offices as public employment agencies for both employers needing employes and persons seeking employment, and with the further object of having these particular duties in the post-offices directed by the United States Department of Labor. The particular bills referred to are S. 2587, introduced by Senator Poindexter on June 21, 1913—referred to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor; S. 5180, introduced by Senator Clapp on April 8, 1914, and referred to the Committee on Post-office; Representative Murdock of Kansas introduced bill H. R. 16130, and Representative MacDonald of Michigan introduced bill H. R. 17017, both being referred to the House Committee on Labor. Extended hearings have been held by the House committee upon the subject and the bills are still under consideration.

CONCILIATION—MEDIATION—ARBITRATION

As reported by us to the Seattle Convention, the Erdman Arbitration Act was repealed and a new measure by Senator Newlands and former Representative Clayton was enacted to take its place, providing a permanent Board of Mediation and Conciliation. The officials of this board are as follows:

Commissioner of Mediation, William L. Chambers.
Assistant Commissioner of Mediation, G. W. W. Hanger.
Board of Mediation and Conciliation:
Chairman, Martin A. Knapp.
William L. Chambers.
Secretary, G. W. W. Hanger.

Mr. Chambers was formerly on the Board of Spanish Claims and served as a mediator in several disputes between organized railroad employes and railroad companies.

Mr. Hanger was formerly the very efficient Acting Commissioner of the United States Bureau of Labor.

Mr. Knapp was formerly a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission and later a member of the Federal Commerce Court. His position as chairman of the board only requires incidental employment.

During a dispute between the Engineers and Firemen and fifty-four western railroads, the railroad officials refused to submit the differences between them and their employes to this federal Board of Mediation and Conciliation. The dispute became so acute that President Wilson called the officials of the railroads and of the organizations of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen to Washington, and through the influence of his personal persuasion obtained the consent of the disputants to voluntary arbitration of their differences. That dispute is now being negotiated.

The Seattle Convention instructed us to continue our efforts to promote proper and necessary legislation for the relief of the men employed in the transportation industry and to secure amendments to the Newlands Act so that its provisions would cover all workers engaged in interstate transportation. The instructions of the convention were duly carried out. Representative Clayton and Senator Newlands were perfectly willing to amend the Newlands Act so as to cover other railroad occupations. Senator Sheppard of Texas

Digitized by Google

introduced the bill S. 4306 which was referred to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, of which Senator Newlands is Chairman. Owing to the pressure of many other matters before Congress, and the congestion of public business, it has been found impossible to get consideration of this matter during the past session of Congress.

The bills S. 395, by Senator Townsend of Michigan and H. R. 2481, by Representative Esch, of Wisconsin, are practically companion bills and incorporate many features which would make investigations of labor disputes compulsory, and would be a long step towards compulsory arbitration. Senator Townsend has made one or two speeches in behalf of his measure, but the Committees on Interstate Commerce of both Houses have given neither the Townsend nor the Esch bill the slightest consideration. It is well, however, to sound a note of warning at this time, especially to our membership in the states of Wisconsin and Michigan, so that they will be prepared to inform their Representatives and Senators that legislation of this character is objectionable and intolerable. Unfortunately there seems to be an overweening disposition on the part of many men who know little or nothing of industrial affairs to try to secure the enactment of legislation for the compulsory performance of personal service. This subject, however, has been handled repeatedly by our conventions and many splendid articles have been published thereon in the *American Federationist*. Nevertheless it is essential that our membership in general should be vigilant and active in municipal, state, and federal governmental affairs to see that their personal and citizenship rights are not encroached upon by those who would advance the tenets of compulsory arbitration although disguised in the most delicate or subtle form.

WEEKLY REST DAY AND SATURDAY HALF-HOLIDAY

During the session of Congress just closed it was found impossible to make any progress on the Kenyon Weekly Rest Day bill, S. 958, which is before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, of which Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia is chairman. Neither has it been possible to secure any progress on the bill, S. 5124, by Senator Martine of New Jersey, or on the House bill, H. R. 14894, by Representative Buchanan of Illinois, both of which refer to employes in the District of Columbia. Two bills introduced for the purpose of making Saturday afternoon a half-holiday, one by Representative Bryan of Washington, H. R. 2960, and the other, H. R. 3894, by Representative Browning of New Jersey, were referred to the House Committee on Labor. That committee still has the subject under consideration.

CITIZENSHIP FOR PORTO RICANS

On March 26, 1914, Representative Jones of Virginia, chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs, made a favorable report to the House on bill H. R. 14866, containing provisions for collective citizenship for the Porto Ricans. The bill is upon the "union" calendar, but it was impossible to reach the bill during the last session because of tremendous pressure in the House on many other important legislative matters. We exerted ourselves in every possible way to have the Jones bill brought before the House for consideration but without success. We think, however, that there is a fair possibility of obtaining action upon it at the next session of Congress, many Representatives and Senators feeling that in justice to the Porto Ricans the bill providing for citizenship should be passed by Congress.

An effort is being made to pass a law for so-called individual citizenship for Porto Rico; that is, that each individual Porto Rican for himself declare his citizenship, and that therefore those who, though eligible, do not make the individual declaration, do not become citizens of the United States. The Jones bill, that is, collective citizenship, makes all Porto Ricans eligible to citizenship and will require those who are eligible and who do not want to become citizens of the United States so to declare themselves.

SUFFRAGE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The Seattle Convention did not fail to emphasize the declaration of former conventions upon the subject of franchise for the citizens of the District of Columbia. Some progress has been made in creating public sentiment in favor of the right of suffrage and self-government. The officers of the American Federation of Labor located in the District have been helpful whenever opportunity presented in co-operating with associations and persons for the purpose of securing the enactment of legislation with this object in view. We recommend continuation of this work.

Digitized by Google

EMPLOYMENT OF WHITE WOMEN IN ASIATIC CAFES AND STORES

Resolution No. 126 of the Seattle Convention requested the American Federation of Labor to endeavor to secure the passage of the law prohibiting the employment of white women and girls in establishments owned or controlled by Chinese and Japanese. This question is one that should be considered by state legislatures and city councils, where organizations in the Pacific and intermountain states are doing their utmost to carry out the purposes contained in this resolution.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF MOUNT VERNON

Resolution No. 7 of the Seattle Convention instructed the Executive Council to render every service possible for the purpose of furthering legislation looking towards the ultimate purchase of Mount Vernon by the government of the United States in order that free access and admission may be had by the public of the United States.

Representative Cary of Wisconsin introduced House Joint Resolution No. 67 and House Resolution No. 379, also House Joint Resolution No. 147, all for the ultimate purpose of obtaining a sufficient appropriation from Congress for the purchase of Mount Vernon, the former home and the burial place of George Washington. Mr. Cary's bills were all referred to the House Committee on Rules. We made many efforts to obtain consideration of them by that committee, but up to the present writing no report has been made on the project. The question will however be given continued attention until this worthy purpose is achieved.

In connection with this national project we call attention to a strong public sentiment in favor of governmental purchase of the former home of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello, Virginia. We therefore deem it advisable to take advantage of this sentiment and recommend the combination of the two projects; viz, the government purchase of both the George Washington home at Mount Vernon and the Thomas Jefferson home at Monticello, thereby accomplishing these two worthy purposes in one effort.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION—VOCATIONAL AND TRADE TRAINING

Senate Joint Resolution No. 5 by Senator Smith of Georgia, providing for the appointment of a commission to consider the need and report a plan for federal aid to vocational education and trade and vocational training, passed the Senate June 27, 1913, passed the House January 13, 1914, and was approved by the President January 22, 1914. The following commission of nine persons was appointed by President Wilson on February 18, 1914: United States Senators Hoke Smith of Georgia and Carroll S. Page of Vermont; Representative D. M. Hughes of Georgia and S. D. Fess of Ohio; C. A. Prosser of New York, Secretary of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education; Charles H. Winslow, member of the Sawsmiths' Union and expert of the United States Department of Labor; John A. Lapp of Indianapolis, Legislative Reference Librarian; Miss Agnes Nestor of Chicago, President of the International Glove Workers' Union, and Miss Florence Marshall of New York, principal of the Manhattan Trade School for Girls.

This commission made its report to the Senate and House of Representatives as directed on June 1, 1914. The report is a valuable comprehensive document and has been widely distributed among our officials and among educators and others interested in industrial education and kindred subjects. The commission has drafted a tentative measure which will be found on pages 82 to 87, inclusive—the chapter on proposed legislation commencing on page 78. The commission's report is now before this convention for further information and proposed action.

The Agricultural Extension bill, containing many industrial educational features advocated and supported by the American Federation of Labor in behalf of agricultural and urban labor, was included in the Lever bill, H. R. 7951. It passed the House on January 19, 1914; after being amended in the Senate it passed that body on February 7, 1914, and was referred to a conference committee. The final conference report was agreed to on May 2, 1914, and was signed by the President May 8, 1914.

The passage of this act is a signal success to the credit of the organized workers in industry and farmers. Representative Lever of South Carolina is entitled to special mention because of his faithful service in behalf of this very meritorious measure.

Digitized by Google

THE DANBURY HATTERS' CASE

This controversy has been before the courts for a decade. It is an action instituted by D. E. Loewe and his partner, Martin Foucks, hat manufacturers of Danbury, Connecticut, against the officers and members of the United Hatters of North America, for alleged interference with the interstate commerce of the plaintiffs, contrary to the provisions of the Sherman Antitrust Act and to recover treble damages therefor under section 7 of said act.

The acts complained of are alleged to have been committed in the year 1902, and the case first appeared in court by the filing of a bill of complaint in the United States District Court for the District of Connecticut on August 31, 1903. It first appeared in volume 130, Federal Reporter, page 633, where a demurrer to an appeal and abatement were sustained. A motion to compel the plaintiffs to correct their complaint was denied and is reported in volume 142, Federal Reporter, page 216. In volume 148, Federal Reporter, is found the demurrer to the complaint, sustained upon the ground that the complaint did not allege an interference with interstate commerce. From this decision a writ of error carried the case to the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, which court after stating the facts, certified to the Supreme Court the following question: "Upon this state of facts can plaintiff maintain an action against defendants under section 7 of the Antitrust act of July 20, 1890?"

In the elaborate opinion of Chief Justice Fuller, the court decided that the complaint constituted an action within the statute and overruled the demurrer, all of which is set forth in volume 208 of the United States Reports on page 247. This was the first decision of the Federal Courts tending to establish that combinations of working people might be organizations in restraint of trade, and punishable under the provisions of the Sherman Antitrust Act.

The case first came on for trial upon its merits on October 13, 1909, and with various adjournments lasted until February 4, 1910, when Judge Pratt of the District Court for the District of Connecticut directed a verdict for the plaintiffs, sending to the jury the question of damages only, which they assessed at $74,000 and which was trebled under the provisions of section 7 of the Sherman Antitrust Act.

The defendants then sued out a writ of error and the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second District which reversed the judgment and remanded the case for a new trial. A petition for a rehearing was denied by the Circuit Court of Appeals, as set forth on pages 522-527 of volume 187 of the Federal Reporter. The plaintiffs thereafter petitioned the Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari, which was denied, and is reported in volume 223, United States Reports, page 729.

The new trial was commenced on August 26, 1912, and on October 11 a verdict was rendered for the full amount demanded, to wit, $80,000, which under the provisions of the Sherman Act was trebled, and together with costs and interests, judgment was entered for $252,130.90.

The case was then carried to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, sitting in New York City, and the appeal was prepared and argued by Hon. Alton B. Parker of New York, and Frank L. Mulholland of Toledo, Ohio. The case was argued on November 18 and 19, 1913, before Judges Coxe, Howard, and Rodgers, and a decision handed down on the eighteenth day of December, 1913. Judge Coxe in speaking for the court said that:

> "When this cause came on for the second trial all of the fundamental questions of law had been disposed of. That the antitrust act is applicable to such combinations as are alleged in the complaint is no longer debatable. It makes no distinction between classes, employers and employes, corporations and individuals, rich and poor, are alike included in its terms. The Supreme Court particularly points out that although Congress was frequently importuned to exempt farmers' organizations and labor unions from its provisions, these efforts all failed and the act still remains, after nearly a quarter of a century of trial, unmarred by amendment, in the language originally adopted. In short, the court held that if the plaintiffs proved the conspiracy or combination as alleged in the complaint, they were within the antitrust act, and entitled to damages sustained by them.
>
> The plaintiffs proved, either without contradiction or by testimony which the jury was justified in accepting as true, the following propositions:
>
> First. That they were engaged in making hats at Danbury, Connecticut, and had a large interstate business, employing union and non-union labor.

Digitized by Google

Second. That the individual defendants are members of a trade union known as the United Hatters of North America, which was organized in 1896, and, with a few exceptions unnecessary to consider, paid dues to the local unions at Danbury, Bethel or Norwalk, Connecticut. These dues, after deducting a certain percentage for the expenses of the local unions, were sent to the treasurer of the United Hatters.

Third. The United Hatters were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, one of the objects of the latter organization being to assist its members in any 'justifiable boycott,' and with financial help in the event of a strike or lockout.

Fourth. That the United Hatters, through their connection with the Federation of Labor and affiliated associations, exercised a vast influence throughout the country and by the use of the boycott and secondary boycott had it in their power to cripple, if not destroy, any manufacturer who refused to discharge a competent servant because he was not a member of the union.

Fifth. That in March, 1901, the United Hatters had resolved to unionize the plaintiff's factory and informed Mr. Loewe to that effect, their president stating that they hoped to accomplish this in a peaceful manner, but if not they would resort to their 'usual methods.'

Sixth. On the morning of July 25, 1902, the plaintiff's employes were directed to strike and the union men left the factory on that day, the non-union men the day after.

Seventh. That this strike temporarily paralyzed the plaintiff's business, and they were not able to reorganize until January, 1903, and then with a force many of whom were unskilled.

Eighth. That almost immediately after the strike a boycott was established and agents of the Hatters were sent out to induce the plaintiffs' customers not to buy any more hats of them. This boycott was successful, and converted a profit of $27,000 made in 1901 into losses ranging from $17,000 in 1902 to $8,000 in 1904, destroying or curtailing a large part of their business carried on between Danbury, Connecticut, and several other states."

The Circuit Court of Appeals found that the combination or conspiracy in restraint of interstate trade was entered into as alleged in the complaint, and was proven by competent evidence, upon trial, and thereafter affirmed the findings of the trial court.

From this decision an appeal has been taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. The brief of the defendant Hatters has been prepared by Honorable Alton B. Parker of New York, and Frank L. Mulholland of Toledo. Daniel Davenport and Walter Gordon Merritt, attorneys for D. E. Loewe and Company, filed in the Supreme Court a motion to advance this cause upon the docket, and for early argument. After reciting the various stages through which the case has passed through the courts, and in support of their request for an early hearing, these attorneys say:

"1. The case has been once adjudicated by this court upon the merits (Sub Div. 4, Rule 26).

2. It is a case of great judicial importance, raising the question of the liability of members of a labor union for the acts of their organization and its officers.

3. In spite of the diligence of the plaintiffs in prosecuting the case, it has already been in the courts about eleven years and thirty-four defendants have died and have thereby been released."

Desiring that the issues involved be passed upon at as early a date as possible, attorneys for the United Hatters joined with Messrs. Davenport and Merritt in a request for an early hearing of the entire matter. On October 19, 1914, the Supreme Court acted upon the application for advancement and named the first Monday in December, December 7, 1914, as the date for hearing the case.

PRINTING TRADES UNIONS' LITIGATION

The Allied Printing Trades Council of New York was made the victim of futile litigation during the past year. In February Doubleday, Page and Company instituted proceedings against the council under the Sherman Antitrust Act. The federal inquiry that was

Digitized by Google

made into the affairs of the printing trades resulted in no legal action, not because the Department of Justice recognized Labor's contention that a law regulating trade and commerce could not apply to the labor of human beings, but because the conduct complained of was not held to be a violation of law under that interpretation.

The ruling of the assistant to the Attorney-General upon the case held that workers may legally strike for union shop conditions. He made a distinction between political boycott and economic boycott. Workers, according to his ruling, may legally endeavor, by appeals to state boards of education, to have patronage withdrawn from publishing houses that have printing or engraving done in non-union shops. Such action was held as political in nature. On the other hand, he held that if union workmen approach booksellers with threats not to buy from them if they carry in stock books of publishers who employ non-union printers, such action is illegal—that is to say, in order to promote their welfare workers may threaten to withdraw their political patronage (votes) from those whose policies are contrary to their concepts, but they may not threaten to withdraw their economic patronage.

The effect of this ruling was that certain specific acts did not warrant action under the federal antitrust laws. The industrious enemy of organized labor, the Antiboycott Association, directed its activities in another direction. It secured from the district court an order to the Photo-Engravers' Union of New York City to show cause why it should not be enjoined from any act or acts to establish union standards or conditions contrary to the policies of the Gill Engraving Company or from any line of action that would make the antiunion policy unprofitable to them directly or indirectly. The company also asked damages to the amount of $5,000.

In this case, the brief for the Photo-Engravers pointed out the heart of this controversy:

> "Have the defendants the right collectively to refrain and to notify their employers that they will refrain physically from working on typographical and photo-engraving work of customers, who give part of their work to concerns which maintain a trade attitude and trade conditions similar to that maintained by the complainant?"

To this fundamental proposition all other issues are subordinate. Federal Judge Hough refused the motion for the injunction against the photo-engravers. He ruled that neither the evidence submitted nor the proceedings were of a nature to warrant action. Brushing aside much that obscured issues he held that the motive determining the union's activity was not enmity to the Gill Engraving Company but the imperative necessity for protecting themselves through establishing union standards and that the injunctive process could not be invoked to punish crimes. In his opinion he indicated other ways the Gill Company might proceed against organized labor, and the danger to equity justice through legalizing activities of the unions. Such a course would establish for the workers rights which would clash with those already accorded to property—as a result, "equal legal rights would clash, and equity would be helpless." His opinion represents the legalistic prejudice against disarranging precedents and the failure to recognize the paramount importance of human rights and human welfare.

In both of these proceedings the Executive Council supported the Allied Printing Trades Council and its officers. Personal experience brought home to these organized workers the grave danger to organized labor from judicial interpretations and perversions of the Sherman antitrust law, and brought forth more enthusiatic and energetic co-operation for the amendment of the Sherman antitrust law, which would take the organized labor movement from under its provisions.

It is most gratifying to report that the legal presentations of Labor's enemies did not weaken Labor's position. On the contrary, efforts to establish union standards proceeded with renewed zeal and resulted in victory. After sixteen years the Gill Engraving Company gave up its fight against the union and on July 9, 1914, entered into a contract to establish friendly relations. The agreement entered into for a term of three years assures union wages, hours, and conditions, permits the company to use the union label, gives preference to union men seeking employment and ends all litigation against the Photo-Engravers and the other unions involved.

The experiences of these trades were but another proof of the necessity for the remedial legislation which organized labor made a special political issue.

Digitized by Google

THE CONTEMPT CASE

At the time of the meeting of the last convention, the second contempt proceedings, inaugurated at the instigation of Justice Wright against Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell, and Frank Morrison, were pending in the Supreme Court of the United States. The District Court of Appeals, by a divided bench, had affirmed the order of Justice Wright finding the respondents guilty of contempt, and sentencing Samuel Gompers to jail for twelve months, John Mitchell for nine months, and Frank Morrison for six months.

The proceedings in the Supreme Court of the United States were presented in different technical ways so as to meet any condition the court might find to have existed; that is, by writ of error, appeal, and petition for *certiorari*. Our petition for *certiorari* was recognized as proper.

The case came on for hearing on January 7 and 8, 1914, all the bench being present except Justice Lurton. After having held the case under advisement until the early part of April, 1914, a re-argument was directed before the full bench, and this took place on April 20 and 21. On both occasions the case was argued by Judge Alton B. Parker and Mr. Jackson H. Ralston on behalf of the respondents, and the argument sustaining Justice Wright's action was presented by Messrs. J. J. Darlington and Daniel Davenport.

On May 11, 1914, the case was decided in favor of the respondents and the judgments of the courts below reversed, this action being taken by seven of the judges, Justices Van Devanter and Pitney alone dissenting.

While it may seem that the decision afforded us only a technical victory, in point of fact the decision of the Supreme Court tends to sustain certain contentions of Labor the importance of which can scarcely be overestimated. It has been argued on behalf of courts that contempt cases were not like ordinary criminal cases, but were so far personal to the court itself that they might not be the subject of jury action. For the purpose of contempt the court was regarded as a law unto itself, and its actions not to be limited or restrained by legislative power.

The decision of the Supreme Court is directly in the teeth of this view and shows that a proceeding for contempt does not differ in its essence from any ordinary charge of crime, even though it may not be the custom generally to allow trial by jury with regard to it. So far does the court go in this direction that it states:

> "Maintenance of their authority does not often make it really necessary for courts to exert their own power to punish, as is shown by the English practice in more violent days than these, and there is no more reason for prolonging the period of liability when they see fit to do so than in the case where the same offense is proceeded against in the common way."

The decision lays much stress upon the fact that in the earlier days of the English law trial by jury was customary in contempt cases. In commenting upon the case in a letter to Secretary Morrison, Mr. Jackson H. Ralston, one of the attorneys for the American Federation of Labor, interprets the decision of the Supreme Court in the following penetrating and illuminating manner:

> "There is at least one feature of the decision given last Monday by the Supreme Court of the United States in the contempt case to which I desire to invite your attention.
>
> "For the first time in the history of American jurisprudence a court of this country has declared that proceedings in criminal contempt were for the punishment of nothing else than crime and that in the early history of the law they were so treated.
>
> "The court said:
>
> " 'These contempts are infractions of the law visited with punishment as such. If such acts are not criminal, we are in error as to the most fundamental characteristic of crimes as that word has been understood in English speech. So truly are they crimes that it seems to be proved that in the early law they were punished only by the usual criminal procedure, and that at least in England it seems that they still may be and preferably are tried in that way.'
>
> "This statement exactly sustains our contentions, and its implications are extremely important.
>
> "If contempts were in the first instance treated as crimes and punished by the usual process of the criminal law there seems no possible excuse for having at least

Digitized by Google

indirect contempts committed out of the presence of the court tried today by the judge.

"This decision, in my opinion, thoroughly explodes the theory that contempts are in any way personal to the judge, giving him an exclusive right in the punishment, or that they are anything else except ordinary criminal offenses properly to be tried in the ordinary criminal way.

"This consideration completely disposes, in my opinion, of the arguments which have been made by Mr. Emery and others in the past before the Judiciary Committees of the two houses against allowing trial by jury in indirect contempts and absolutely vindicates the course with regard to this matter heretofore taken by the American Federation of Labor."

The contempt case has secured wide publicity for the judicial abuses from which Labor has suffered. During the many years the case has been pending it has served as a constant concrete example of the dangers threatening labor organizations and hence of the imperative necessity for legislation protecting the rights of the workers. The proceedings against the officers of the A. F. of L. had no small influence in creating a public opinion favorable to Labor's demands for the exemption of the workers from trust legislation and for regulating the use of the injunctive process.

THE LAW AND JUST JUDGES

The workers of America through their organizations have been ever alert to efforts to secure justice in the administration of the law. They perhaps better than any others of our citizens have realized that law must change with the changes of life if justice is to prevail. They realize that justice must be a living force for righteousness in the problems of human life. They realize that justice must determine law and that law in itself does not necessarily determine justice. This is the thought which President Wilson advanced before the American Bar Association at its recent meeting in Washington:

> "There was a time when the thoughtful eye of the judge rested upon the changes of social circumstances and almost palpably saw the law arise out of human life."

Because this is our ideal of the administration of justice, we have been very jealous of the character and the integrity of those who occupy the high office of judge. The administration of justice pure and undefiled, real justice in the lives of the people, demands that judges be above reproach in their private and official lives. It is therefore to protect the freedom and the rights of all that unworthy administrators of justice are removed from the offices of such great responsibility.

During the past year two federal judges have been charged with most serious offenses against the citizens of the country—Daniel Thew Wright, of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and Alston G. Dayton, of the federal District Court for the Northern District of West Virginia.

Early in the year Mr. Wade Cooper, president of one of the Washington, D. C., banks, submitted to the President of the United States charges of alleged illegal and other improper transactions against Judge Wright. These charges were published in the newspapers, and later, that is, on April 10, 1914, Hon. Frank Park, of the Second District of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, offered the following resolution:

> *Resolved*, That the Committee on the Judiciary be directed to inquire and report whether the action of this House is necessary concerning the alleged official misconduct of Daniel Thew Wright, an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia; whether he has corruptly accepted favors from lawyers appearing before him; whether he has corruptly permitted counsel for a street railway company to indorse his notes while said counsel was retained in business and causes before his court; whether he has performed the services of lawyer and accepted a fee during his tenure of judicial office, in violation of the statute of the United States; whether he has collected and wrongfully appropriated other people's money; whether he has purposely and corruptly changed the record in order to prevent reversal of causes wherein he presided; whether he has borne deadly weapons in violation of law; whether he has arbitrarily revoked, without legal right, an order of a judge of concurrent jurisdiction appointing three receivers,

Digitized by Google

so as to favor his friend by appointing him sole receiver; and whether said judge has been guilty of any misbehavior for which he should be impeached.

The resolution was referred to the House Judiciary Committee which in turn referred it to a subcommittee which investigated the charges. On October 6 Judge Wright sent his resignation to the President, ending his career as a judge.

On June 12, 1914, H. R. Resolution 541 presented the following charges against Judge Dayton:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be directed to inquire and report whether the action of this House is necessary concerning the alleged official misconduct of Alston G. Dayton; whether he has unlawfully conspired with certain corporations and individuals to bring about the removal from office of the late John J. Jackson, judge of the District Court of the United States for the Northern District of West Virginia; whether he has shown marked favoritism to certain corporations having extensive litigation in his court; whether he has had summoned on juries in his court persons connected with certain corporations to which he has shown marked favoritism during his term of office; whether he has assisted his son, Arthur Dayton, in the preparation of the defense and trial of numerous cases against certain corporations for which the said Arthur Dayton is attorney, which cases were tried before him, the said Alston G. Dayton, and whether he has unlawfully used his high office and influence in behalf of said corporations; whether he has abused his power and influence as judge to further the interests of his son, Arthur Dayton; whether he has used the funds of the United States for an improper purpose; whether he has violated the acts of Congress regulating the selection of jurors; whether he has actively engaged in politics and used his high office as judge to further the political ambitions and aspirations of his friends; whether he has lent his services as judge to the coal operators of West Virginia by improperly issuing injunctions; whether he has shown hatred and bitterness toward miners on trial in his court; whether he has used his office as judge to discourage and prevent said miners from exercising their lawful right to organize and peaceably assemble under the laws of the United States and the state of West Virginia; whether he has wrongfully expressed his own opinions in charging grand juries in his court; whether he has conspired with certain corporations and individuals in the formation of a carbon trust in violation of law; whether he has unlawfully had an order entered staying a proceeding the object of which was the condemnation of a lot in Philippi, West Virginia, for a site for a federal building; whether he has publicly denounced the President of the United States from the bench and before a jury; whether he has unlawfully used the funds of the United States government for his own private use; whether he has wrongfully collected from the government funds as expenses not due or allowed to him under statute; whether he has wrongfully kept open the books of his court at Philippi, West Virginia; whether he has, in open court, and before a jury, accused witnesses of swearing falsely in cases then on trial before him; whether he has directed the marshal of his district to refuse to pay the fees of witnesses whom he has accused of testifying falsely; whether he has refused to enforce certain laws of the United States; whether he has openly denounced and criticized the United States Supreme Court; whether he has discharged jurors for rendering verdicts not agreeable to him; whether he has openly stated that he would not permit the United Mine Workers of America to exist within the jurisdiction of his court; whether he has refused to permit certain defendants in a case in his court to have an interpreter; whether he has stated in open court that the United Mine Workers of America are criminal conspirators; whether he is so prejudiced as to unfit him temperamentally to hold a judicial office; and whether he has been guilty of various other acts of personal and judicial misconduct for which he should be impeached.

A subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee was authorized to and did investigate the charges. The report of the Committee is expected in the near future.

Other investigations in recent times of a similar nature have resulted in removing unjust judges—notably the impeachment of Judge Archbald and the resignation of Judge Hanford of anti-free speech fame while the Congressional investigation was in progress. The charges against Judge Archbald were concerned with corruption in office. Judge Hanford was charged with denying to citizens and especially to workers rights which were guaranteed

Digitized by Google

them by the constitution and the laws of the land. There are others who have dealt unjustly with the rights of a free people—these too must learn to understand and have regard for the rights and the welfare of all humanity. Judges have great power—they must exercise that power with a corresponding degree of discernment, discretion, and appreciation of the human side of the administration of justice. Failure to conform to this ideal unfits men for the office of judge.

LEGAL DEPARTMENT, A. F. OF L.

The Seattle Convention recommended that the Executive Council be authorized to establish a Legal Department for the purpose of drafting laws for uniform legislation and for preparing briefs to be used by attorneys in labor cases. During the year the E. C. has been inquiring into the steps necessary for the establishment and the maintenance of such a Department. President Gompers for the E. C. has written to various lawyers interested and active in securing justice for the workers to ascertain information in regard to the financial and practical problems relating to the matter. The E. C. however is not yet prepared to make a report and recommends that they be authorized to continue their investigation in regard to the proposed Department.

POPULAR GOVERNMENT

The Initiative and Referendum

In the Executive Council's report to the Seattle Convention especial attention was called to the danger which now threatens the movement for the initiative, referendum, and recall. Specific warning was given against certain "restrictions," "safeguards," and "jokers," being slipped into these measures which render them worthless when secured. Attention was further called to the fact that these attacks on direct legislation had proved so successful that the friends of popular government throughout the nation were organizing a National Popular Government League, non-partisan in character, in order to combat them; that your officers were taking an active part in the organization of this league and the question was laid before the convention as to whether we should further co-operate. The convention heartily endorsed the action of your officers, voted to affiliate and ordered the E. C. to have printed and circulated to the members that portion of the report pointing out "jokers." The report also contained a model, workable, and efficient constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum, and also for the recall, to serve as guides for our members and legislative committees.

Events Prove Soundness of Warning

The events of the past year abundantly prove the wisdom of the warning given. In Arkansas, for example, after the State Federation of Labor had successfully secured initiative petitions for a mining bill and a bank guarantee bill, their petitions were enjoined by the mining and banking interests and kept off the ballot through court decisions. Proper laws would have prevented this defeat, so costly to the men of Labor.

In Oklahoma the United Mine Workers secured referendum petitions upon a law passed by the legislature dangerous to their interests. It cost the United Mine Workers thousands of dollars to circularize the state and educate the voters upon the justice of their position. They defeated the law but had Oklahoma provided the Oregon pamphlet system of advertising measures and arguments thereon, this cost would have been saved.

In Washington, after great expense and trouble, a joint committee of the State Federation of Labor, the State Farmers' Union, the State Grange, and the Direct Legislation League initiated seven important laws known as "The Seven Sisters." Three of these laws have been kept off the ballot through unjust court decisions and organized labor had to meet with defeat after a heavy expense of time and money to secure petitions and defend the lawsuits.

These are but a few samples of what is going on and should be sufficient to arouse our membership and the people generally to the necessity of exercising the greatest care in securing effective laws and amendments providing for direct legislation.

It is difficult, after years of agitation, to reject at the hands of a state legislature initiative and referendum amendment provisions which while not perfect, seem to grant something and to be an advance. It is natural to feel that it will be wise to compromise and

Digitized by Google

take what you can get with the hope of improving the provisions later. But costly experience has taught us that it is far wiser to reject imperfect proposals and to fight on until we can secure direct legislation in a form which the people can use. It must be remembered that an amendment to a state constitution is a vastly different thing from a statute law, which can be amended from year to year.

For this reason, when the advice of the President of the A. F. of L. was asked, he emphatically urged the forces of organized labor to take a stand against the adoption of the initiative and referendum submitted in Texas. He also urged our members in Missouri to fight against the substitute amendment submitted in that state, which was trickily designed to destroy the use of the initiative and referendum in that state.

In 1913 the Iowa legislature submitted a worthless initiative and referendum amendment. It must be passed again in 1915 before going to the people.

The greatest objection perhaps is that it gives the legislature power of 60 per cent on petitions; for the initiative anywhere between 12 per cent and 22 per cent; for the referendum anywhere between 10 per cent and 20 per cent. These percentages must be secured in each of the Congressional districts.

Iowa has over 500,000 voters. It is an agricultural state and has no large cities. Clearly then if the legislature should do the best it could and place the initiative at 12 per cent, and the referendum at 10 per cent, it would be impossible to secure a petition except with an enormous expense of time, labor, and money, which neither labor organizations nor farmers' organizations could endure.

Further, any constitutional amendments proposed by the initiative, if such a thing could be possible under these conditions, would have to be passed by a vote of the people at two successive elections, so that it would take from three to five years to have the constitution amended. These are but two of the major "jokers."

We recommend that organized labor in Iowa make every effort to prevent the submission of this amendment in its present form.

I. and R. Advancements

Finding that the amendment about to be submitted to the people of Texas contained these features that would nullify the very purpose of the initiative and referendum, President Gompers wrote a letter of protest to one of the representatives of the organized labor movement of that state, calling attention to the chief objections to the amendment, first, that it is not self-executing; that it would require an act of the legislature to be put into effect: that amendments similar to the Texas amendment were adopted by the people of Utah in 1900, and the people of Idaho in 1912, and that they are still waiting for the legislatures to act; that the requirement of 20 per cent upon petitions is too high, as organized labor and organized farmers and the common people generally have found 8 per cent high enough in industrial states with large cities; that the amendment denies the right of the people to initiate the amendment to their state constitution; that it restricts them to statute laws. The letter further calls attention to the model amendment which we recommended to, and which was approved by, the Seattle Convention.

Notwithstanding the tremendous power of the opposition we have some successes to record. In Mississippi an excellent initiative and referendum amendment was submitted. In Ohio the State Federation of Labor and the National Popular Government League, working in conjunction, secured the defeat of the proposal mentioned in our last report, to prohibit the payment of paid solicitors on petitions, which would have killed the initiative and referendum in that state and secured the adoption of a law against fraud and corruption.

In Arkansas an excellent child labor law, submitted by initiative, has been adopted by a large majority of the voters. At the time of this writing a large number of measures, proposed or referred petitions of the men of Labor, are pending in the states which have the initiative and referendum. From reports which have been received it is evident that election results will again prove the necessity of extreme care to secure workable direct legislation provisions and especially the necessity of providing for the education of the voters upon pending measures by means of the pamphlet system now employed in the states of Oregon, Arizona, and Washington, which permits citizens or organizations of citizens to insert arguments for or against such measures.

Judges Must Be Restricted

The initiative and referendum system of lawmaking is one which implies in itself that the judiciary shall in nowise impede or hamper the right of the people to enact the laws

Digitized by Google

they deem necessary for their protection, progress, and welfare. And yet experience during the past year shows that courts interfered with the proper exercise of the rights of the citizenship in efforts made by the people to secure beneficent legislation by the initiative, referendum, and recall system. The unwarrantable interference of courts in these matters is further proof of the historic fact that the judiciary, generally speaking, has almost invariably stood as an obstacle against progress and freedom.

When the sovereign people of the states in the United States have in the manner provided by the Constitution and the laws secured for themselves the means by which they could further safeguard their rights and their interests by democratizing the political institutions of the state, the interference of the judiciary to halt the normal exercise of these rights is unwarranted and must be curbed. Therefore, by constitutional amendments and statute laws the powers of the courts must be clearly limited and defined and they must be specifically prohibited from tampering with the right of petition, from rejecting petitions upon whimsical or technical grounds, or from setting aside laws adopted by the vote of the people.

The Direct Primary

Another illustration in the field of state legislation which shows the evil results of worthless popular government laws is found in the operation of the direct primary. We should give this matter serious consideration. In several states, notably Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York, the political machines found little difficulty in nominating their candidates in the respective parties. A great cry has gone up in the reactionary press that the direct primary is a failure and the blame is laid at the door of the people. A little examination will show, however, that the difficulty lies in the unjust provisions of machine-made primary laws.

In Illinois, for example, a voter is required to declare his party allegiance, and one of the primary judges announces the same "in a tone of voice sufficiently loud to be heard by all persons in the polling place. . . . No person who refuses to state his party affiliation shall be allowed to vote at a primary." Having done this, he can not change his politics for two years. The result is that many workingmen fear to vote a ticket in opposition to their employers. Business and professional people do not care to offend their customers, and a large class of independent voters decline to be shackled. Years ago we had a tremendous fight to secure the secret Australian ballot which permitted a man to vote his own will without danger of oppression. It is evident that before the direct primary can be made a success we have this fight to make all over again in order to protect the secrecy of the ballot.

National Legislation

In the field of national legislation we have co-operated in an endeavor to secure a federal statute compelling adequate publicity of the sources of campaign funds and contributions. The present laws are very defective. While a candidate for Congress is compelled to file his personal expenses, any amount of money can be expended to elect or defeat him by outside parties with no publicity required. Few workingmen can afford to make a campaign against candidates backed by huge campaign funds. This prevents Labor from being represented properly in the national Congress. The E. C. should be authorized to carry forward this campaign and also to work for a complete and stringent federal Corrupt Practices Act, the object of which will be to put an end to the frightful corruption of the voters, the public press, and the ballot box, which is even yet going on in this nation.

The Presidential Primary

We recommend also that this convention should favor a presidential primary law. The danger here is that the reactionary politicians will undoubtedly endeavor to enact a fake law which will give the people no real power in choosing candidates for the presidency. We further recommend a campaign of education for the Gateway Amendment which will provide an easier method of changing the federal Constitution and make it responsive to modern conditions.

The National Popular Government League

Your attention is again called to the work being done by the National Popular Government League. That this organization has proved itself true to its principles and its non-partisan character is shown by the fact that it has followed the policy of organized labor in

Digitized by Google

aiding its friends and opposing its enemies in all parties. During the first year of its existence it has accomplished notable things. The Bureau of Information is a valuable source of knowledge and advice.

It must not be forgotten that the more government is made responsive to the will of the people, the easier it will be for organized labor to achieve better conditions for the workers, establish a higher standard of citizenship, and promote those humanitarian ends for which we are banded together. Therefore, the cause of bringing government closer to the people becomes an integral part of the work which we have set our hands to accomplish and it should be heartily supported by every man who carries a union card.

PROPOSED WELFARE AMENDMENTS TO STATE CONSTITUTIONS

The Seattle Convention referred back to the Executive Council for further consideration and report several recommendations which the E. C. submitted. Among them are the following:

Page 56—Under the caption,

"Free Speech and Free Press"

We recommend the following substitute for our recommendation of last year:

> Every person may freely speak, write or publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right, and no law shall be passed by the legislature to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press. Nor shall any officer or court of the state, or officer or court of any political division of the state abridge, enjoin or restrain the liberty of speech or of the press. The question as to whether the rights of freedom of speech, or of the press, have been abused shall be determined by a jury. In all criminal prosecutions for libel, no person shall be found guilty and be punished where the matter alleged to be libelous be true unless the alleged libelous matter was written and published with criminal motives and for wrongful ends.

Page 56—Under the caption,

"Regulating Contempt Procedure"

> We recommend that legislation in the several states for the limitation and regulation of the issuance of injunctions and restraining orders and procedure arising thereunder, be made the subject of state legislative enactments rather than constitutional amendments, such legislation to include the regulating of contempt proceedings arising out of the issuance of injunctions and restraining orders. The law passed by Congress commonly known as the Clayton injunction law, and the laws passed by the legislatures of California and Massachusetts, dealing with the subjects of injunctions, restraining orders, and contempt proceedings arising thereunder, afford ample precedents and rule as well as form in which legislation by the states may be undertaken, and if so enacted make constitutional amendments unnecessary.

Page 56—Under the caption,

"Eight Hours"

We recommend the following substitute as an amendment to the constitutions of the several states:

> In all cases of employment by and on behalf of the state, or any political division thereof, or in any contract for labor or for supplies, by or on behalf of the state, or any political division thereof not more than eight hours in any twenty-four consecutive hours shall constitute a day's work.

Digitized by Google

Page 56—Under the caption,

"Convict Labor"

We recommend the following substitute:

The sale of the products of convict labor, or the contracting or hiring of convicts to perform labor, by any officer of the state, is hereby prohibited; but this shall not prevent the authorized officers of the state to employ convict labor to furnish products for the eleemosynary institutions of the states, or the political divisions thereof, or the construction of state public roads, or the preparation of materials therefor.

Page 56—Under the caption,

"Personal Injuries"

We recommend the following:

In view of the fact that the growing tendency is to substitute in place of or supplement Workmen's Compensation laws for existing Employers' Liability laws, and for the reason that by this new method of compensating injured employes or surviving relatives or dependents, a great advance is experienced over the old system of reimbursing employes for injuries or death caused during their employment, we are of the opinion that if the constitutional proposal entitled "Personal Injuries," be enacted, that such provision may be interpreted so as to interfere with the enactment of Workmen's Compensation laws, and therefore, upon further investigation we recommend the above course in preference to the one recommended last year.

Page 56—Under the caption,

"Abrogation of So-called Common Law Defenses"

We recommend the following:

We hold the opinion that the common law defenses of the fellow servant, contributory negligence and assumption of risks, are economic doctrines which found judicial expression in a time and under circumstances of employment entirely foreign and different in character to conditions of employment which obtain today. We therefore recommend in lieu of our proposal to the Seattle Convention, under the above caption the following:

Section ———. The common law doctrines of fellow servant, contributory negligence, and assumption of risks, so far as they affect the liability of a master for injuries to his servant, or the liability of an employer to his employes, resulting from the acts or omissions of any servant or servants, employe or employes, of the common master or common employer, are forever abrogated.

Any provision of a contract for employment expressed or implied, made by any person by which any of the benefits of this constitution is sought to be waived, shall be null and void.

Page 57—Under the caption,

"General Labor Legislation"

We proposed a constitutional amendment to safeguard all legislation intended for the general welfare of all employes. Having given this proposal further consideration we are of the opinion that this proposal as limited to the general welfare of employes does not comprehend the enactment of laws of general welfare to all our people, and that if this constitutional proposal is enacted it may afford the judiciary an opportunity to declare laws of general welfare unconstitutional, and as limiting what is commonly known as the "police power of the state." Also recognizing the fact that all social legislation intended to promote the economic welfare of the workers depends ultimately upon a quickened and alert conscience of our people to the necessity of proposed social legislation, we recommend instead a thorough investigation into all conditions of employment of the workers, a

Digitized by Google

careful observation of such employment upon the comfort, health, safety and general welfare of the workers to the end that by such investigations and observations we may arouse and establish an atmosphere and public conscience as will compel our judiciary to recognize and decide such legislation as being of general welfare to all our people and as coming properly within the police power of the state.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

The committee appointed in conformity with the declaration of the Seattle Convention to make an investigation as to the wages, hours of labor, and conditions of employment, including the rights of the employes to collective bargaining and the protection of their labor through organization in such countries as have already adopted and are now operating their street and electric railways under municipal ownership, was fortunate in that the investigation was practically completed before the European war was declared. Messrs. W. D. Mahon and L. D. Bland constituted the committee whom we appointed. They have made a most interesting report. It is printed herewith as an appendix to this report.

U. S. COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

The United States Commission on Industrial Relations began its inquiry into industrial conditions and relations last fall. The work for which the Commission was created is of immense proportions and is being conducted along two lines—public hearings and field researches.

As was reported to the Seattle Convention, two members of our Executive Council, Vice-President James O'Connell and Treasurer John B. Lennon, were appointed on that Commission. They, together with Mr. Austin B. Garretson, the representative of the Railroad Brotherhoods, have been constant in their attention to the important work of the Commission. Because of their years of experience with the practical concrete problems of organized labor, their wisdom and counsel have been of very material assistance both in directing inquiries and investigations, and in determining the value of information and testimony presented for the consideration of the Commission. These labor representatives have been ever mindful of the human side of all problems and conditions and have guarded the interests and welfare of humanity.

Two hearings have been given to the American Federation of Labor: one in Washington, D. C., and the other in New York City. The Washington hearing was concerned with the purposes and the policies of the organization. The New York hearing was for the purpose of securing comparative data relating to the A. F. of L. and the so-called radical labor movements of the country. President Gompers and Vice-President Duncan were our spokesmen at Washington; President Gompers and Mr. James W. Sullivan at New York.

An abstract of President Gompers' testimony in New York before the Commission has been published in pamphlet form and can be procured at a minimum price. It sets forth clearly the history and the methods of the A. F. of L.

The Commission will issue its first and preliminary report during the month of November. Its findings and recommendations will no doubt be of great interest and be very helpful and suggestive to those upon whom falls the duty of dealing with matters involving the relations between workers and employers.

ORGANIZED FARMERS AND THE AGRICULTURAL CREDIT BILL

The interests of the workers in industry and agriculture are closely allied, and it is a pleasure as well as it is the duty for us to co-operate with and receive the co-operation of the men engaged in agriculture. Representatives of the Legislative Committee of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union conferred with the Executive Council at one of our meetings in the early part of the year to enlist our assistance and co-operation in their carrying out the purposes of the following resolutions adopted by the Farmers' organization:

> *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of the National Grange that any legislation for the purpose of bettering farm credit is a part of the great national policy of conservation of food supply, and as such it can not properly be delegated to private capital for general exploitation and profit.

Digitized by Google

Resolved, That any farm credit plan which does not include a direct reduction of the "prevailing rates' of interest, as well as a long term of small annual payments upon farm mortgages, will not meet agricultural credit requirements.

Resolved, That the government of the United States should borrow money at a rate of interest not to exceed 3½ per cent and lend the money at a rate not to exceed 4½ per cent to the farmers upon long time farm land mortgages with such restrictions as may be necessary to make the government perfectly secure and the profit to the government to be expended in road improvement or for some other object that will benefit the whole people.

We endorsed the proposition and the officers of the A. F. of L. at headquarters and the Legislative Committee gave every assistance within their power to secure the enactment of the measure known as the farm credit bill.

We urge the approval of our course and the pledge of the A. F. of L. for continued support of this measure.

SEIZURE OF MICHIGAN COPPER LANDS

Resolution No. 170 of the Seattle Convention directed the Executive Council to aid in the exposure of alleged fraudulent seizure of copper lands in Michigan by private copper companies.

Representatives McDonald of Michigan and Keating of Colorado introduced resolutions in the House demanding an investigation of the industrial disputes in the copper fields of Michigan and the coal fields of Colorado by a special committee of the House of Representatives. The substance of these resolutions was passed by the House of Representatives on January 27, 1914, but not until after a special caucus of the majority party had ordered the passage of such resolutions. Special subcommittees of the House Committee on Mines and Mining were duly appointed to go to Michigan and Colorado to make investigations. These committees held extended hearings and rigid examinations of every phase of the subject under dispute, including the question of title and ownership in the copper lands. Up to this writing, however, the House Committee on Mines and Mining has not made its report to the House of Representatives.

THE SITUATION IN THE MINING FIELD

The various different movements of the miners for improved conditions have been more conspicuous this past year than those of any other organization. This is due to the intensity with which the struggles have been waged, amounting in each instance practically to civil war; to the number of human beings to whom the struggle meant privation, suffering and losses.

Land holding conditions involved in some mining districts have enabled the operators to establish what amounts to a feudal operating system for the mines. They own vast tracts of lands, hundreds and even thousands of square miles in extent on which the mines are located. The mining companies own and therefore control all roads that traverse the land. They own the houses in which the miners live; the villages made up of these miners; the school houses to which their children must go for mental training; the churches which minister to their spiritual needs; the stores from which they buy their clothing, food and other necessities; the post-offices where they get their mail, money orders, and conduct their crude banking transactions. Every detail of mining life is under the supervision of the mine operators through their power of ownership. In time of strike the mine operators have the power of eviction and have forced hundreds of strikers and their families to seek shelter in tent colonies, with the consequent dangers of exposure. There can be no real freedom under such conditions of industrial tyranny.

In addition to the problems arising from feudal ownership of land, the mine operators have assumed police power. They employ armed mine guards to maintain their regulations and to guard mine property. In times of industrial peace the mine guards serve as police and prevent "undesirable" persons from trespassing upon the land of the mining companies. The elastic term trespass has been interpreted to mean all manner of organizing activities. In times of industrial disputes the mine guards are increased and more heavily armed. These conditions beget violence, and industrial disputes in many of these districts are now practically civil war.

The use of armed troops by mine operators and the power resulting from ownership of

Digitized by Google

large tracts of contiguous territory and the subversion of civil government to military rule are some of the most serious of modern industrial problems. We recommend and urge that the various state federations of labor endeavor to secure legislation prohibiting this brutal practice which is subversive of all industrial justice and freedom.

United Mine Workers of West Virginia and Colorado

West Virginia

The miners of North America have the largest labor organization but have not yet extended their organization to all coal fields. During the past year Colorado has been the battlefield for an intense struggle, while work upon organization and investigations that had been in progress in West Virginia was continued. As was stated in the annual report to the Seattle Convention (1913) a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor was instructed to investigate conditions prevailing in the coal fields of West Virginia and to report whether or not the laws of the land had been violated. That committee submitted the following among its findings:

> That martial law was declared as to Paint and Cabin Creek country about September 2, 1912, and continued in force with the exception of short intervals until in June, 1913.
>
> That during the reign of martial law a number of individuals were arrested, tried, and convicted and sentenced and punished for offenses alleged to have been committed by them.
>
> That these parties were arrested upon orders issued by the military authorities and not by virtue of any warrant issued by the civil authorities, or from the established courts of the state, and were put upon their trial without the finding of any indictment by the grand jury before a court martial created by the order of the commander-in-chief and composed of individuals selected by him.
>
> That the charges made against these parties thus put upon their trial were in the nature of specifications drawn up and presented by the military authorities, and upon these they were put upon their trial before said court martial without a jury.
>
> That in the trial of these parties and in the assessing of punishments, the court before which they were tried deemed itself bound alone by the orders of the commander-in-chief, the governor of the state, and in no respect bound to observe the Constitution of the United States or the constitution or the statutes of the state of West Virginia relative to the trial and punishment of parties charged with crime. That they acted under the claim that all the provisions of the constitution, both state and national, and the statutes of the state relative to such matters were suspended and for the time inoperative by reason of the existence of martial law.
>
> That at the time these arrests were made, and the trials and convictions had the civil courts were open, holding their terms as usual, disposing of cases and dispensing justice in the usual and ordinary manner.
>
> That in some instances, arrests were made outside the military zone for offenses alleged to have been committed outside the military zone, and at a time when martial law did not prevail, and when such arrests were made the parties were turned over by the civil authorities to the military authorities for detention, trial, and punishment.
>
> That in rendering judgment and assessing punishment, the parties were punished by terms of imprisonment unknown to the statutes or in excess of the punishment provided for such offenses under the laws of the state.
>
> That a number of these parties were sent to jail and many to the state penitentiary under sentence from court martial as approved by the governor. Most of those who were sent to the penitentiary were given a conditional pardon before the term for which they had been sentenced had expired, the pardon being conditioned in a general way upon good behavior. That the parties sentenced to the penitentiary were received into the penitentiary as ordinary convicts, and treated in every respect as parties sentenced for crimes by the criminal courts of the state.
>
> That under the laws of West Virginia a warrant of arrest may be issued

Digitized by Google

from one justice of the peace court, and the hearing and trial upon the said warrant of arrest may be transferred and brought on for hearing before any other justice of the peace in the same county.

That a place of holding court—that is, for the civil or common law courts—was at Charleston, West Virginia, a distance of several miles from the disturbed district or military zone.

That no threats of violence or use of force was made or had against the judges or the courts at any time during the existence of the disturbance or the reign of martial law.

That great feeling and interest doubtless prevailed generally throughout the country, but the existence of this feeling and its effect upon grand or petit juries was not tested by the calling of a grand jury, or the submitting of the charges against these persons to a grand jury, and no attempt was made to try them before a petit jury—the officers of the country, after the declaration of martial law, proceeding upon the assumption that the feeling and prejudice were so strong as to prevent the operation of the civil authorities, together with a further belief that the declaration of martial law had the effect of suspending and nullifying all constitutional and statutory rights of the accused.

The matter contained in this branch of the inquiry is now the subject of investigation by the United States courts, both in a civil suit and in a criminal prosecution. The committee deems it would be improper for it to determine in advance questions of either law or fact, which courts of competent jurisdiction have under consideration in cases pending before them. The committee confines itself in this matter to submitting a summary of the evidence collated and prepared by Senator Shields.

The investigation disclosed that large quantities of ammunition, pistols, shotguns, rifles, and machine guns were brought into the district by both parties to the controversy and freely used. There is no evidence to prove that these shipments were made by competitors for the purpose of creating conditions in this district so as to exclude its coal from the competitive markets in interstate trade.

The conditions existing in this district for many months were most deplorable. The hostility became so intense, the conflict so fierce, that there existed in this district for some time well armed forces fighting for supremacy. Separate camps, organized, armed, and guarded were established. There was much violence and some murders. Pitched battles were fought by the contending parties. Law and order disappeared, and life was insecure for both sides. Operation and business practically ceased.

We quote the report so that not only the membership of organized labor, but the citizenship of our country may have a full understanding of the enormity of the situation, particularly the hostility manifested not only by the powerful corporations aided by the judiciary, but by the military powers of the state, in order to prevent the establishment of better economic and material conditions among the miners.

In addition to opposition in the economic field the mine operators of West Virginia have sought to destroy the power of organized labor through litigation. Proceedings were instituted against the officials under the Sherman Antitrust Act. Judge Dayton of injunction fame issued a temporary restraining order and a preliminary injunction forbidding the officers and all persons "who now or hereafter may be members of the United Mine Workers of America," to organize the company's mines, or to strike or to aid in a strike against the company. These writs have all the characteristics of the most virulent type of injunction abuses. They have been fully discussed in the issues of the *American Federationist*. Judge Dayton autocratically forbade free workers to unite for organization, to induce others to make common cause in strike, to walk along public or private highways for the purpose of picketing. The terms of the injunction are sweeping and drastic.

It was simply impossible to avoid violations of these prohibitions in performing their legitimate activities. Some eighteen employes of the company and organizers were charged with contempt and haled before Judge Dayton. They were found guilty and sentenced to pay fines and serve jail terms. An appeal was taken from these decisions. A most flagrant example of judicial abuse and injustice that may develop out of injunction proceedings is connected with these trials. Judge Dayton as a reason for his decision took "judicial notice" of another case then pending in the courts. The cause cited, one in which the

Digitized by Google

United Mine Workers of America had been determined an illegal conspiracy, was shortly afterward reversed by the Circuit Court of Appeals.

These are distressing proofs of how even the judiciary may be used by the mine operators as a strike destroying agency. However, organization in West Virginia is making progress despite all opposition.

Colorado

In Colorado the same feudal conditions prevail in the coal mining fields as prevail in West Virginia. The mining companies owned all the dwellings; caused county commissioners to vacate parts of roads in their favor; required passes of those using public highways; controlled stores, churches, and schools; and maintained their regulations by use of mine guards. The mine operators' policies have been dominated by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, which is controlled by the Standard Oil Company. There too all the organized agencies of the state were subservient to the corporations. The laws of the state affecting miners were broken with cynical disregard. The miners must rely for protection upon their own organized effort. The mine operators had refused them the right of organization. Several times the miners entered upon struggles for better conditions. Last year they again made demands upon their employers. The demands included an eight-hour workday for all men employed in the mines; the right to employ checkweighmen; the right to belong to a labor union; abolition of the truck store and script system; a semimonthly payday; a 10 per cent increase in wages; and the abolition of the vicious guard system. The companies peremptorily refused to grant these terms and have declared at all times that they would not make any agreement with employes upon the terms of collective bargaining. They prepared their lands and their employes for private warfare, employed additional gunmen and entered upon the contest with lands fortified and patrolled. Strikebreakers were imported. They were herded and watched by the gunmen.

Civil authority in Colorado broke down under the contest that ensued. The state militia was put at the service of the coal companies. The striking miners driven from their homes collected in camps to endure the long siege. Brutality, coercion, bloodshed followed.

These industrial struggles in the coal fields are most vigorous illustrations of a great menace to industrial justice and peace. The detective agencies have made of the gunmen's work a specialized occupation or profession. The nature of the work attracts a daring, adventuresome, lawless class of rovers who followed some of the predatory methods of gaining a livelihood. The men are shipped from one state to another whenever corporations may have need of their services. Secretary Wilson of the United States Department of Labor called attention to this serious danger in his first annual report.

Nothing was done by the employers to settle the contested industrial issues. The miners stood unequivocally for the right of collective bargaining—the right that secures to the workers real industrial freedom. The coal operators through their gunmen inaugurated a reign of terror—the miners and their families were constantly menaced by bullets from mine guards and the armored automobile. The state authorities did or could do nothing. The influence of the Rockefellers was as potent there as in the determination of the operators to deny the right of organization.

Investigators and mediators from the United States Department of Labor tried to bring about a conciliation of conflicting interests. But the companies determinedly refused to consider any settlement that would accord the miners a recognized, established method of participating in the determination of wages and conditions of work—they were determined to keep their employes "useful" by refusing them all redress of grievances.

Only an official investigation could get the facts about conditions in Colorado and Michigan before the public. Congressional action was necessary to authorize such an investigation.

At our January meeting Mr. C. E. Mahoney, of the Western Federation of Miners; Mr. W. D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes; Mr. John H. Walker, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and Mr. Claude O. Taylor, President of the Michigan State Federation of Labor, appeared before the E. C., and stated that there was but one way by which the resolution to make the investigation into the conditions in Colorado and Michigan could be accomplished and that was for President Gompers to interview the leaders of the House of Representatives, and urge upon them the advisability and the necessity for the investigation's being made. Upon our authority, President Gompers interviewed the leaders of the House of Representatives as requested, and on January 27 the House passed the resolution authorizing the investigation.

Digitized by Google

In accordance with the instructions of the Executive Council representatives of the American Federation of Labor urged Congress to authorize a special investigation of conditions in the strike regions of Colorado and Michigan.

The House of Representatives inaugurated a federal movement to end the industrial war that was bringing disgrace upon our government at home and abroad. The House adopted a resolution providing for two committees of five members each, one to proceed to Colorado and the other to Michigan where a similar strike was in progress in the copper mines. The purpose of these investigations was to secure for the wrongs of the miners publicity and redress that had been denied them.

The appalling stories of industrial tyranny, denial of the rights of free men, and the subversion of free institutions of civil government to corporate greed amply demonstrated the wisdom of the action of the House. The most sinister feature of the situation is the operators' cynical indifference to the rights of human life—the right to live and have opportunity, the right to be something more than one of the elements of production. The Colorado hearings before the House committee educed specific evidence that the miners' grievances were based upon true charges. It is most significant that some of the conditions which they demand are rights guaranteed them by the laws of Colorado. Openly it is recognized that the operators have lawlessly disregarded statutes and administrative regulations, yet no effort has been made to punish these violations. The grand jury that indicted officials of the Miners' organization for conspiracy to organize unions, condemned the companies for their illegal acts, but made no effort to establish equality of justice before the law.

After the investigating committee left Colorado to continue its hearings in Washington the burning of Ludlow took place. This was the crowning atrocity of the war. The corporation militia opened fire upon defenseless women and children crowded in their tents of refuge and then burned the tents. Men, women and children were shot; women and helpless children were smothered and roasted in the pits where they crept for protection from bullets. The tragedy touched the hearts and the consciences of the nation, but it did not cause the coal operators to waver in their grim purpose. It aroused the miners to desperation.

Meanwhile a federal effort was made to bring those in control of the coal companies to some understanding of the relation between the struggle and human welfare. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was called before the committee to state his position. His testimony disclosed to the nation a terrible, ruthless fixedness of purpose, indifference to public opinion, calm assurance of personal correctness and infallibility that constituted an irrefutable proof of the charge that the policy of the Colorado coal operators was inhumanly indifferent to the interests of their employes and totally unable to understand what things constituted their welfare and secured them freedom of action. The success of the Rockefellers has been due to ruthless, uncontrolled individualism. They ignore the fact that industry can not be conducted by the employer alone. They ignore the fact that wealth is produced by the labor of human beings and augmented by associated effort. They fail to understand the value of productive toil. They value only skill in manipulation that enables an individual to gain control over resources of power. They have interposed their will and their standards against the demands and the convictions of their employes; against the proposals of a state, of the House of Representatives, and finally against the appeals and proposals of the President of the American people. Upon the Rockefellers and those who submit to their dictates rests the responsibility of prolonging the Colorado strike. (Rockefeller asserted that he would lose every cent invested in Colorado rather than agree that the miners should have recognized representatives to present their views and grievances and to agree upon terms of work.)

Lest wrongs long unrequited should result in even greater tragedy and bring even greater disgrace upon the supine government of Colorado, the President of the United States sent federal troops into Colorado. Before the troops were sent President Wilson sent a personal representative to Mr. Rockefeller to make a last appeal. Mr. Rockefeller reiterated with finality his position before the House committee—the "principle" which he would not submit to arbitration was the right of the miners to organize.

Experience in all of the large industries as well as in the coal fields of the world has proved that the greatest degree of industrial peace can result only through collective bargaining. This experience Mr. Rockefeller rejected and assumed responsibility for prolonging the struggle.

President Wilson sent troops into Colorado to protect life and property. His instructions were that the troops should give impartial protection and should not be used as guards for strike-breakers. President Wilson stipulated that the employers should not induce strike-breakers to come to Colorado and should employ only those who were citizens of Colorado. The troops were sent into the state last spring and have been retained there since. Mean-

Digitized by Google

while the President sent two commissioners of conciliation to Colorado to investigate and to report a basis of settlement. These two commissioners, W. R. Fairley of the United Mine Workers' organization, and Hywel Davies, former president of the Kentucky association of coal operators, proposed the following terms as a basis for settlement:

> The enforcement of the mining and labor laws of the state; the employment of all striking miners not found guilty of violations of law; if their places are filled they shall be given other employment at that or other mines; intimidation of union or non-union men prohibited; current scale of wages, rules and regulations for each mine to be printed and posted; grievance committees elected by the miners to adjust grievances between employers and employes with appeal to a commission of three men appointed by the President of the United States consisting of one representative for each side and an arbiter.
>
> The conditions to exist during the life of the commission are: right to collective agreements to be waived; abolition of the mine guards; withdrawal of federal troops; no picketing, parading, colonizing or mass campaigning by organized workers; decisions of commission to be final; no suspension of work pending investigation or decision; suspension of mine for six days may be authorized by commission; wilful violations of conditions of agreement may be penalized by commission.

The full text of the recommendations was sent to the officials of the mining companies and the United Mine Workers with a letter from the President urging the adoption of the agreement for three years' truce.

A convention of the Miners accepted the peace proposal. The mine operators asked for a special conference with President Wilson at which they urged the modification of the provisions which established grievance committees providing for representatives for the Miners. They refuse their employes what they assume for themselves—the right to have their cause represented by agents of their own chosing.

The mine operators made individual replies refusing the plan proposed by the federal conciliators. John D. Rockefeller in a personal letter again insisted upon his "ideal" for the welfare of the miners—the right of each man alone and unassisted to maintain his rights and to protect his interests in dealing with a mining corporation whose officers are scattered throughout the country.

President Wilson in his letter transmitting the plan of settlement stated that although the duration of the Colorado strike, its many stages and possibilities had made it of national importance, yet as there was no indication of purpose to reach an adjustment of difficulties it is now necessary to determine whether or not he as President was justified in using the army of the United States indefinitely for police purposes.

That is the issue which ultimately reverts to the nation. It involves the larger issue of whether despotism shall be permitted to exist under the guise of industry. We hope for the ultimate success of the miners of Colorado.

Western Federation of Miners of Michigan and Montana

Michigan

The strike in the copper mines of Michigan was called by a referendum vote July, 1913. The demands upon which the miners could reach no agreement with their employers were: An eight-hour workday, a minimum wage of $3 for underground workers, two men on machine drills instead of one, and recognition of the union.

Conditions in Michigan were of the same nature as those described in the other states with the addition that in Michigan the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company had established themselves as the guardians of a welfare system.

Immediately upon the declaration of the strike the militia was rushed into the copper district. Gunmen were shipped in to serve as patrols and as strike-breakers. Every effort was made to incite lawlessness and to stir up violence. A most terrible disaster occurred Christmas evening when seventy-four children lost their lives in a panic caused in a most dastardly manner. The miners tried to bring a little of Christmas cheer into the privation and suffering that had come upon little children through no fault of theirs. The merciless greed of the industrial struggle was obtruded even there. Bleak northern winter early settled down upon the region. All the repressive agencies of society were used against the

Digitized by Google

miners. In addition were superimposed the lawless activities of the so-called Citizens' Alliance and their agents who set upon and mistreated the President of the Western Federation of Miners. The suffering of the miners was intense.

The Governor of Michigan requested the officers of the mining companies to meet him for a conference with a view to settling the strike. When they did not immediately respond he asked them to accept the proposal of unconditional arbitration offered by the miners. The federal Department of Labor sent two conciliators into the copper district. The companies stubbornly rejected their proposals for settlement.

The Miners' organization did not have funds sufficient to finance a long contest. The Seattle Convention of the A. F. of L. adopted a resolution approving of the stand of the Miners and called upon all affiliated unions to contribute to the cause when asked by the E. C.

The officers of the A. F. of L. were in constant touch with the situation. Former Vice-President Mitchell and Treasurer Lennon made personal investigations in the district. From time to time organizers were sent in to be helpful and to try to bring about a settlement The E. C. issued a series of appeals to all local unions soliciting financial assistance for the support of the striking miners in Michigan and urged each union to appropriate a sum equal to not less than 5 cents for each member. A detailed statement for the money received for this purpose was published by the A. F. of L. in pamphlet form September 19, 1914, and copies forwarded to all contributors and to the delegates to this convention. The total amount was $55,173.82.

Yet despite all these special efforts to help the copper miners win their strike, the President of the Western Federation of Miners, upon the floor of the convention of the United Mine Workers at Indianapolis, January 19, 1914, charged the A. F. of L. and the E. C. with inactivity and failure to perform their whole duty. He made the following statements:

> "If the strike of the copper miners is lost in the state of Michigan, the loss of that strike will be charged directly, by me, to the inactivity of the E. C. of the A. F. of L. . . . Representatives of the Western Federation of Miners, and in addition to that a telegram from me went before the E. C. and again appealed to them to do something in the interests of the striking miners of the state of Michigan. We asked them to at least levy an assessment and give the organized labor movement of this country an opportunity, at least, to say 'we won't pay it.'"

In response to a telegraphic invitation from the convention, President Gompers went to Indianapolis to reply to the charges. In two addresses to that convention, President Gompers replied to the charges made against the A. F. of L., the E. C. and himself personally. The verbatim reports of his addresses taken by the official stenographer of the United Mine Workers and published in the March, 1914, issue of the *American Federationist*, prove that he refuted the charges absolutely.

There were at the time, as there are now, so many of our affiliated international unions engaged in great trade disputes involving large numbers of the membership, that they were under great strain to secure funds for the support of their own membership and levy assessments upon their members. Every dollar that they could raise in the form of dues, assessments, or from appeal had to be devoted by them to the support of their own members, and their dependents engaged in the contest. They were therefore not in a condition to levy an assessment for the workers engaged in a contest in any other industry.

President Gompers produced documentary proofs of the continued and substantial assistance that had been given to the Michigan copper miners, and by reviewing the history of the Miners' organization showed that in many critical periods invaluable support had been repeatedly given them.

Notwithstanding all that was done to help the copper miners win their strike, after a hard struggle an ultimatum of general eviction from the company's houses and hunger forced them to return to work.

The strike was not in vain. During the time it was in progress the company established the eight-hour workday, raised wages and set aside a day of each week to hear the grievances of employes. Recognition of the union is yet to be attained but maintenance of the present organization and constantly increasing its power in the field will secure recognition in the end.

The publicity gained for the miners' cause by the Congressional hearings, and the investigations by the Department of Labor have been of tremendous value in getting the facts before the people. To get at the facts is the primary problem in establishing justice. The Congressional committee has not yet made the report which will complete its work, and which is awaited with more than usual interest because of the important issues with which it must deal.

Digitized by Google

Montana

In June of this year, the city of Butte, Montana, was the scene of a most deplorable happening. Internal dissension in the Butte Miners' Union, part of the Western Federation of Miners, resulted in the destruction of the Miners' Union Hall and the alleged ascendency and practical control by a small element imbued with I. W W. destructive tactics. The Butte miners' union, comprising a membership of about 7,000, naturally was not only the influential agency in maintaining standard conditions for its members, but also exerted an extensive influence on other organizations in that city.

There appear to be a multitude of reasons assigned for the disintegration of the Miners' Union, but the one which stands out most conspicuously is the charge that the I. W. W. secured control of the Miners' Union, and pursued its usual methods of disruption.

On June 19 President Charles H. Moyer sent the following telegram to President Gompers:

BUTTE, MONT., *June 19, 1914.*

President GOMPERS, Washington, D. C.

Situation here serious. Influences at work to destroy organized labor. Wire me at once pledging support of American labor movement in defense of unionism in Butte, Montana.

CHARLES H. MOYER.

In answer to the wire, President Gompers replied as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 19, 1914.*

Mr. CHARLES H. MOYER, President, Western Federation of Miners, Butte, Montana.

Labor situation in Butte as published in newspapers gives comfort to Labor's enemies and is enough to cause heartache to our most devoted men. In the name of Labor's humane cause, I appeal to all true men to put aside their differences and stand in one solid phalanx. You may rest assured that the Western Federation of Miners will have endorsement and support of the A. F. of L. in maintaining its entity and integrity.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, A. F. of L.

A telegram was also received from O. M. Partelow, Secretary of Trades and Labor Council of Butte, as follows:

BUTTE, MONT., *June 21-14.*

SAMUEL GOMPERS, 809 G Street, Washington, D. C.

Conditions such that strong representatives of A. F. of L. and officers representing all internationals here be here as soon as possible. I. W. W. elements active and in control of main situation. All locals subject to declaration of open-shop will fight. Need active men and support. Urge all internationals to get on scene.

O. M. PARTELOW,
Secretary, Trades and Labor Council.

President Gompers then wired M. M. Donaghue, President of the Montana State F. of L. as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 22, 1914.*

Mr. M. M. DONAGHUE, Box 31, Butte, Mont.

Received telegram from President Moyer and made reply. Received telegram from Secretary Partelow. You should see copy of both. I request you to represent A. F. of L. in effort to straighten out labor situation. In addition suggest locals write or telegraph their respective international executives to send representatives to Butte rather than such a request coming from this office. Am mailing you copies telegraphic correspondence. Do not fail to report fully.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, A. F. of L.

In a telegram from President Moyer on June 23, it was urged that representatives of the various international unions with local unions in Butte be urged to come to Butte, to assist in clarifying the situation. In response to this telegram President Gompers communicated

Digitized by Google

with the international unions having locals in Butte, urging that representatives be sent to that city at once, and incorporated in his communication the telegrams which had been sent to him relative to the Butte situation.

On the same date, in answer to the above telegram, President Gompers wired as follows:

June 23, 1914, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. CHARLES H. MOYER, Butte, Montana.

Telegram received. Am communicating at once with the officers of International Unions to send representatives to Butte for the purpose of co-operative action to maintain the integrity of the labor movement to protect and promote the rights and interests of the working people.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

On June 23 a telegram was received from F. J. Glenn, volunteer organizer of the A. F. of L., as follows:

BUTTE, MONT., *June 23, 1914.*

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President, A. F. of L., Washington, D. C.

Labor situation in Butte critical. Seceders in complete control. Moyer and other Western Federation officials as well as officials Montana State Federation compelled to seek safety in flight. Miners' union hall razed by dynamite; three people shot and further trouble feared. Despite all denials to the contrary the I. W. W. element is behind seceders.

F. J. GLENN.

On June 25 Organizer Glenn again wired headquarters. He gave a short summary of existing conditions and advised that the sending of representatives of the various organizations at that time would make a critical situation worse. This telegram was immediately answered by Secretary Morrison to the effect that the various organizations had already been requested by the officers of the A. F. of L. to send representatives to Butte, and the A. F. of L. had directed Organizer Donaghue, President of the Montana State Federation of Labor, to represent the Federation and to give every assistance possible to bring about an adjustment of the difficulties.

The E. C. of the A. F. of L. was kept in constant touch with the situation by transmitting to each member all the telegrams and correspondence as soon as received at headquarters.

On June 27 a telegram from Organizer Donaghue, at Helena, apprised headquarters of the fact that he had felt it necessary for his personal safety to leave Butte because of the conditions existing there. He also urged that representatives of the International unions be sent to Butte for the purpose of assisting in arriving at some solution whereby the difficulty could be adjusted.

The situation became increasingly grave. Some of the members of the organization felt that personal protection was necessary. President Moyer sent the following telegram:

DENVER, COLO., *August 30, 1914.*

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, President, A. F. of L., Washington, D. C.

Union men being deported from Butte by mob of seceders from labor movement. No interference from authorities. Dual union has demanded recognition from all internationals and interchange of cards. If concerted action is not taken at once by internationals supported by American Federation bona fide movement is lost in Montana. Governor should be urged to protect union men and the situation should be brought to attention of officials at Washington.

CHARLES H. MOYER.

Representatives of various internationals responded to the call of the A. F. of L., and proceeded to Butte for the purpose of lending assistance to the Western Federation of Miners, but many of the international unions did not send representatives on account of various reasons assigned.

On July 16 Organizer Donaghue submitted his report on the Butte situation. It was of considerable length and went into the details of the situation. This report in part stated that the Miners' Union consisted of about 7,000 men, and that there had been charges and countercharges made regarding the legality of the election of officers. Other charges reported were that the local funds had been misappropriated and that there was general dissatisfaction over

Digitized by Google

the conduct of local affairs by the officers prior to the split in the organization. The report further stated that there had been internal difficulty in the Butte Miners' Union for a number of years arising from various causes. The record of events which occurred in Butte during this tempestuous period is altogether too voluminous to incorporate in this report. In order to understand the Butte situation, it is necessary to recount some facts of the union history of different periods. Butte was the home of the Western Labor Union; it was later the citadel of the Western Labor Union after it had been re-christened the American Labor Union; when the I. W. W. was organized in June, 1905, from the fragments left of the American Labor Union, together with numerous other discordant elements, including the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, the officers of the Western Federation of Miners signed the manifesto calling the convention and assisted in drafting the constitution and the launching of the I. W. W. The Western Federation of Miners was a part of that organization for a number of years. Finally the Western Federation of Miners by referendum vote ceased its affiliation with the "Industrial Workers of the World," and repudiated that organization and its methods. That the policy and methods advocated for several years had left some of their baneful influences in the minds of some is a deduction warranted by general experience as well as the demonstrations of the Butte situation.

Conferences were had with the Governor of Montana, President Moyer, Organizer Donaghue and others being present and representations were made of the conditions then existing in Butte. During this period the independent union of miners was in full control of the situation, the regular recognized organization playing a small part, if any, in the deplorable situation.

On August 31 the Acting Secretary of War refused the request of Governor Stewart of Montana for troops to aid in pacifying the Butte situation. The Governor was informed that the Department did not believe it expedient to send troops until every other means to pacify the situation had been exhausted. Early in September the Governor of Montana did issue an order directing that the state militia proceed to Butte, and since that time the state troops have occupied that city.

In a letter which has been received from President Moyer he deplores the fact that the international unions did not more readily respond to the request to have representatives go to Butte for the purpose of helping to adjust the situation.

The companies daily found conflicting claims to jurisdiction asserted by the miners of the bona fide union affiliated to the Western Federation of Miners and the seceders' union (for they had formed a union). The employers decided that they would not recognize either organization and declared for what they called the "open shop." From the previous attitude and established practices of the operating companies in Butte, it is fair to assume that they would be willing to enter into agreements for a union shop provided there was unity among the Miners themselves. Under present conditions both organizations in Butte are weakened, therefore every effort should be made for conferences of the representatives of the various international unions and of the miners for the purpose of bringing about unity and harmony of action for the protection of the miners.

SHINGLE WEAVERS—CHANGE OF TITLE

The International Union of Shingle Weavers, Sawmill Workers and Woodsmen applied for change of title to International Union of Timber Workers without any extension of jurisdiction. The application was approved.

GLASS BOTTLE BLOWERS—EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION

We conceded the request of the officers of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association for extension of jurisdiction over all glass bottle packers, handlers and sorters, glassmakers, furnace handlers, lehr handlers, with the understanding that the extended jurisdiction shall not infringe upon the jurisdiction of any other national or international union affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

RAILROAD TELEGRAPHERS—APPLICATION FOR EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION

Just before the Seattle Convention formal application was made by President Perham of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers for extension of jurisdiction in conformity with the declaration of the convention of the Telegraphers—that is, that the American Federation of Labor should be requested to concede, at least temporarily, to the Order of Railroad Tele-

Digitized by Google

raphers an extension of jurisdiction on Canadian railways over railway clerks. By our suggestion a conference was held during the Seattle Convention between the representatives of the Telegraphers, the Railway Clerks, and the Railroad Freight Handlers, so that if possible an understanding might be reached among the three organizations whereby the application could be granted. Arrangements were made for another conference at headquarters in Washington during our January meeting. The matter again came before us during that meeting, but as no agreement among the three organizations resulted from the conference, we deem it inadvisable and not conducive to the best interests of the general labor movement to approve the application for the present.

LONGSHOREMEN—APPLICATION FOR EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION

The International Association of Longshoremen petitioned the Seattle Convention for extension of jurisdiction over men employed in marine warehouses. The convention referred the matter to the Executive Council. Although there has been considerable correspondence upon and discussion of the subject, we have not yet been able to reach a decision. The correspondence upon this subject will be at the disposal of this convention or any of its committees for whatever action your judgment may determine.

U. B. OF CARPENTERS—AMALGAMATED CARPENTERS

It is with gratification that we are enabled to report to you that the long-standing controversy between the U. B. of Carpenters and the Amalgamated Society is now a matter of the past. Not only for the information of this convention but as a matter of historical record, we give herewith the plan of amalgamation by which the two organizations were merged.

It is as follows:

1. All branches of the Amalgamated Society shall be registered as Local Unions of the United Brotherhood and shall receive charters gratis from same and be given consecutive numbers.

2. The Beneficial System of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners shall be retained and controlled by them under its rules and stipulations as prescribed in its constitution.

The laws and rules governing and pertaining to the benefits paid under the constitution of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners shall only be altered or amended by a vote of the members entitled to said benefits, and the fund created for the payment of such benefits shall be at all times controlled as prescribed in the constitution of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, and can not be superseded by any claim of the United Brotherhood officials or non-contributors.

3. The Beneficial System of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America shall only be altered or amended by a vote of the members entitled to said benefits and the funds created for the payment of such benefits shall be at all times controlled as prescribed in the constitution of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

4. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America is hereby given full, complete and absolute control of all questions relative to and a part of the militant and economic trades union movement only in the United States, its colonies, dependencies, the Dominion of Canada, and the Republic of Mexico.

5. Local unions of the Amalgamated Society shall pay a per capita tax of 10 cents per member per month to the general office of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. Members enrolled in United Brotherhood locals shall be exempt from payment of this 10 cents per month dues to the Amalgamated Society, and shall be entitled to all trade rights and privileges of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Said per capita tax shall include payment of affiliation to the American Federation of Labor, Building Trades Department and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and carries with it exemption from all general levies which may be imposed on the membership of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

It is hereby agreed that all service and protection compatible with the foregoing shall be extended to the Amalgamated Society in organizing, and such

Digitized by Google

other work as may be necessary for the well-being of the solidified organization.

6. All locals admitted under this plan shall be governed by the constitution and by-laws of the District Council of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America in all trade matters. They shall also be subject to the same per capita tax for the support of the District Councils.

7. All members of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners shall, upon their arrival within the jurisdiction of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, present their contribution card as evidence of good standing in the Amalgamated Society and shall be accepted to membership in the local union without payment of initiation fee and be at once entitled to all the trade rights of said locality upon the payment of the local per capita tax for trade purposes and be amenable to the trade rules of said locality.

8. All members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America shall, upon their arrival within the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, present their due book as evidence of good standing in the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and shall be accepted to membership in branches of the Amalgamated Society without payment of initiation fee and be at once entitled to all the trade rights of said locality upon the payment of all local levies for trade purposes and be amenable to the trade rules of said locality.

9. Under this plan of solidification any member desirous of securing the benefits at present paid by either or both organizations may do so by complying with the laws and rules governing such benefits as prescribed in their respective constitutions.

10. Any member who has been fined or expelled by a three-fourths vote of his local union or district council for cause, shall not be again admitted into any local union until restitution be made or satisfaction given and accepted by a three-fourths vote of a special called meeting of the local union or district council imposing the penalty.

Any member misappropriating the funds of any local union within the jurisdiction of this plan shall not be readmitted until full restitution has been made. All fined and expelled members have the right of appeal as provided for under the provisions of this plan of solidification.

11. It is hereby provided that in the event of any contention arising in the practical application of the foregoing plan, that the General President and the General Secretary of the United Brotherhood and the District President and District Secretary of the Amalgamated Society shall be and are authorized to render an interpretation which shall be binding on all concerned.

This plan of solidification shall be in force January 1, 1914, if ratified by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners in accordance with their respective constitutions.

JAMES KIRBY, *Gen. Pres.*
FRANK DUFFY, *Gen. Secy.*
DANIEL A. POST, *Member G. E. B.*
ARTHUR MARTEL, *Member G. E. B.*
JOHN H. POTTS, *Member G. E. B.*
T. M. GUERIN, *Member G. E. B.*
Committee Representing the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

ROBT. S. THORBURN, *U. S. Dist. Pres.*
THOS. ATKINSON, *U. S. Dist. Secy.*
WM. W. YOUNG, *Canadian Dist. Secy.*
CHAS. S. BOTTOMLEY, *G. E. B.*
A. S. WELLS, *G. C., 11th District*
HERBERT CRAMPTON, *G. C., 10th Dist.*
Committee Representing the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.

AMALGAMATION OF STEAM SHOVEL AND DREDGEMEN

We are not yet in a position to report that charter has been issued to the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, composed of the members of the contending organizations. A conference was held on March 3 and 4, 1914, in Chicago, at which were represented the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, the International Union of Steam Shovelmen, the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, the Building Trades Department, the Mining Department, and the American Federation of Labor by President Gompers, ex-Vice-President Mitchell, and Organizers Roach, Short, Fitzpatrick, Nockels,

Digitized by Google

Flood, Hamilton, who, being in the city at the time, participated, and President Perkins of the Cigar Makers' International Union. The following agreement was reached:

For the purpose of bringing about unity among the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen, and to more thoroughly organize the yet unorganized men of the trade, it is hereby agreed:

1. That the members of the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen shall, en bloc, become members of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, and shall be accepted as such members of the latter organization without the payment of any initiation fee or financial obligations other than those imposed upon all of the members in good standing in the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen

2. That the local unions now in affiliation with the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen shall be issued charters as local unions of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen without charge.

3. That the Executive Board of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen shall be enlarged so that its membership shall consist of five instead of three, as now. And it is further agreed that the additional two members of the Executive Board of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen shall be selected from those who now hold membership in the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen. It is further agreed that one of the two members of the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen selected as an Executive Board member of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen shall also be Assistant Secretary to the Secretary-Treasurer of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

4. That a charter shall be applied for by the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen as an amalgamated organization from the A. F. of L.

5. The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen shall retain its present affiliation with both the Engineers and Longshoremen.

6. It is further agreed that where organizers are employed two-fifths of the number appointed shall be selected from the present members of the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen.

7. That a committee of two selected by the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and two by the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen shall within fifteen days meet with a representative of the Executive Council, of the A. F. of L. for the purpose of formulating changes in the constitution of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, and that the said revised constitution shall be submitted for ratification within thirty days to the membership of the Amalgamated Organization, with the urgent recommendation by all for ratification, and ratification is hereby urged.

8. That all votes upon ratification of the revised constitution shall be returned on or before May 15, 1914, and the polls shall be closed at noon of said date.

9. Upon a two-thirds vote of each organization being cast in favor of the adoption of the revised constitution, it shall become the constitution of the International Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, and amalgamation shall become effective within ten days thereafter, and the provisions of this agreement placed in effect.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, A. F. of L.

JOHN MITCHELL,
Ex- Vice-President, A. F. of L.

Representing International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen:
T. J. DOLAN.
JAS. F. CORRIGAN.
S. HARTER.
P. WALSH.

Representing Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen:
J. W. TRACY.
J. D. CALKINS.
E. M. FOLEY.
A. W. FARRELL.
C. D. DUCKWORTH.

Digitized by Google

Representing International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:
JAS. G. HANNAHAN.
MATT KEEFE.
ALBERT PETERSON.

Representing Mining Department, A. F. of L.:
JAMES LORD.
J. H. WALKER.
C. E. MAHONEY.

Representing Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.:
WM. SPENCER.

G. W. PERKINS,
International Cigar Makers' Union.

JAMES A. SHORT,
JAMES E. ROACH,
EMMET T. FLOOD,
GRANT HAMILTON,
Organizers, A. F. of L.

The representatives of all parties in interest who signed the agreement expressed their earnest purpose to recommend its ratification to the organizations they represent. It will be observed that the terms of the agreement required changing the constitution of the Brotherhood and that either the President or another representative of the A. F. of L. should act in the capacity of arbitrator upon points which the representatives of the Associated Union and the Brotherhood could not agree. In compliance therewith President Gompers appointed Mr. G. W. Perkins, President of the Cigar Makers' International Union, who is located at Chicago, in which city both organizations have their headquarters. Mr. Perkins held conferences with the representatives of both sides on many different occasions. Finally, on July 29, he submitted the following report and findings:

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, *July 29, 1914.*

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, President, A. F. of L., Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Permit me to report as follows:

The result of the attempt to formulate changes in the constitution of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen for the purpose of bringing about an amalgamation between the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen's Union and the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen, was as follows:

At a conference held at the Kaiserhof Hotel, Chicago, March 3 and 4, 1914, at which representatives were present, as set forth in Exhibit "A," attached to and made part of this report, a general plan of amalgamation was agreed to and signed by the representatives of both organizations, as well as the representatives of labor who were present, which signed agreement is marked Exhibit "A" and attached hereto. At this conference I was selected to represent the E. C. of the A. F. of L. to meet with a committee of two of each of the contending organizations, in compliance with the seventh article in the agreement. As your representative I held that the two parties at interest had practically agreed to amalgamation, and that all that was required was a few minor changes in the constitution of the International Brotherhood to permit the full consummation of the Kaiserhof agreement. The committee representing each organization, with your representative, was—

T. J. Dolan,
James F. Corrigan (of the Brotherhood),
F. W. Sheline,
E. M. Foley (of the Associated Union),

although Mr. J. W. Tracy served as one of the committee of the Associated Union in the early efforts at amalgamation.

The following amendments to the constitution of the Brotherhood were proposed practically by the delegates of the Associated Union, but were, in nearly every instance, however, re-written by the representative of the A. F. of L. These changes in the main, and in importance, safeguarded the election of general officers:

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE II

Section 5. Strike out "a" on line four and insert "3," and strike out on line six, "and two men in the business." Section to read as follows:

"An applicant unable to personally present his application to General Headquarters, Chicago, by sending same with the signatures of three members of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, together with the initiation fee, will be entered on the records and his application will be acted upon at the succeeding meeting of the General Executive Board. Fees will be returned in all cases where applications are rejected."

ARTICLE III

Section 2. Insert on line three, after "member," the following: "to be tried by the Executive Board and if found guilty," and add to Section 2, "any member expelled shall have the right to appeal against such expulsion by popular vote. Any member availing himself of such right of appeal shall put up a bond covering cost of appeal. In the event of the member being sustained on appeal the expense of appeal shall be borne by the Brotherhood. If the appellant is not sustained the member shall pay the cost of appeal. In the event of an appeal, such appeal shall be sent out with the first general circular. The cost, if any, to appellant shall consist only of printing of the charges, reply of the appellant and a general statement of the General Executive Board." Section to read as follows:

"Any member of this Brotherhood who wilfully slanders an officer or another member, to be tried by the Executive Board and if found guilty shall be suspended or expelled from the organization. Any member expelled shall have the right to appeal against such expulsion by popular vote. Any member availing himself of such right of appeal shall put up a bond covering cost of appeal. In the event of the member being sustained on appeal, the expense of appeal shall be borne by the Brotherhood. If the appellant is not sustained the member shall pay the cost of appeal. In the event of an appeal, such appeal shall be sent out with the first general circular. The cost, if any, to appellant shall consist only of printing of the charges, reply of the appellant, and a general statement of the General Executive Board.

Section 9. Add the following: "Copy of charges shall be made in writing and mailed to the member involved." Section to read:

"No charges will be recognized or considered against a member of the organization unless such charges are filed by a member in good standing. Copy of charges shall be made in writing and mailed to the member involved."

ARTICLE IV

Section 1. Add on last line, "in good standing." Section to read:

"Men who have fired steam shovels or dredges for eight months will be admitted to membership as firemen, providing they are recommended by the engineers and cranemen on their machines, in good standing."

ARTICLE VII

Section 1. Strike out the word "anticipating" on line 3, and insert the word "securing." Strike out last sentence, "this transfer card must be accompanied by a fee of one dollar ($1.00), to be deposited in the Grand Lodge Treasury." Section to read:

"Any member of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen securing employment under the jurisdiction of another local than the one to which he belongs shall secure a transfer card from the Secretary of the local which he leaves."

ARTICLE IX

Section 1. Insert on tenth line, after Tenth Vice-President, "Eleventh Vice-President," and insert after "Secretary-Treasurer," on eleventh line, "General Assistant Secretary." Section to read:

"The officers of this Brotherhood shall consist of a General President, General

Digitized by Google

First Vice-President, General Second Vice-President, General Third Vice-President, General Fourth Vice-President, General Fifth Vice-President, General Sixth Vice-President, General Seventh Vice-President, General Eighth Vice-President, General Ninth Vice-President, General Tenth Vice-President, General Eleventh Vice-President, General Secretary-Treasurer, General Assistant Secretary and five (5) Directors, who shall be custodians of the properties of the organization under such regulations as may be fixed by the Brotherhood."

ARTICLE X

Section 1. Add the following: "Employers or superintendents shall not be eligible to hold any office." Section to read:

"To qualify as an officer, member must be in good standing. No member shall be eligible as General-President or General Secretary-Treasurer unless he has been six (6) months a member of the Brotherhood. Employers or superintendents shall not be eligible to hold any office."

ARTICLE XI

Section 1. Strike out on lines 11 and 12, "to General Headquarters," and insert the following: "In a sealed envelope, care of Post-office Lock Box —, key to box to remain in possession of the postmaster."

Strike out on twelfth line, "the first of December," and insert "November 15th."

Strike out on line 14 the word "audited," and insert "counted."

Strike out on line 14, "appointed by the General Executive Board," and insert, "the General Secretary-Treasurer shall select two members, the General Assistant Secretary shall select two members, and these four so selected shall select the fifth member. In the event of the members so selected being unable to agree on the fifth member, the President of the A. F. of L. shall appoint such fifth member. No officer or candidate shall be eligible to act on this committee."

Strike out on line 15, "nomination," and the words and figures "three (3)" and insert "five (5)."

Add, after the word "office," the following: "The committee on nomination and election shall meet at headquarters three days prior to sending out the ballots and shall have power to inspect and count the nomination ballots and supervise the mailing of same."

First paragraph of Section 1 to read:

"The General Secretary-Treasurer shall mail to all members in good standing the first of October or three (3) months prior to election of general officers, a nomination ballot.

"Members will write the names of the men whom they desire to nominate for general officers on these ballots, also amendments to the constitution they desire to have voted on and return ballots to headquarters. Nomination ballots to be counted must be returned in a sealed envelope, care of Post-office Lock Box —, key to box to remain in possession of the postmaster, by November 15th, preceding the election of general officers, when they will be counted by a committee of five (5) members. The General Secretary-Treasurer shall select two members, the General Assistant Secretary shall select two members, and these four so selected shall select the fifth member. In the event of the members so selected being unable to agree on the fifth member, the President of the A. F. of L. shall appoint such fifth member. No officer or candidate shall be eligible to act on this committee. This committee will select the two (2) men receiving the highest number of votes for nomination to each office. This committee on nomination and election shall meet at headquarters three (3) days prior to sending out the ballots and shall have power to inspect and count the nomination ballots and supervise the mailing of same."

Paragraph 2, Section 1, ARTICLE XI

Strike out on line 6, "General headquarters," and insert, "must be returned in a sealed envelope to the Committee on Nomination and Election, care of Post-office Lock Box —, Chicago, Illinois."

Digitized by Google

Insert after the word "standing" on line 5, "the Committee on Nomination and Election shall meet at headquarters five days prior to mailing the ballots and shall have power to inspect and verify the nomination and the ballots and supervise the mailing of the same."

Omit on line 8, "three (3)," and insert "five (5)."

Insert on line 12, after word "Treasurer," "and General Assistant Secretary."

Paragraph to read as follows:

"The General Secretary-Treasurer shall then prepare the ballot as reported by the Nomination Committee, and mail with amendments on same to all members in good standing. The Committee on Nomination and Election shall meet at headquarters five (5) days prior to mailing the ballots and shall have power to inspect and verify the nomination and the ballots and supervise the mailing of the same. This ballot must be returned in a sealed envelope, bearing the name of the voter, such envelope to be destroyed after verifying the member's right to vote, to the Committee on Nomination and Election, care of Post-office Lock Box —, Chicago, Ill., by the fifth of January, when all ballots will be obtained, opened, and counted by the committee of five (5) members, as provided for in Section 1, of Article XI. This committee will notify the General President, General Secretary-Treasurer and General Assistant Secretary, the names of men elected general officers. The General Secretary-Treasurer will then notify all members in good standing the result of the election."

Amend Section 2, ARTICLE XI

Strike out on line 4, the word "elected," and insert, "to be voted for."

Strike out the last word of the section, "adopted," and insert "to be voted for."

Section 2 to read:

"Members shall mark their ballots after the style of the Australian ballot system by placing a cross (X) in the square ( ) in front of each office to be voted for, and each amendment to be voted for."

Amend ARTICLE XII, Section 3, ninth Paragraph

Insert after word "month," "the salary of the General Assistant Secretary shall be $175 per month. Section to read:

"The General Secretary-Treasurer shall supervise the general business of the Brotherhood, salary and expense of such officer to be paid by the organization. Salary of General Secretary-Treasurer shall be two hundred and twenty-five dollars ($225.00) per month, the salary of the General Assistant Secretary shall be one hundred and seventy-five dollars ($175.00) per month."

Add a new section on page 17, just above "Board of Directors."

Duties of General Assistant Secretary

"He shall aid and assist the General Secretary-Treasurer in the discharge of his duties. He shall be under the direction of the General Secretary-Treasurer, and shall have access at any and all times to all books, papers, or other documents pertaining to the business of the Brotherhood."

Amend Section 1, ARTICLE XIV

Insert on line 3, after the word "President," "Eleventh General Vice-President," and on line four, after the word "Treasurer," insert "and General Assistant Secretary." Section to read as follows:

"The General Executive Board shall consist of the General President, General First Vice-President, General Eleventh Vice-President, General Secretary-Treasurer, and General Assistant Secretary. This Board shall meet at headquarters once every three months, or whenever necessary. They shall act on all general business of the Brotherhood, take up and adjust all grievances, act on applications for membership and request for charters for local lodges, adjust all bills or claims and issue a report of business of the Brotherhood to the general officers, officers of local lodges, organizers and any members in good standing upon request for same."

Digitized by Google

Amend Section 5, ARTICLE XIV

On line 1, strike out "General President and General First Vice-President," and insert "The Executive Board."

Section 5 to read as follows:

"The Executive Board shall be paid out of the funds of the organization for their lost time and expenses attending any regular or special meeting of the General Executive Board or any other expenses looking after Brotherhood business."

Add to Article XX, Section 1, on line 4, after the word "writing," the words "and unanimously agreed to."

Further Amend ARTICLE XX, Section 1, as follows:

"Provided, there shall be no change in the constitution which shall involve any change in the election laws or in any way the changes made to the constitution by the Committee on Amalgamation." Section to read as follows:

ARTICLE XX

Section 1. This constitution and by-laws can not be altered, amended, or repealed, unless such alteration, amendment or repeal be proposed in writing and unanimously agreed to at a meeting of the General Executive Board of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, and shall receive a two-thirds referendum vote of the organization, provided there shall be no change in the constitution which shall involve any change in the election laws, or in any way the changes made to the constitution by the Committee on Amalgamation.

As your representative and arbitrator, I ruled in the affirmative on all of the foregoing changes.

To this ruling, creating these changes, the delegates representing the Brotherhood assented but submitted the following plan:

First. The United States and Canada should be divided into districts; the United States into five districts and Canada into two districts. A paid representative should be in charge of each district in the United States and Canada; this representative to have full charge and look after the business in his territory. He shall have an office centrally located in his district to transact business. Every steam shovel and dredgeman employed in the district shall pay dues into the district where he is employed. In case a man goes from one district to another he shall carry a transfer from the district where he was employed, and shall be accepted in the district where he is accepting employment without charge. Each district representative shall keep a record of the men out of work in his respective district, and it shall be the duty of this representative to do all he can to secure positions for idle members.

Second. Each district shall elect two delegates to a convention of the Brotherhood for the purpose of electing general officers; revising the constitution; and conducting any other general business of the organization. Delegates to this convention shall be elected in the district by ballot or by referendum vote, or any other suitable plan agreeable to the members of each district. Each district shall pay the expenses of its delegates to the convention, which shall be held every two years.

Third. All steam shovel and dredgemen in the country who are members of the Brotherhood shall be enrolled in the district where they live or work. There shall be no grand lodge members. The duties devolving on the general officers of the Grand Lodge, after the districts have been effected, will be to furnish supplies to the local districts, etc. The general officers of the Grand Lodge will go into the different districts to adjust any grievances that may arise, providing the district representatives can not handle them.

Fourth. The respective districts shall collect all initiation fees and dues from men in their districts, and shall pay to the Grand Lodge a per capita tax of twenty-five per cent (25%) on all money collected for initiation fees and dues. This money shall be used to defray expenses incurred at general headquarters,

Digitized by Google

salaries, general offices, etc., and the surplus shall be used in districts where it is needed, helping distressed members, paying benefits in case of strikes, etc.

Fifth. The general officers of the Brotherhood shall comprise the same number now elected, and affairs of the organization shall be conducted from headquarters by the General Secretary-Treasurer, who will be subject to call at all times to go into districts where his services are required. The General President of the organization shall also be subject to call at any time to go into any part of the country to represent the organization in case of necessity. His salary and expenses will be paid while he is on this kind of work.

Sixth. In case this plan is agreed to for electing officers of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, the general details for carrying out such plan shall be left to the Executive Board.

The delegates representing the Associated Union objected to the foregoing plan submitted by the delegates of the Brotherhood. After repeated attempts to get the delegates from both organizations to mutually agree, your representative was forced to rule on this plan of districts and convention and electing officers in convention, submitted by the Brotherhood, and ruled in the affirmative; that is, that both propositions, the one submitted by the Associated Union, safeguarding the election of officers under the referendum and set forth in the foregoing, and the plan of districts and convention submitted by the Brotherhood, be submitted to popular vote. The delegates representing the Brotherhood agreed to this, finding, and assented, and the delegates representing the Associated Union objected and would not agree to the ruling which included the district and convention plan. The Brotherhood delegates would not agree unless both propositions were included in the amalgamation agreement and both submitted to popular vote, as per Section 9 of the Kaiserhof Hotel agreement. A great many meetings were held and in so far as your representative is concerned, an earnest effort made to bring about amalgamation as per Kaiserhof Hotel agreement.

I regret to report that all efforts to reach a mutual agreement have failed.

Yours fraternally,

G. W. PERKINS,
Representing E. C., A. F. of L.

CHICAGO, ILL., *July 29, 1914.*

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, President, A. F. of L., Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: In submitting the official report as your representative in the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen's amalgamation case, I desire to file the following supplemental statement and report:

Before ruling upon the plan of districts and conventions submitted by the Brotherhood's delegates I stated that the plan was not perfect; that it contained some features that I did not endorse. One of these was particularly no provision was made in the district and convention plan providing that the members of the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen's Union should continue to pay per capita tax and owe allegiance to the Operative Engineers' Association. I further stated that if the association delegates agreed in principle to the plan that I would then make such alterations in the plan that would conform to, first, the Kaiserhof Hotel agreement in so far as it relates to the Engineers, and second, to my own ideas of a fitting and proper document and plan.

It was clearly understood that the association delegates would not agree to the principle involved in the district and convention plan, and for that reason I made no attempt to make the document conform to the principles and ideas set forth in the foregoing. Yours fraternally,

GEORGE W. PERKINS.

Arbitrator Perkins agreed with President Gompers that it would be well to call a conference of the representatives of each organization to meet with a committee of the E. C.

The conference was held in Chicago September 20-22, 1914, President Gompers, Vice-Presidents Alpine and O'Connell, and Treasurer Lennon partially participating, and President G. W. Perkins of the Cigar Makers' International Union representing the A. F. of L. An agreement was finally reached as follows:

CHICAGO, *September 22, 1914.*

At a conference held in the Kaiserhof Hotel September 20, 21, and 22, in which T. J. Dolan and J. F. Corrigan representing the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, and E. M. Foley and A. L. Wilde representing

Digitized by Google

the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen, Samuel Gompers and G. W. Perkins representing the A. F. of L.

It was agreed that amalgamation between the two organizations shall take place in accordance with the Kaiserhof Hotel agreement of March 4, 1914, and which is hereby made part of this agreement with such modifications as may be necessary to avoid conflict in this agreement.

It is agreed by the undersigned representatives of the above referred to organizations that on or before January 1, 1915, the two organizations shall amalgamate on the following terms: The present General President, General First Vice-President and General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. B. shall retain their offices until their present terms expire. The General Secretary-Treasurer of the A. U. shall become the General Assistant Secretary of the amalgamated organization and shall retain his position until the end of the present term.

First. United States and Canada shall be divided into districts, the United States into five districts and Canada into two districts. Paid representatives shall be in charge of each district in the United States and Canada; this representative to have full charge and look after the business in his territory. He shall have an office centrally located in his district to transact business. Every steam shovel and dredgemen employed in the district shall pay dues into the district in which he is employed. In case a member goes from one district to another he shall carry a transfer card from the district where he was employed and it shall be accepted without charge in the district where he is accepting employment. Each district representative shall keep a record of the men out of work in his respective district and it shall be the duty of this representative to do all he can to secure positions for idle members.

Second. Each district shall elect two delegates to a convention of the Brotherhood for the purpose of nominating general officers, revising the constitution and transacting any other general business of the organization. Delegates to this convention shall be elected in the district by referendum vote. Each district shall pay the expenses of its delegates to the convention, which shall be held every two years.

Third. All steam shovel and dredgemen in America who are members of the Brotherhood shall be enrolled in the district where they work. There shall be no grand lodge members, the duties devolving on the general officers of the grand lodge, after the districts have been effected, shall be to furnish supplies to the local districts, and perform such other duties as the constitution and this agreement provide. The general officers of the Grand Lodge may go into the different districts to assist the district representatives to adjust any grievances which may arise.

Fourth. The respective districts shall collect all initiation fees and dues from men in their districts and shall pay to the Grand Lodge a per capita tax of twenty per cent of the standard initiation fee and twenty per cent of the dues, this money shall be used to defray expenses incurred at general headquarters, salaries, general offices, etc., and the surplus shall be used in the districts where it is needed, helping distressed members, paying benefits in case of strikes, etc., as may be decided by a majority vote of the General Executive Board. Should the twenty per cent herein provided be deemed insufficient to fulfill the requirements, the General Executive Board shall have the power to increase the revenue of the Brotherhood to twenty-five per cent of the standard initiation fee and of the dues.

Fifth. The general officers of the Brotherhood shall be a General President, two General Vice-Presidents, General Secretary-Treasurer, General Assistant Secretary and District Representatives, who shall constitute the Executive Board, and the general affairs of the organization shall be conducted from headquarters by the General Secretary-Treasurer who will be subject to call at all times to go into districts where his services are required. The General President of the Brotherhood shall also be subject to call at any time to go into any part of America to represent the organization in case of necessity. His salary and expenses will be paid while he is on this kind of work.

Sixth. If the plan as submitted is adopted by the membership of both organizations, then a committee composed of two members of each organization shall meet for the purpose of putting into effect the agreed plan of carrying on the business of the organization and working out any necessary details. In case the committee fails to agree they shall select a fifth man to act on the committee of the A. F. of L., and in case they fail to agree on a fifth man, then the E. C. shall

Digitized by Google

select a fifth member of the committee, and a majority vote of the committee shall be binding on all parties at interest.

In districts where the Associated Union have a majority of members the A. U. representative shall become the district representative, pending the regular election of district representatives January, 1916. In districts where the I. B. have a majority the I. B. representative shall become the district representative, also pending the regular election of district representatives January, 1916, and the A. U. and I. B. shall in all cases be accorded fair representation, i. e., in case the joint committee should be required to appoint district representatives, both organizations shall be entitled to appointments pro rata as may be indicated by the numerical strength of the respective organization in the district. The committee shall have completed and put into effect the above plan on or before January 1, 1915.

On or before January 20, 1915, application shall be made to the A. F. of L. for a charter by the amalgamated organization in accordance with instruction of the Seattle Convention.

It is further agreed that there shall be submitted to a referendum vote of the members of the organization between June 1 and 5, 1915, a revised constitution which contains the proposition submitted by the I. B. for a convention plan of adopting, amending and repeal of laws, and the nomination and election of officers. It shall also contain the initiative and referendum plan of adopting, amending and repeal of laws, and the nomination and election of officers, as submitted by the Associated Union in the Perkins report to Samuel Gompers under date of July 29, 1914.

The language to be used in the questions to be submitted on this subject shall be as follows:

Shall the officers of the I. B. of S. S. and D. be elected by the initiative and referendum system by the membership at large? or

Shall the officers of the I. B. of S. S. and D. be elected by the delegates in a convention?

Members voting upon these propositions must not vote in the negative, but should write a cross in the box opposite the proposition they favor.

The referendum vote to be held as outlined by the A. U. in the Perkins report to Samuel Gompers under date of July 29, 1914, and a majority vote to decide.

In case the initiative and referendum system is adopted, then the plan submitted by the A. U. in the Perkins report to Samuel Gompers under date of July 29, 1914, and assented to by the I. B. representatives, shall become the law of the Brotherhood.

In case the convention system is adopted, then the plan as originally submitted by the I. B. in section 2 of the convention plan, shall become the law of the Brotherhood.

This agreement shall be submitted to the membership of each organization for approval. A majority of each organization to decide.

The votes of the members on the above questions shall be addressed in sealed envelopes to the General Secretary of each organization and remain sealed until opened and counted in the presence of a representative of the A. F. of L., such representative to be designated by the E. C. of the A. F. of L., the result after the vote of the members of each organization has been ascertained, a report thereof shall be made to the President of the A. F. of L., who shall call a conference of the representatives or officers of each organization for the purpose of fully and finally carrying into effect the terms of amalgamation.

Representing the A. F. of L.:

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President.*
G. W. PERKINS.

Representing the Chicago Federation of Labor:

JOHN FITZPATRICK.

Representing the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen:

A. CHILDS,
E. M. FOLEY,
A. J. CARTER.

Representing the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen:

T. J. DOLAN,
JAS. L. CORRIGAN.

Digitized by Google

Thus it is hoped that the final agreement will accomplish the amalgamation of the two organizations and a charter be issued on or before January 20, 1915, under the conditions stipulated in the agreement and in conformity with the instructions of the Seattle Convention.

CIGAR MAKERS—STOGIE MAKERS

The great difficulty experienced in endeavoring to effect an agreement between the Stogie Makers' League and the Cigar Makers' International Union is well known. Because of his intimate knowledge of and association with the industry, at his suggestion President Gompers was authorized to make the effort for agreement to amalgamate the organizations. He was given such authority. We are gratified to report that an agreement was reached providing for the amalgamation of the two organizations. The agreement follows:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *September 19, 1914.*

The Seattle Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructed the Executive Council to continue efforts to bring about the amalgamation of the National Stogie Makers' League and the Cigar Makers' International Union. In compliance therewith, a conference was called by Samuel Gompers, President of the A. F. of L., of the representatives of the two organizations primarily in interest, to be held at Cleveland, Ohio, September 18, 1914. The participants in the conference were G. W. Perkins, Thomas F. Tracy, Wm. Strauss, representing the Cigar Makers' International Union of America; W. H. Riley, Charles Huggins, F. W. Sonderman, representing the National Stogie Makers' League, and Samuel Gompers, representing the A. F. of L.

After a thorough discussion of terms and conditions of the amalgamation by which the National Stogie Makers' League would become amalgamated with the Cigar Makers' International Union, the following declaration and terms and conditions of amalgamation were agreed to:

The necessity is recognized for the thorough organization of all persons employed in the cigar and stogie industry, so that the best interests of all the workers therein may be the better protected and promoted.

That all stogie makers who are in good standing in the Stogie Makers' League shall be admitted into the Cigar Makers' International Union of America and placed in full fellowship therein without the payment of an initiation fee, provided the local union of which they are members shall place its funds in the general funds of the international union.

(For the information of all parties in interest and who may be unacquainted with the fact, it is here stated as a fact that the general funds of the international union are held by the local unions in trust for the general purposes and benefits of the members of the international union, and are not forwarded to the international headquarters.)

If the funds of the Stogie Makers' League amount to five dollars ($5.00) per capita, the members shall be immediately entitled to strike benefit and to $50.00 death benefit. If the funds of the Stogie Makers' League shall amount to $10.00 per capita, they shall be immediately entitled, in addition to the foregoing, to a sick benefit as provided in the laws of the international union. It is agreed that the members shall be entitled to all of the benefits as soon as they have been members of the international union the length of time provided in the laws thereof. That an organizer shall be appointed for a term of at least two years, in the effort to organize stogie makers. Not less than half of the organizer's time shall be devoted to this herein declared purpose. The organizer shall be familiar with the stogie-making branch of the industry and all other things being equal the preference shall be for a stogie maker to act as such organizer.

That stogies, cheroots, tobies or cigars, or anything coming within the jurisdiction of the Cigar Makers' International Union shall be defined as follows:

First—All cigars shall be known as such when made of long fillers, or scraps, or both, with or without a binder and a paste head, whether pasted down around and smooth, twisted on or cut off.

Second—A stogie shall be defined and known as follows: When made with curl or twist head in which no paste is used in shaping or fastening the head, and which is generally known as a stogie.

Digitized by Google

That the President of the C. M. I. U. of A. shall have made and printed a label for stogies as follows:

"Issued by Cigar Makers' International Union of America,
President. The stogies contained in this package are the product of union stogie makers, members of the C. M. I. U. of A."

In no case shall the Stogie Union Labels be issued or allowed to be used on stogies made for less than $3.50 per thousand.

That the whole question and plan of amalgamation be published in four consecutive issues of the Cigar Makers' official journal and one copy of each issue be furnished to each member of the Stogie Makers' League; these issues of the journal to be also open for letters and articles on the subject of amalgamation, to the members of the Stogie Makers' League.

In all respects other than in this agreement provided the laws of the international union shall govern all local unions and members, regardless of the branch of the industry of which they are made up or in which they are employed.

If the plan of amalgamation is ratified by popular vote of each organization, the amalgamation shall take effect April 15, 1915, and the National Stogie Makers' League shall in that event and on that date, namely, April 15, 1915, automatically disband and cease to exist as such, and all properties and funds of the National Stogie Makers' League, not otherwise determined by the laws of the C. M. I. U. of A. and this agreement shall be forwarded to the headquarters of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America, Chicago, Illinois.

The referendum vote to be taken by each organization during the month of March, 1915.

G. W. PERKINS,
THOMAS F. TRACY,
WILLIAM STRAUSS,
For the Cigar Makers' International Union of America.

W. H. RILEY,
F. W. SONDERMAN,
CHAS. HUGGINS,
For the National Stogie Makers' League.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, A. F. of L.

Witnesses:
THOMAS S. FARREL,
Cleveland Federation of Labor.
WALTER B. HINTON,
Sheet Metal Workers' Union 131, W. Va.
LEO J. LAFLAM,
Typographical Union No. 79, Wheeling, W. Va.

BREWERY WORKERS—COOPERS

In line with the declaration of the Seattle Convention, a conference was finally arranged between the representatives of the Brewery Workers and the Coopers, at Chicago, on March 5, 1914. when an agreement was reached between the representatives of the two organizations regarding their disputed claims of jurisdiction, as folllows:

An agreement entered into between the Brewery Workers' International Union and the Coopers' International Union covering present and future questions relating to jurisdiction of membership and work performed by members of each organization:

First—All driving, shortening, and riveting of hoops on cooperage shall be considered brewers' work outside of cooper shops. This clause shall not be construed as debarring members of the C. I. U. from such work when necessary.

Second—All new and repair work shall be done by members of the C. I. U. only.

Third—In cases of emergency the coopers may assist in the brewery department, and *vice versa*, the brewery workmen may assist in the cooperage department. This matter to be left to the judgment of the respective local unions.

Digitized by Google

Fourth—This agreement shall not be binding in places where written agreements have been entered into by the Brewery Workers' and Coopers' Unions.

Dated this 5th day of March, 1914, at Chicago, Illinois.

The convention of the Brewery Workers held at Baltimore in September ratified the agreement. The Coopers' International Union is now taking a referendum vote upon the subject. We may be able to submit a supplemental report to you as to the result of that vote.

PLATE PRINTERS—PRINTING PRESSMEN

Owing to a new process for the reproduction of pictures in book and magazine work, there arose between the Printing Pressmen and the Plate Printers a question of jurisdiction over rotagravure printing presses. President Gompers called a conference in Washington of the representatives of the two organizations, at which the following agreement was reached:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 27, 1914.*

MEMORANDUM AGREEMENT

Between International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of N. A. and The International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union

In consideration of the dispute raised between the representatives of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of N. A. and the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union, in which the jurisdiction over the rotagravure printing presses, the following agreement is hereby approved by the representatives acting in behalf of their respective organizations:

For the purpose of determining upon the respective claims of the organizations aforenamed by conference to be held later, a plan of investigation is hereby accepted, said investigation to contemplate the collection of the following data in the manner as hereinafter indicated.

1. Both organizations to select immediately a representative and the two thus selected to act together in visiting such pressrooms as in their opinion may be necessary, in order to secure a comprehensive report to be made to the next conference of the representatives of the aforenamed organizations, said conference to be held at a time mutually agreed to by the said organizations. The investigation to be started within ten days, and the procedure to be as follows:

(*a*) To ascertain, as near as possible, the number of rotagravure printing presses in use in America.

(*b*) The character of work being executed upon the pattern of presses as aforenamed.

(*c*) The character of offices wherein the rotagravure presses are located.

(*d*) The volume of work executed and to what extent the work is being drawn from the commercial work formerly executed by the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of N. A. and the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union.

(*e*) The relative mechanical difference of the printing presses coming under the jurisdiction of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of N. A., and the procedure followed in the execution of work coming under the jurisdiction of the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union.

(*f*) The report to definitely outline as to what direction the evolution of the rotagravure printing press is making and as to whether it is more generally to apply to commercial printing, newspaper printing, or to the work being executed by the Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union.

(*g*) The report to set forth as to the character of the employers and the associations to which they may be affiliated are in a more concise manner to show as to whether or not the employers installing the rotagravure printing press are, as a general proposition, in contractual relationship with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of N. A. or the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union, or both.

(*h*) The report to indicate the technical difference, if there be any, between the plates used upon the rotagravure press, as against those used on presses coming

Digitized by Google

under the jurisdiction of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of N. A. and the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union, it being understood that such other data as may be secured upon the manufacture and use of plates should be included in the report.

2. The investigation to be made jointly and the report to be signed jointly by the representatives of the two aforenamed organizations, they to be granted thirty days, more or less, as circumstances may warrant. The expense of such investigation to be borne jointly by the two organizations parties to this agreement.

3. In consideration of the furtherance of harmonious and trades union action, it is agreed by the parties to this agreement that in the event of the establishment of a rotagravure printing press in any office during the investigation, or wherever such a press is now in operation, that it may be organized and covered by union men under the following arrangement:

(*a*) If the said rotagravure printing press should be located or installed in an office wherein only members of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of N. A. are now employed, that then the press shall be manned by a member or members of the said International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of N. A.

(*b*) If the said rotagravure printing press should be located or installed in an office wherein only members of the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union are now employed, that then the press shall be manned by a member or members of the said International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union.

(*c*) If, in the event of a rotagravure printing press now being in operation, or may hereafter be installed pending the determination of this issue in an office wherein members of both organizations are employed, the presidents and the secretaries of the said international unions, parties to this agreement, shall determine the point at issue having to do with the individual case or cases, the basis of such conclusion to be calculated from the volume, character of work, and its respective application to the two organizations in question.

(*d*) In view of the furtherance of the principles as outlined in this article (3) it is understood that neither of the parties hereto waive any claim of jurisdiction over the said rotagravure printing press and that this portion of the memorandum shall not be construed in any manner whatsoever as militating against the determination of the jurisdictional rights involved, this article being advanced and agreed to for the specific purpose of securing and maintaining trades union conditions pending the final adjustment of the controversy, and it is further agreed that upon the final adjustment that the positions held by the organization losing the jurisdiction shall surrender such positions to the organization receiving favorable decision upon their jurisdictional claims, it being understood, however, that the men employed upon the said rotagravure presses shall be privileged to transfer to the organization securing the jurisdiction without partiality and upon equal terms with any other member transferring from one organization to another.

Witness our hands this 27th day of July, 1914.

GEO. L. BERRY,
GEO. T. SIMMONS,
JOS. C. ORR,
Representing the I. P. P. and A. U. of N. A.

GEO. J. CLEARY,
WALTER G. SNOW,
JOHN J. CONROY,
JOHN J. DEVINY,
CHAS. T. SMITH,
Representing the I. S. C. P. P. U.

STOVE MOUNTERS—SHEET METAL WORKERS

In our report to the Atlanta Convention, 1911, we gave a brief history of the case and stated that no agreement had been reached. (Page 126 of the official proceedings.)

Since that time we have urged and have continued our efforts for the amalgamation of the two organizations. At the convention of the Stove Mounters' International Union, July, 1912, the President of the Sheet Metal Workers was present and urged amalgamation. The convention selected a committee to confer with the representatives of the Sheet Metal Workers as to the terms of amalgamation.

Digitized by Google

This joint committee met at St. Louis in May, 1913, a tentative agreement was reached, subject to ratification by referendum vote of the Stove Mounters' International Union. The tentative agreement is as follows:

> Memorandum of tentative agreement as a proposed plan of amalgamation between the joint committee representing the Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance and the Stove Mounters' International Union.
>
> 1. The Sheet Metal Workers agree that in event of the Stove Mounters agreeing to amalgamate with the Sheet Metal Workers that charters be issued to the Stove Mounters free of charge, and that their members be placed in immediate good standing and in full benefit.
>
> 2. The Sheet Metal Workers agree to place at least one permanent organizer in the field, said organizer or organizers to be stove mounters; he or they to devote their time to the interests of that industry.
>
> 3. The Sheet Metal Workers further agree to recommend to its convention, which meets the first Monday of next August, that the Stove Mounters be given representation on the General Executive Board.
>
> 4. In any industry where members of the two organizations are employed, it is agreed that all members of both organizations shall become members of one separate and distinct local.
>
> 5. It is further agreed that this agreement to become final and binding shall be ratified by a referendum vote of the Stove Mounters' International Union.

In December, 1913, the proposition was submitted to a referendum vote of the Stove Mounters' International Union and resulted in 60 favorable for amalgamation and 760 opposed.

The officers of the American Federation of Labor did everything within their power consistent with the laws and policies of the organized labor movement to effect the amalgamation of these two organizations.

MACHINISTS—ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS

In our report to the Atlanta Convention (pages 121-124), we embodied a comprehensive statement of the efforts made to amalgamate the two organizations, and the almost unanimous vote of the Elevator Constructors against amalgamation. Since that convention, however, the officers of the American Federation of Labor have taken advantage of every opportunity to be helpful in endeavoring to establish a better understanding between the two organizations, with the ultimate purpose of amalgamation. During our meeting last January, the officers of the International Association of Machinists requested that we again approach the officers of the Elevator Constructors upon the proposition of amalgamation. Secretary Young of the Elevator Constructors thereupon addressed a letter to President Gompers, copy of which was given to President Johnston of the Machinists, in which he said:

> "It is impossible for the officers of the International Union of Elevator Constructors to give any consideration to the request of President Johnston of the International Association of Machinists, relative to the amalgamation of the International Union of Elevator Constructors and the International Association of Machinists, inasmuch as that subject-matter, we are under the impression, was settled by the last three conventions of the A. F. of L. and the Building Trades Department.
>
> "We desire to call your attention to the proceedings of the Building Trades Department convention held in the city of St. Louis in 1910, which specifically states, and was agreed to by the Machinists, that in the event of the Building Trades Department issuing a charter to the International Association of Machinists, that they would relinquish all claims of jurisdiction over elevator construction, as is followed by the Elevator Constructors, recognized by and in the A. F. of L. and the Building Trades Department. We are further prevented from entering into any negotiation that would have amalgamation in view by virtue of the fact that the rank and file of our membership have taken a vote on the proposition, which was overwhelmingly against the amalgamation."

President Johnston of the Machinists made no reply.

At our meeting at headquarters in July we received from Secretary Spencer of the

Digitized by Google

Building Trades Department the following preambles and resolutions adopted by the Executive Council of the Department at its June meeting:

> WHEREAS, During the past eleven years the right of certain mechanics has been questioned to do elevator construction; and
>
> WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. Executive Board has admitted that a mistake evidently had been made in the issuance of a charter to the Elevator Constructors' Union over the Machinists' protest; and
>
> WHEREAS, Several conventions of the A. F. of L. have voted to amalgamate the Elevator Constructors with the Machinists and instructed the A. F. of L. Executive Council to consummate such an amalgamation; and
>
> WHEREAS, The E. C. has not accomplished anything definite in this direction and has made no effort at all in the past two years; therefore be it
>
> *Resolved*, That this Building Trades Department Executive Council recommend to the A. F. of L. E. C. to immediately consummate the amalgamation as instructed by the Toronto and St. Louis Conventions of the A. F. of L.

However, this entire matter came up during our July meeting when the representatives of all parties in interest were in attendance and participated in the discussion. The subject was then referred to a subcommittee of the E. C., consisting of President Gompers, Vice-President Duncan, and Secretary Morrison. The representatives of both organizations and of the Building Trades Department met with the subcommittee, but the conference was barren of any results in so far as relates to the amalgamation of the two organizations or the establishment of a better understanding as to their respective claims of jurisdiction.

We can not refrain from calling attention to the inaccuracy of the statement contained in two of the whereases and resolutions adopted by the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department.

It is not a fact that the E. C. of the A. F. of L. has admitted that a mistake was made in the issuance of a charter to the Elevator Constructors. There is not a scintilla of evidence of any written or spoken word upon that subject bearing out that statement, nor is it a fact that the E. C. has made no effort at all in the past two years to endeavor to bring about amalgamation. On the contrary, by conferences, addresses, both official and unofficial, every effort has been made by us, both collectively and individually to further the project of amalgamation. That there are difficulties in the way can not be questioned.

BLACKSMITHS—BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS

Resolutions Nos. 39 and 155 of the Seattle Convention deal with the jurisdictional controversy between the Blacksmiths and the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers. That convention instructed the Executive Council to investigate the character of the work in dispute, to determine which organization or organizations shall have jurisdiction, and to render a decision in accordance with the facts as they might be ascertained.

We are unable to report a decision on this matter, but after much correspondence President Gompers succeeded in arranging a conference at headquarters between the representatives of the two organizations, when the following agreement was entered into:

> WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 9, 1914.*
>
> Conference held on the above date between representatives of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers and the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, the following representatives being present:
>
> J. W. Kline, General President, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers.
>
> John M. Tobin, Vice-President, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers.
>
> William Dickson, Business Agent, Local Union No. 17, New York City.
>
> J. E. McClory, Acting President, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.
>
> J. A. Johnston, Vice-President, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.
>
> Hugh Frayne, representing American Federation of Labor.

Digitized by Google

After a general discussion upon the subject-matter relative to the recommendation of the Committee on Adjustment of the Seattle Convention over the jurisdiction of certain men employed in shops in Boston where ornamental and architectural iron work is being fabricated, it was agreed that a committee representing both sides, with a representative labor man to be agreed upon and selected by both parties at interest, shall visit Boston at a mutually agreeable time, within a period of six weeks, for the purpose of making a thorough investigation of the work in dispute, after which he shall report to President Gompers his findings with such recommendations as he may deem proper in connection with the case.

In the event of both parties being unable to agree upon a third party, the selection of same shall be left to the President of the A. F. of L., and the International Presidents of both organizations.

It was further agreed that all activities shall cease pending the investigation and until a report and decision have been rendered in this case.

J. W. KLINE,
General President, Int. Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers.

JOHN M. TOBIN,
Vice-President, Int. Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers.

WM. DICKSON,
Business Agent, Local Union No. 17, New York City.

J. E. MCCLORY,
Acting President, Int. Asso. of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

J. A. JOHNSTON,
Vice-President, Int. Asso. of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

HUGH FRAYNE,
Representing A. F. of L.

In conformity with this agreement the representatives of the two organizations agreed upon a third party to form a committee, proceeded to Boston, and began the investigation. The representative of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers then declined to proceed further in the matter. However, arrangements have been made for another conference during the early part of this convention and we hope before the convention adjourns to be able to report to you that an agreement has been reached.

PLASTERERS—CARPENTERS

A jurisdiction controversy having arisen between the Plasterers and Carpenters in San Francisco, the Building Trades Department, on behalf of the contending organizations, laid the matter before the Executive Council at our January meeting. A comprehensive hearing was accorded to the several interested parties. The following decision was rendered:

After due consideration, the E. C. decides, as was shown to have occurred in former expositions in the United States:

1. That the erecting and nailing of staff work be done by the Carpenters.
2. That the putting up, and fastening of staff work in place by wire, plaster, or other process be done by the Plasterers.
3. That the pointing, patching, and repairing of all staff work belong to the Plasterers.

FIREMEN—ENGINEERS

In considering Resolution No. 132, dealing with the jurisdictional controversy between the Firemen and the Engineers, the Seattle Convention directed that as soon as possible after adjournment the executive boards of the two organizations should meet in joint conference for the purpose of consummating an agreement along the lines laid down by the convention, and further that if agreeable to both organizations a representative of the American Federation of Labor should be selected by the Executive Council to assist in formulating an agreement. The conference was duly held March 14-16, Treasurer John B. Lennon representing the A. F. of L.

The entire subject-matter in dispute was discussed at length, propositions and counter-

Digitized by Google

propositions were submitted as the basis of an agreement, but the conference finally adjourned without the Firemen and Engineers coming to any understanding.

The entire subject-matter is submitted to this convention for such further action as the convention may designate.

LITHOGRAPHERS—PRINTING PRESSMEN—PHOTO-ENGRAVERS

As the result of the conference held between the representatives of these several organizations as directed by our last convention, when considering Resolution No. 137, we regret to report that no adjustment has been reached in the jurisdictional controversy among the Printing Pressmen, Lithographers, and Photo-Engravers. At several of our meetings we discussed the disputed points of jurisdiction at great length, representatives of all interested parties being present. The correspondence upon the case is voluminous, and will be at the command of the convention or any of its committees at any time which may be desired.

JURISDICTION OVER NEWSPAPER SOLICITORS

Our last convention recommended that Newspaper Solicitors' Union No. 12766, of San Francisco, should make application for charter to the International Typographical Union. The application was duly made. The Executive Council of the I. T. U. refused the charter. The local union presented its application to the convention of the I. T. U., but no action was taken thereon. We are advised, however, that the application will be presented to the 1915 I. T. U. Convention.

LITHOGRAPHERS—LITHOGRAPHIC PRESSFEEDERS

It is to be regretted that the amalgamation of the Lithographic Pressfeeders' International Protective Association with the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada, the latter being in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, has not yet been effected. The officers of the A. F. of L. have been diligent and untiring in their efforts. Some progress has been made. Indeed amalgamation may yet be effected. In the meantime the officers of the Lithographers urge that if the representatives of the Lithographic Pressfeeders will not agree to amalgamation, the Lithographers be given authority to organize the other branches of the craft. We offer no recommendation, but submit the matter to you for your expression as to the course to be pursued.

HOD CARRIERS—CEMENT WORKERS

The dispute between the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, and the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers came before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, originally upon an appeal from the Hod Carriers' organization. The E. C. of the A. F. of L. decided that laborers doing the mixing of concrete come under the jurisdiction of the Hod Carriers. The subject-matter came before the Rochester Convention (1912) by Resolution No. 109 by the delegates from the Cement Workers (page 328), the report of the Committee on Adjustment upon the resolution, and the action of the E. C. The Adjustment Committee recommended endorsement of the decision of the E. C.; the convention adopted the committee's recommendation.

At the Seattle Convention the delegates from the Hod Carriers introduced Resolution No. 53, reciting the previous actions and decisions of the A. F. of L. upon this subject which was referred to the Committee on Adjustment. That committee recommended, and the convention adopted the recommendation, that the entire subject-matter be referred to the E. C. with instructions to enforce the decision of the E. C., which was confirmed by the Rochester Convention and which conceded to the Hod Carriers jurisdiction over cement and concrete laborers, and that "should the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers fail to comply with the decision of the Rochester Convention," the E. C. should report the fact to this convention, "with such definite recommendations as are necessary to require the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers, if it desires to remain in affiliation to the A. F. of L., to respect and comply with the decision rendered."

In compliance with this specific instruction, under our direction President Gompers, under date of February 3, 1914, transmitted this decision and instruction to Secretary Ullner

Digitized by Google

of the Cement Workers and requested advice as to what steps had been or would be taken to act in conformity therewith. No reply to that letter was received. The officers of the Hod Carriers then complained that the Cement Workers had evidently ignored the decision of the Seattle Convention; they insisted upon the decision being carried out. Under date of September 22, 1914, President Gompers again wrote Secretary Ullner of the Cement Workers, enclosing copy of the letter of February 3, 1914, and requested prompt reply as to the action of that organization upon the decision above mentioned. Up to this time no answer has been received to either the letter of February 3 or of September 22, 1914.

As will be observed the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers was required to comply with the decision of the Rochester and the Seattle Conventions; that is, that cement and concrete laborers properly come under the jurisdiction of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union; that the E. C. should report the fact to this convention, and that if the Cement Workers desire to remain in affiliation to the A. F. of L., the Brotherhood will be required to respect and comply wth the decision rendered.

Without making any further specific recommendations upon the matter we report the status of the case as we find it up to the preparation of this report so that the convention may deal with it as in its judgment the circumstances require.

UPHOLSTERERS—CARPET MECHANICS

Resolution No. 100 adopted by the Seattle Convention of the American Federation of Labor directed that a conference be held of the representatives of the Upholsterers' International Union, State Building Trades Council, and the Carpet Mechanics of San Francisco, and in the event the latter failed to apply for a charter of affiliation to the Upholsterers' International Union on or before February 1, 1914, that that organization be denied representation in central and state bodies affiliated to the A. F. of L., and that the organizers of the A. F. of L. be instructed to assist the organizers of the Upholsterers' International Union to organize and establish a local union of carpet mechanics in San Francisco. President Gompers called and participated in a conference in San Francisco shortly after the adjournment of the Seattle Convention. Nothing, however, of a tangible nature resulted from that conference. The matter became the subject of correspondence with President McCarthy of the California State Building Trades Council, and also with President Hatch of the Upholsterers' International Union. The former in one of his letters the earlier part of the year, conveyed the opinion that in the then near future the Carpet Mechanics' local would become part of the international, and expressed the belief that because of all that had been done for the carpet mechanics it would be much more to the interests of all parties concerned to have that local become part of the international rather than to organize another local of the trade. Correspondence was continued but as yet the local union in question has not become part of the Upholsterers' International Union.

The entire subject-matter is reported to this convention for such action as may be deemed advisable to take thereon.

BLACKSMITHS—TUNNEL AND SUBWAY CONSTRUCTORS

After several conferences between the representatives of the two organizations and the representative of the American Federation of Labor, and hearings by the Executive Council, it was finally decided that the E. C. recognizes the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths over blacksmiths engaged in tunnel and subway work. Every effort has been made since that decision was rendered to adjust the jurisdictional controversy upon that basis. Arrangements were made for and a conference was finally held between the representatives of the two organizations and a representative of the A. F. of L., at which the entire subject-matter in controversy was fully discussed in connection with the decision rendered by the E. C. The Tunnel and Subway Constructors expressed themselves as being willing to turn over to the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths all blacksmiths who were members of that organization, but declined to relinquish jurisdiction over tool sharpeners. The Blacksmiths rejected this proposition, maintaining that tool dressers or sharpeners are blacksmiths. Our investigation of the matter leads us to express the belief that so-called tool dressers or sharpeners are blacksmiths who are called upon to do all kinds of blacksmith work and the sharpening and dressing of tools.

This disputed point of jurisdiction is now before this convention.

Digitized by Google

TUNNEL AND SUBWAY CONSTRUCTORS—COMPRESSED AIR WORKERS

The Executive Council reported to the Seattle Convention that it was hoped and believed that in the near future a mutually satisfactory basis of amalgamation would be reached whereby these two organizations could be merged into one. Efforts were continued during the year with that purpose in view. The representatives of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors are perfectly agreeable to amalgamation, even to the extent of entire re-organization along lines that will give proper recognition and protection to all of the branches of the trade represented. The representatives of the Compressed Air Workers have thus far declined to consent to amalgamation, though they are willing for an exchange of cards, thus indicating their recognition of an overlapping jurisdiction. We recommend to this convention:

1. The advisability of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union and the Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union being amalgamated into one organization.
2. That a convention should be called for this purpose by the President of the A. F. of L. on or before March 1, 1915; that equal representation be given to each organization in such convention.
3. That a new title should be adopted after the amalgamation takes place that will be representative of the industry, the constitution to be revised so that the laws and jurisdiction will provide protection for all branches of the industry composing the international union under the new title.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS—THEATRICAL STAGE EMPLOYES

With the introduction of moving pictures and their operation, a disputed claim of jurisdiction arose between the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Conferences were held at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, and on September 25, 1907, an agreement was reached, signed by the officers of the two organizations and recommended and approved by President Gompers. Since then the moving picture operations have been widely extended, and with them counter-claims by the two organizations have been made of violation of the terms of the agreement of September 25, 1907.

Additional conferences were held with a view of reaching some agreement, the last one in New York City on May 8, 1914, at which a new agreement was reached affirming the agreement of 1907, signed by the officers of the two organizations in interest and by Organizer Frayne, acting as substitute for President Gompers. However, the agreements were either not ratified or they are alleged not to have been observed. This is particularly so in the city of Chicago where the officers of the Stage Employes charged that their members' places were not only taken, but other action employed involving a trespass of the agreements reached and the jurisdiction generally conceded. We have endeavored to bring about an understanding and an agreement for the future, but thus far nothing of a tangible character has been accomplished.

This matter should receive the attention of this convention in the effort to accomplish a working agreement so that the present unseemly course to the injury of both may be eliminated. The agreements of 1907 and 1914 can be consulted by the committee to which this subject should be referred.

FLINT GLASS WORKERS—MACHINISTS

The Seattle Convention in considering the report of the Executive Council upon this subject, in connection with Resolution No. 37, declared:

> That a committee of three be appointed, one each by the two trades in interest and one by the President of the American Federation of Labor, said committee to visit the shops located at Alton, Ill.; Toledo, Ohio, and all other shops in question, if it deems it necessary; the committee to be appointed prior to the adjournment of this convention and arrange to visit such shops and render its decision on or before March 1, 1914; the committee to have full authority, and its decision shall be in full force and effect from date agreed upon; said decision to become a matter of record and contained in the report of the E. C. to the 1914 convention.

Digitized by Google

Before the adjournment of the convention President Gompers stated that the Flint Glass Workers had selected T. W. Rowe; the Machinists, William H. Johnston, and that he had selected Vice-President Joseph F. Valentine. Shortly after the convention Vice-President Valentine resigned upon the ground that as a member of the E. C., and therefore party to the report of the E. C. to the Seattle Convention, he felt it would be most difficult for him to attempt to take up the matter, and that he believed some one not of the E. C. should be called upon to undertake the work.

President Gompers was unremitting in his efforts during the remainder of the year to have the two organizations agree upon a party to be selected as the third member of the committee, but his endeavors were unavailing. The men suggested by him were invariably objected to by either the one or the other organization, except in one instance when both agreed and the person suggested found himself unable to act.

Inasmuch as the requirements of the Seattle Convention decision, through no fault of ours, are unfulfilled, we recommend that the subject-matter be left with the E. C. to endeavor to bring about an adjustment between the two organizations.

TEAMSTERS—BREWERS—BAKERS—LAUNDRY WORKERS

The officers of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers made complaint against the Brewery Workers admitting to membership drivers employed on mineral water bottle wagons, against the Laundry Workers for accepting to membership laundry wagon drivers, and against the Bakers upon the same complaint. Efforts were made to have the representatives of the several organizations meet in conference but without avail. At our meeting in July, 1913, realizing the situation, that is, that the drivers of brewery wagons were organized as part of the United Brewery Workers, we declared that in view of that established fact we could see no justification for the transfer of such drivers from the Brewery Workers to the Team Drivers, and so stated in our report to the Seattle Convention. For convenience we quote the decision rendered at our July meeting which was approved at the Seattle Convention, as follows:

> With reference to distilleries and to mineral water establishments, we find that the team drivers where organized hold membership in and properly come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, and we so decide.

The Seattle Convention by roll-call vote confirmed this decision. We have endeavored to have the decision carried out. We submit this matter to this convention for such action as may be properly determined.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS—ENGINEERS

We have endeavored to be helpful to the best of our ability in securing an adjustment of the jurisdictional controversy between the Electrical Workers and the Engineers. The Electrical Workers claimed transgression of jurisdiction on the part of the Engineers after the change of title of that organization was authorized.

We recommend that the Executive Council shall be authorized to continue its efforts to effect an agreement.

CARRIAGE AND WAGON WORKERS—BLACKSMITHS—UPHOLSTERERS—MACHINISTS—METAL POLISHERS

For several years the Executive Council has made reports as to efforts made in the endeavor to adjust the jurisdictional controversy among these several organizations. Our last convention declared that the jurisdiction of the several organizations whose crafts are a part of the carriage, wagon, and automobile industry shall be protected and further that the Carriage, Wagon, and Automobile Workers' Union should discontinue in future all encroachment upon the jurisdiction of the several complaining organizations.

The E. C. requested the co-operation of the officers of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor in further efforts to adjust this jurisdictional con-

Digitized by Google

troversy. Under the supervision of the Metal Trades Department a campaign of organization was conducted in the city of Detroit, Michigan, from fifteen to twenty organizers taking part therein, the organizers being representative of different interested international unions as well as of the A. F. of L. While this particular organization work was not as successful as the hope was entertained it would be, the lack of success being caused mainly by reason of the fact that the quantity of work in all the large automobile establishments was much below normal, yet much valuable work was accomplished, many of the workers in the automobile industry having been taken into the unions of their respective trades and others organized into new locals and good seed sown whereby it is believed that in the future many more will be prepared to join their respective organizations.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS

For five years the bitterly contested strife between the factions of the Electrical Workers of San Francisco stirred up intense feeling and fostered a spirit of discord that was injurious not only to the organized labor movement of California but to that of the whole country. The controversy caused very serious difficulties in the strike against the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. It was the consensus of opinion in the Seattle Convention that the unity of the labor movement is of greater importance than any other consideration.

Therefore the convention directed that President Gompers, together with such other members of the Executive Council as might be able to accompany him, should proceed to San Francisco for the purpose of securing an adjustment of the controversy with the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, and also to secure the affiliation of the seceding Electrical Workers in San Francisco to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

At the close of the convention the members of the E. C. mentioned in the agreement below went to San Francisco. Two of them, President Gompers and Vice-President Joseph F. Valentine, worked for nine days to adjust the differences and to establish some common grounds for co-operation. The primary purpose was to establish unity, as the working details could be adjusted afterwards. The following is the agreement reached:

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *December 5, 1913.*

To Whom it May Concern:

The Seattle Convention of the A. F. of L., held November 10 to 22, 1913, directed President Samuel Gompers, and such other members of the E. C. as were able to accompany him, to proceed to San Francisco, Cal., for the purpose of urging and encouraging unity on the part of those directly involved in the present situation among the Electrical Workers and all other organizations involved in any differences between them and the Pacific Gas and Electric Company; and for the further purpose of restoring unity and harmony among the organized wage-earners of the Pacific coast, and to such other sections of America as might be possible.

In accordance with these directions of the Seattle A. F. of L. Convention, the following members of the E. C. convened at the Central Labor Council Hall, San Francisco, at 10 o'clock, Friday morning, November 28, 1913: Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell, Joseph F. Valentine, D. A. Hayes, and John B. Lennon.

On the controversy now existant within the ranks of organized electrical workers in the United States and Canada, the undersigned committee was arranged for, and after long and detailed argument and investigation, we, the committee, recommend as follows:

1. That all local unions of the unaffiliated Brotherhood of Electrical Workers now constituting said brotherhood, as local unions, do join and become affiliated with the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers affiliated with the A. F. of L., said affiliation to commence with payment of February, 1914, per capita tax, and the terms of affiliation to be as hereinafter provided for, it being understood and agreed said terms expire March 31, 1914.

2. That all local unions of the unaffiliated brotherhood join and become a part of the affiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers by payment of the current month per capita tax as per section 1, with the understanding that these local unions shall be required to pay the semi-annual death benefit

Digitized by Google

assessment (50 cents) per section 1 of Art. XII of the affiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers' constitution.

3. That the members of all now unaffiliated local unions so joining and becoming part of the affiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers shall be placed in good standing in the affiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and will be entitled to the benefits of such good standing equal with and to the present members of the affiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, except the death benefit provided by the laws of the affiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; provided, however, that they (the members so joining and becoming a part of) shall have placed to their credit, by the affiliated brotherhood, nine months' membership in so far as said nine months' membership relates to the death benefits.

4. The present system of the District Council of Electrical Workers covering the local unions of the unaffiliated Electrical Workers in California, Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, and parts of Arizona, Nevada, and Idaho, shall be continued by these local unions which join and become a part of the affiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and such District Council shall be continued until changed by referendum vote or by a general or special convention of the affiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

5. That the international office of the affiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers shall expend the sum of eighteen (18) cents per member per month, received from the local unions affiliated with the Pacific District Council, as monthly per capita tax, within the territorial confine of the said Pacific District Council, said sum to be expended for organizing purposes. The present salaried officers of the Pacific District Council will be appointed organizers by the international president of the affiliated brotherhood, in so far as above-mentioned funds make it possible, it being understood that said appointees are subject to the laws of the affiliated brotherhood governing organizers.

6. That this conference earnestly recommends to all local unions of the unaffiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers that they become a part of the affiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers at the time hereinbefore specified, and as per the terms hereinbefore and hereinafter specified; and it is understood and agreed that wherever district councils of electrical workers now exist consisting of local unions of the unaffiliated brotherhood, these councils shall be maintained under the same conditions and stipulations as hereinbefore declared to be granted the Pacific District Council by the affiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

7. It is understood and agreed that where there is more than one local union having jurisdiction over the same class of work in the same geographical jurisdiction, they shall unite and become one local union to operate under the laws of the affiliated brotherhood, and to be known under the number of either of the existing locals as they may mutually agree; provided, if the locals themselves can not agree under which number to unite, it shall be the duty of the international president of the affiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers to designate the said number. It shall be the duty of each local union as mentioned in this clause to select a committee of three from their respective local unions for the purpose of determining the personnel of the officers of the united local union and the designation of said officers shall be as near equally representing the two local unions as possible; provided, upon failure of these representatives to agree, it shall be the duty of the international president of the affiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers to determine any disputed points, he always having in view the essential features of as nearly as possible naming and dividing the officers from the membership of the two locals.

8. The foregoing agreement is to go into effect immediately upon approval of the International Executive Board (or the referendum vote) of the affiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and by the referendum vote of the unaffiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and shall thereafter remain in effect as the basis of affiliation and membership in the affiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of the now unaffiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, until changed by a convention or by the referendum vote of the membership of the affiliated brotherhood; and it is under-

Digitized by Google

stood that each respective side hereto shall so notify the other as to action of above mentioned International Executive Board (or referendum vote) and referendum vote and future action shall be taken accordingly by all concerned.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, A. F. of L.

JOSEPH F. VALENTINE,
Vice-President, A. F. of L.

Unaffiliated I. B. E. W.	Affiliated I. B. E. W.
J. MERGENTHALER, *Pres. Pacific District Council.*	P. A. CLIFFORD, *Member, Local Union No. 6*
M. J. SULLIVAN, *Member, Local Union, No. 151.*	A. ELKEN, *Member Local Union, No. 6*
C. A. ELMORE, *Member, Local Union, No. 537.*	W. H. MUNY, *Member Local Union, No. 6*

Approved and recommended for adoption by both organizations:

Unaffiliated I. B. E. W.	Affiliated I. B. E. W.
EUGENE E. SMITH, *General Vice-Pres. 3rd District.*	F. J. MCNULTY, *International President.*
JOHN S. WILSON, *Secretary-Treasurer, Pacific District Council.*	CHARLES P. FORD, *International Secretary.*
	A. W. MCINTYRE, *International Organizer.*

The unions affected in San Francisco generally accepted the agreement, but there were elements at work engaged in the effort to render it less effective than it would logically have been.

In connection with this subject it is of interest to state that the dispute between—

The Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Unaffiliated Body

has been so far adjusted as to determine finally the legal status of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers affiliated to the A. F. of L. as the bona fide organization; that the funds in bank and in dispute have been awarded to the affiliated brotherhood by the court, and that we have been notified by Secretary Ford, of the affiliated Brotherhood of Electrical Workers under date of October 3, 1914, that the officers of the unaffiliated organization had decided to close their headquarters in Springfield, Ill., and sent circular letters to their remaining members so advising them and suggesting that they take advantage of the terms now open to them. He said the terms of affiliation would be open until October 15, and with a possible exception of fifteen or twenty locals identified with the unaffiliated organization all locals had officially informed them of the acceptance of the terms.

BRICK MAKERS—SECEDING LOCAL UNIONS

Several conferences were held with the representatives of the Brick Makers' organization and the independent local unions, and much correspondence has passed between them and the officers of the American Federation of Labor in the endeavor to carry out the instructions of the Seattle Convention as regards Resolution No. 74. During the last conference, which was held on August 12, after much discussion the representative of the A. F. of L. made the following proposition:

> It is hereby agreed that upon return of the locals that withdrew from the International Union, the following conditions shall prevail:
>
> The indebtedness for per capita tax or assessments charged against these unions shall be wiped out.
>
> The unions will start paying per capita tax upon the entire membership on September 1, 1914, and the rate now recognized as the regular per capita tax of the International Union.

Digitized by Google

Within thirty (30) days after September 1, 1914, a conference will be held in the city of Chicago, composed of at least three members of the Executive Board of the International Union, and three members selected by the locals which withdrew from the International Union, each committee having power to act.

This board will consider all complaints, grievances and revision of laws necessary to restore complete harmony among the organized Brick Makers under the jurisdiction of the International Union and any practical plan agreed upon will be carried into effect without delay.

It is further agreed that any point which the said board can not agree upon will be referred to President Gompers or his representative for decision, which will be accepted by both sides and will continue in force until the next regular convention of the international shall be held, when such decision may be reversed or amended.

The seceding local unions agreed to submit the proposition to their convention on September 14. The officers of the Brick Makers later by letter to President Gompers agreed to the proposition with the following provisos:

1. That the seceding unions likewise accept the plan not later than October 1, 1914.
2. That the present executive officers of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, elected at our regular election held in June, 1914, to serve for a period of two years extending from October 1, 1914, to September 30, 1916, in accordance with our constitution, be recognized as the legal officials of the international union during the period specified and
3. That the words "or his representative" in the last paragraph of the proposition be eliminated.

The officers of the seceding Brick Makers were immediately informed of this proposition. Their convention was in session. The convention unanimously rejected the proposition. However a resolution was passed to try by all honorable means to effect the amalgamation, one of the conditions of amalgamation being that they would not recognize the present officers of the International Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance. The seceding Brick Makers' convention placed the entire matter in the hands of their Executive Board.

This entire subject is submitted to this convention for such declaration or disposition as may be deemed advisable to make thereof.

UNWARRANTED EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION AND TITLE—JOURNEYMEN TAILORS

It becomes our regrettable duty to call your attention to a very serious condition of affairs which has arisen, of an affiliated organization assuming a title which is wholly a misnomer and in direct conflict with the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Article IX, Section 11, which requires that before an affiliated organization can change its title or extend its jurisdiction, it must receive the approval of the A. F. of L. We refer to the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, the smallest organization in the tailoring and garment working industry, which has assumed the title of "The Tailors' Industrial Union," and with it jurisdiction over the garment working industry. The organizations affected are the United Garment Workers of America, with a membership of 60,686; the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, with a membership of 70,716—that is, a total membership of the two organizations of 131,402, and then the Journeymen Tailors' Union, with a membership of 12,000. Now as we have stated the Journeymen Tailors' Union not only unwarrantably and against the laws and practices of the A. F. of L., but against the interests of the entire tailoring or garment working industry, assumes the title of "The Tailors' Industrial Union" and claims jurisdiction over the entire tailoring and garment working industry.

The officers of the A. F. of L. have by the constitution been compelled to refuse to recognize the Journeymen Tailors' Union under the assumed title, "The Tailors' Industrial Union." Secretary Morrison under our direction accepted per capita tax and issued receipts therefor to the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, and these receipts have been accepted.

We all recognize that if there is to be an assumption of extended jurisdiction in a trade, it must necessarily be accomplished with the consent of the other organizations of the industry which are so closely akin.

Digitized by Google

It is our belief that a closer alliance, perhaps amalgamation, should be established among the organizations in the tailoring and garment industries, so that the interests of all may be better protected and promoted, but this desirable end can be properly consummated only by the co-operation and consent of all three unions at interest, and not by change of title and extension of jurisdiction by one union.

CARPENTERS—SHEET METAL WORKERS—BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

The differences between the Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers as to jurisdiction over the manufacture and erection of metal trim for buildings, so far from being settled, finally resulted in the withdrawal of the U. B. from representation in the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, the referendum vote having decided the question of withdrawal on February 17, 1914. This subject came before the Building Trades Department at its convention in Seattle following the convention of the A. F. of L. The committee of that convention to which the matter was referred submitted a majority report to the convention recommending that the subject-matter should be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, and that these bodies be requested to undertake jointly to bring about a solution of the difficulty. The minority report of the committee recommended that the request of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters for a conference be denied and that they be instructed by the convention to obey the laws and decisions of the Department. The minority report of the committee was adopted.

Deeply deploring the unfortunate situation thus presented, and desirous of extending every effort within our power to be helpful, we authorized President Gompers and Vice-Presidents Duncan and Alpine as the representatives of the E. C. to confer with a committee of three each of the U. B. of Carpenters, the Sheet Metal Workers, and the Building Trades Department, in the hope of reaching some adjustment. This conference was called to meet in New York City, June 14.

The representatives of the Carpenters and of the Sheet Metal Workers were in the corridor of the hotel in which the conference was to be held and we were prepared to enter into conference. The representatives of the Sheet Metal Workers called the E. C.'s committee aside and declared that they would not enter into a conference with the representatives of the Carpenters unless the E. C.'s committee in advance declared that if no agreement were reached the E. C. would uphold the claims and contentions of the Sheet Metal Workers as declared by the Tampa convention of the Building Trades Department. Inasmuch as this very step was to be determined by the conference, the committee necessarily felt compelled to refrain from such an advance declaration. The representatives of the Sheet Metal Workers thereupon refused to enter into a conference.

The following correspondence then ensued (Extract of letter from Secretary Duffy of the U. B. of Carpenters, June 8, 1914):

> "It is unfortunate that the A. F. of L. is completely shut off from taking action in many of the disputes and controversies that arise in the Building Trades. For instance, the Building Trades Convention in Seattle not only locked the door but bolted and spiked it as well against anybody taking action in the controversy of the Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers when that body refused to allow the representatives of both parties to hold a conference on the troubles of long standing between them.
>
> "We are debarred from taking an appeal to the E. C. of the A. F. of L. on the dispute over the erection of hollow metal trim on the grounds that we are outlawed, the time limit for doing so having expired.
>
> "I simply mention this fact to show you that it is the determination of the Building Trades Department not to allow any such appeal to go up to the E. C. We are not at variance with the A. F. of L. On the contrary, we are as loyal and true as ever, but we are at variance with the Building Trades Department, its rotten methods and system of doing work, and its trickery in getting decisions."

President Gompers then replied as follows:

> HEADQUARTERS, A. F. OF L.,
> WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 23, 1914.*
>
> Mr. FRANK DUFFY, Secretary, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
>
> DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: When I wrote you on June 10 in reply to your

Digitized by Google

letter of June 8, I stated that as I was just leaving the city I was unable to make a full reply thereto, but that I was sending a copy of your letter to the E. C. of the A. F. of L., so that the members would be advised as to the statement you make relative to the agreement entered into between U. B. Carpenters and the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' International Union.

You stated in your letter that it was too late for the U. B. Carpenters to take an appeal from the action of the convention of the Building Trades Department. I do not concur in that opinion for, as an organization in full affiliation to the A. F. of L. the United Brotherhood has the full right of appeal to the E. C. of the A. F. of L. and to the conventions of the A. F. of L. unrestricted by any limit as to time. While the question might be raised that as part of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. the time limit for an appeal has expired, as immediately after the Seattle Convention the United Brotherhood of Carpenters withdrew from the Building Trades Department, yet I repeat that as an organization the United Brotherhood has the full right and privilege of appealing to the E. C. or to a convention of the A. F. of L. upon any subject affecting its affiliation either directly or indirectly with the A. F. of L.

The E. C. of the A. F. of L. will hold its next meeting the week of July 13. The hope is entertained that the officers of the United Brotherhood will formally submit to the E. C. of the A. F. of L. at its July meeting such an appeal as they may desire and deem advisable to submit. If you and your colleagues think well of my suggestion I would further suggest that as the time is so near which has been set for the next meeting of the E. C. that your appeal be sent in in such shape and in sufficient time for a copy of it to be transmitted to the officers of the Building Trades Department, so that they in turn may have sufficient time to prepare their reply for submission to the E. C.

Trusting that I may have a word from you in regard to the above at your early convenience, and with kind regards, I am fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, A. F. of L.

To that letter Secretary Duffy made answer as follows:

"I am glad to learn, however, that we have the right to appeal from the action of the Building Trades Department in our controversy with the Sheet Metal Workers over the erection of hollow metal trim. President Kirby will not return to this office for eight or ten days but I can assure you as soon as he does return he will take up the question of appeal with you without delay. It is not our desire to be antagonistic to the Building Trades Department. If we had our way we would be on friendly terms with every organization affiliated with the A. F. of L. At the present time our relations with the majority of the organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. are of the most pleasant. We are working hand in hand with them. We are giving them financial support wherever necessary. We are helping them win better conditions. We want to be of assistance to all if we will only be allowed to do so.

"I can assure you that the antagonism which was felt and was shown by our organization to the A. F. of L. a few years ago has disappeared. I believe I am safe in saying that no organization is more friendly disposed towards the A. F. of L. than the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. I want you to feel that we are not rebels to the American labor movement, and that whatever we have done was for self-protection."

On June 29 Secretary Spencer of the Building Trades Department transmitted to President Gompers copy of the resolution adopted by the E. C. of that Department at its meeting the week of June 15. The resolution reads:

Resolved, That this Department instruct its officers to communicate with the A. F. of L., demanding that the E. C. of the A. F. of L. immediately suspend the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and notify all affiliated central and state bodies to take similar action, and recommend to the next convention of the A. F. of L. that charter of said organization be revoked unless said Brotherhood is in full affiliation with the Building Trades Department at the time the next convention convenes in Philadelphia.

Digitized by Google

Much of the time during our July meeting was devoted to the discussion of the situation in the Building Trades arising out of the controversy between the U. B. and the Sheet Metal Workers. In conformity with the conclusion reached at that meeting, President Gompers sent the following communication:

HEADQUARTERS, A. F. of L.
WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 25, 1914.*

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.

GENTLEMEN: The E. C. of the A. F. of L. met in regular session at headquarters the week of July 13-18. There were many important matters considered by the E. C. at that meeting; one of the most important which caused much consideration and discussion was the withdrawal of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners from affiliation with the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., and the formal application of that Department requesting the immediate suspension of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and that all state federations of labor and all city central bodies be notified to take similar action and that it be recommended to the next convention of the A. F. of L., that the charter be revoked unless it is in full affiliation with the Building Trades Department at the time of the convention in Philadelphia next November.

The E. C. directed that a letter be sent to you requesting a statement of the grievances you claim to have against the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. and also requesting that you indicate what action you believe should be taken looking to the re-affiliation of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners with the Building Trades Department.

The request of the Building Trades Department for the immediate suspension of the U. B. of Carpenters and Joiners and that all state federations of labor, and all city central bodies be notified to take similar action, and that the recommendation be made to the next convention for the revocation of the U. B. of Carpenters and Joiners' charter was not approved, but instead thereof that an effort be made as per the action taken by the E. C. as above indicated to have the U. B. to re-affiliate with the Building Trades Department.

It is unnecessary for me to assure you how earnestly the E. C. hopes that a way may be found for the early re-affiliation of the U. B. with the Building Trades Department and it was with this object in view that the E. C. directed that this letter be sent to you, requesting a statement of the grievances claimed and what action you believe can be taken to assist in bringing about the affiliation.

It is unnecessary here to urge upon you how essential it is at this time more than at any period in the history of the existence of the labor movement for the workers not only to be organized and united but federated and to make as best we can common cause for the protection and promotion of the rights and interests of the working people of our country. This truth is obvious, is self-evident and needs no argument or urging on my part.

With kind regards and hoping to hear from you at your earliest convenience possible, I am fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, A. F. of L.

To that letter the following answer was made:

INDIANAPOLIS, *August 6, 1914.*

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, President, A. F. of L., 801-809 G Street Northwest, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your communication of July 25 addressed to the General Executive Board of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America was presented to that body in session at this office, and was considered in all its phases from all angles. We realize that it is an important matter to be at variance with any Department of the A. F. of L. We can assure you, however, that it is not the desire of our organization to be at variance with the A. F. of L. or any of its Departments, or for that matter with any of its city central and state bodies. However, things reached such a state of affairs in the Building Trades Department we could not remain longer affiliated with it. The vote of our mem-

Digitized by Google

bers on withdrawal from the Department of over three to one shows how dissatisfied they were with the Department.

In your communication you ask for a statement of the grievances we claim to have against the Building Trades Department and you further ask us to indicate to you what action we believe should be taken to bring about the re-affiliation of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America with the Building Trades Department. We will try and comply with your requests.

The grievances of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America are as follows:

First: *The Erection of Hollow Metal Steel Trim.*—When this dispute first arose in the city of New York, the Sheet Metal Workers and the Carpenters agreed to leave it to an arbitrator and abide by the decision rendered. The Sheet Metal Workers selected Judge Gaynor of New York as arbitrator, to which the Carpenters agreed. When decision was rendered the Sheet Metal Workers would not abide by same and carried it to the Tampa Convention of the Building Trades Department in 1909.

We claim where both parties agree to abide by the decision of an arbitrator the Building Trades Department should not interfere. Such a decision should be final.

Second: *Representation in the Department.*—From the very formation of the Building Trades Department in Washington, D. C., we contended for representation according to membership, but this has been steadfastly denied us all along.

Third: *Strikes.*—Numerous, very numerous strikes have been called by local building trades councils by authority of trade vote present in said councils. A small number of roofers, lathers, and laborers, perhaps not representing a hundred men in all, would involve over a thousand carpenters, although the carpenters' vote was against calling the strike. Our members have been put on the streets on strike when they did not know what they struck for, or why the strike was called. We have been called upon to pay strike benefits to the men out, and we can assure you in our organization strike pay is quite an item.

Fourth: *Business Agents.*—The carpenters maintain in almost every city of importance their own business agent to look after their working affairs, yet we are taxed by local building trades councils to maintain business agents for said councils. The business agent representing the Building Trades Council claiming to be representing all building trades in the council, while the Carpenters' business agent only represented the Carpenters. In many instances settlements made by the Carpenters' business agent were all undone by this business agent of the building trades council, thus causing confusion, dissatisfaction and discontent.

Fifth: *Compulsion of our Local Unions to Join Building Trades Councils.*—We are asked by the Department to compel our local unions to join local building trades councils and for refusal to do so to suspend them from our organization. This we can not do as our laws do not give us that authority. We spend over one hundred thousand dollars a year in organizing work, yet when these newly organized local unions refuse to join the local building trades councils, we are asked to revoke their charters. This looks like folly. First organize them, then disorganize them, all at our own expense.

Sixth: *Machinists.*—The machinists are not building tradesmen and can not be classed as such and are not eligible to membership in the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. The teamsters who haul the material to the building and the refuse away are more eligible to membership in the Department than the machinists, so are the boilermakers and others.

Seventh: *Executive Council.*—The present so-called Executive Council of the Building Trades Department which consists of one representative from each trade affiliated is not an executive council. On the contrary it is a convention, as all trades are represented. Questions are decided by this body by a trade vote. A representative of an organization with 600 membership has the same voting power as a representative of an organization with a membership of a million.

Each organization pays the expenses of its representative to these meetings as they do to conventions of the A. F. of L. We claim members of the Executive Council of the Department should be paid by the Department.

Digitized by Google

In reply to your second question as to what should be done to bring about the re-affiliation of our organization with the Department we beg leave to inform you that under its present laws, system and method of doing business it is, in our opinion, an impossibility to get the carpenters to vote to re-affiliate with the Department. If the grievances hereinbefore mentioned could be adjusted and protection of some kind given our members, no doubt we would be able to have our members vote to return to the Building Trades Department.

Settle the question of hollow metal steel trim, and one of our greatest objections will be removed.

Give us some protection through better representation both locally and nationally and another stumbling block will be overcome.

Protect us from unnecessary and uncalled for strikes in our daily toil and another obstacle will be removed.

If the trades in the building trades council desire a business agent to look after their interests let them club together and so elect a business agent, but the Carpenters should not be called upon to help pay for the services of a business agent for the other trades while maintaining a business agent of their own.

Eliminate the question of compelling local unions to join building trades councils.

Ineligible organizations in the Department, or local building trades councils should be removed.

Have the Department return to its former method of electing an Executive Council of five members with its President and Secretary.

The by-laws of local building trades councils should be approved by referendum vote. Or in other words, let the members who have to obey and observe them make them.

If you can accomplish these things we will work with you hand in hand, with all the power and authority at our command to have our membership vote to re-affiliate with the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. If these things can not be done then we feel that we can not hold out any encouragement for the re-affiliation of the Brotherhood with the Department.

Hoping we have given you the information desired, and with best wishes and kindest regards, on behalf of our General Executive Board, we are fraternally yours,

JAMES KIRBY,
General President.
FRANK DUFFY,
General Secretary.

Despite difficulties set forth in the communications from the officers of the U. B. of Carpenters and the refusal of the officers of the Sheet Metal Workers to participate in a conference, we persisted in the effort to bring about a conference of the representatives of both organizations, and tendered our good offices to be helpful in reaching some form of agreement, some tangible understanding, some means by which the friction existing between them might be removed or at least minimized. We directed President Gompers to write letters to both organizations of such a tenor. These letters were written. The officers of the Carpenters answered that they would participate. The officers of the Sheet Metal Workers replied that while they were anxious to see peace and harmony prevailing in the labor movement they did not feel that they would be justified in entering into negotiations with any organization that had shown itself to be as unfair as the Carpenters have been, and that they emphatically declined to enter into a conference where the right of jurisdiction over sheet metal work is made an issue with a trade or organization foreign to the metal working industry. This is the situation at the time of submitting this report.

There is also another phase of this controversy to be considered and that is the turmoil and friction in the local labor movement in many cities because of the local building trades councils demanding that local unions of carpenters be denied representation in the city central bodies. So intense has been the feeling in some instances as almost to disrupt the movement in many localities. In dealing with the subject-matter of this controversy this phase of the situation must also be taken into consideration.

We recommend that a conference be held between three delegates of the U. B. and three delegates of the Sheet Metal Workers, with three delegates appointed by President Gompers for the purpose of bringing about an agreement between the organizations in interest, and that said committee report back to the convention as soon as possible, and not later than Monday morning, November 16, 1914.

Digitized by Google

BRICKLAYERS—AFFILIATED BUILDING TRADES

The representatives of the Marble Workers' International Union protested, by Resolution No. 66, to the Seattle Convention against the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union entering into agreements with employers for the performance of work properly coming under the jurisdiction of the Marble Workers. The convention instructed the Executive Council to take such action as would insure to the International Association of Marble Workers the control of the setting of marble and stone in the interior of buildings.

At our meeting in Seattle on the Sunday following the adjournment of the convention, we authorized the sending of the following telegram:

SEATTLE, WASH., *November 23, 1913.*

WILLIAM DOBSON, Secretary, Bricklayers and Masons' International Union, Indianapolis, Ind.

Owing to the awful situation in the building trades in several cities due to the action of your members undertaking to set interior marble and the injustice it inflicts upon kindred building trades, as well as fair employers, and inasmuch as your officers have agreed to attend conference of representatives of stone trades, at joint meeting of Executive Councils of American Federation of Labor and of Building Trades Department, the situation was discussed and it was decided to urge not only that the conference should be held at an early date, but that the other building trades should return to work in the cities affected, providing your organization will hold in abeyance its action in claiming to control interior marble setting, pending the action of the above mentioned conference of stone trades unions. Inasmuch as President Gompers must leave for California early Tuesday morning, reply from you not later than tomorrow, Monday evening, will be greatly appreciated. By order of joint Executive Councils.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.
FRANK MORRISON.
JAMES DUNCAN.
JAMES SHORT.
WILLIAM J. SPENCER.
GEORGE F. HEDRICK.

To that the following telegraphic reply was received:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *November 24, 1913.*

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President, A. F. of L. Convention, Seattle, Washington.

We regret exceedingly the disturbed condition resulting from attack being made upon fair employers by local building trades departments as a result of marble controversy. Whatever injustice is being inflicted upon kindred trades is self-inflicted. The chief victims of the situation are the contractors involved who are innocent sufferers. We offered to arbitrate our dispute with the international officers of the Marble Workers last June. This offer was spurned. The only answer we could get was that the Marble Workers had nothing to arbitrate; that they stood pat and would do all interior stone work or none. We urge that when an international union refuses point-blank to arbitrate a controversy such as ours was, it is neither entitled to nor worthy of the support of organized labor. In view of this refusal to arbitrate we consider it a crime that kindred trades should be forced into the streets in idleness for the sake of protecting a union that has not only refused a peaceable means of settlement, but has for years flagrantly violated the fundamental principles and ethics of our trade union life in 1907. We conceded interior ornamental marble work to this union. Not satisfied with this they extended their classification to cover all interior stone work, driving not only the stonemason, but also the stonecutter from dimension stone, marble or otherwise. In their attempted absorption of this interior work they told the stonemason and stonecutter to eat cobblestones. In other words, they refused to give membership to the men from whom they had attempted to make so brazen a steal. The taking back under our jurisdiction of all interior stone work was our only alternative in protecting our members, but we extend to the marble worker the privilege of membership with us, and we propose to give back to the stonecutter his right to cut and fit all stone work stolen from him by the Marble Workers. We are setting marble in twenty cities and in view of the fact that we have an agreement with the marble employers, we can not withdraw our men from their work

Digitized by Google

or hold in abeyance our claims to interior marble work pending a conference being held with your executive councils. We urge, in justice to the employer since arbitration was refused by the Marble Workers, that local departments be instructed to keep their members at work pending the outcome of the joint conference mentioned in your telegram.

DOBSON.

Having before us the statement of Secretary Dobson and the resolution of the Seattle Convention, we reached the following conclusion upon the subject:

> On the protest of the International Association of Marble Workers against the encroachment of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union upon the jurisdiction of the Marble Workers in the matter of the setting of marble, slate, and stone in the interior of buildings, the E. C. declares that the Marble Workers are entitled to perform this work; and that the E. C. in co-operation with the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. will render every assistance possible to the Marble Workers to secure for their members the work in question, and further that the organizations in the different localities be so notified.

By reason of this condition of affairs by our direction, President Gompers and Secretary Morrison issued a letter addressed to the local Building Trades Councils jointly with the President and Secretary of the Building Trades Department, giving the decision of the A. F. of L. in this controversy and urging the local Building Trades Councils of the Building Trades Department to assist and support the Marble Workers in their endeavor to maintain their jurisdiction against the encroachments of the Bricklayers.

The convention directed the E. C. with the officers of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, the representatives of the Bricklayers, and the representatives of the Marble Workers to call a meeting to bring about an adjustment at the conference, and failing to secure an adjustment, that the provisions of Resolution No. 67 of the convention be carried into effect; that is, that the central labor unions and state federations of labor should be required to exclude all local unions of Bricklayers. The conference was held at A. F. of L. headquarters on March 11-12, Secretary Morrison and Treasurer Lennon representing the E. C. Representatives of the Bricklayers suggested that the amalgamation of the Bricklayers and the Marble Workers would end the controversy. The Marble Workers refused to consider the proposition. Despite the earnest efforts of the representatives of the officers of the Building Trades Department and the two members of your E. C. who participated in this conference, it was impossible to secure any form of agreement. It was finally decided, however, to refer the entire matter to the conference of the stone trades in New York City on June 20, the President of the Building Trades Department and one member of the E. C. to attend that conference in the hope of being of some assistance in bringing about a settlement. We selected Vice-President Duncan.

On June 20 a conference of delegates from the various stone trades organizations was held in New York City, representatives from the Bricklayers participating therein. The conference, however, was unable to adjust the contention.

Later, at our meeting in July, the Building Trades Department, through its Secretary, transmitted a resolution adopted by the Executive Council of that Department at its meeting June 15, 1914, as follows:

> WHEREAS, It has come to the notice of the representatives of the Building Trades organizations affiliated with the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., that the Journeymen Soft Stone Cutters, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the International Union of Steam Engineers who are affiliated with the A. F. of L., these organizations, with the exception of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters now being in affiliation with the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., have entered into an alliance with the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union for offensive and defensive purposes, and
>
> WHEREAS, Said alliance is formed for the purpose of destroying the Marble Workers, and other organizations now in affiliation with the A. F. of L., and the Building Trades Department thereof, thereby depriving them of rights guaranteed to them by virtue of charters issued to them by the A. F. of L., and the Building Trades Department thereof.
>
> The Executive Council of the Building Trades Department in regular meet-

Digitized by Google

ing assembled protests against the action of these organizations forming this alliance and demands that they withdraw from said alliance and abrogate the agreement or compact which is in violation of the laws of the A. F. of L., and the Building Trades Department thereof.

We, therefore, declare that said actions on the part of the organizations referred to are nothing short of treason and are intended to discredit and to bring into disrepute the laws and prestige of the A. F. of L., and to destroy the usefulness and effectiveness of the Building Trades Department thereof.

We, therefore, request that the A. F. of L. and its E. C. join with the Building Trades Department in demanding of these aforementioned organizations that they immediately withdraw from this alliance and cease giving assistance to organizations in this said alliance and that upon their failure to withdraw from said alliance within sixty days, that they be branded as traitors to the A. F. of L., its policies, its laws, and loyal affiliated organizations, and that all affiliated state and city central labor unions and building trades councils withhold all aid and support from the local unions of said organizations until such time as they repudiate any and all agreements that bind them to this unlawful and illegal combination or compact.

We directed President Gompers to communicate with the several organizations and request them in view of the agreement in question to define their attitude toward and their relationship to the other building trades affiliated with, and part of, the A. F. of L. To that request the following replies were made:

JOURNEYMEN STONE CUTTERS' ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA.
INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *August 3, 1914.*

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, President, A. F. of L., Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your valued favor of the 29th ult., enclosing copy of the resolutions adopted by the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department in session at Atlantic City, June 15, '14, at hand, and as our Executive Board was in session at our offices, I referred the matter to them with the following result: That our Executive Board denied the fact that the Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America entered into any agreement with the B. M. & P. I. U., for the purpose of destroying the International Association of Marble Workers, as set forth in the resolution adopted by the Executive Council of the Department.

We also deny the statement that said agreement was in violation of the laws of the Department, inasmuch as the agreement between the B. M. & P. I. U. and the General Union by this agreement define a jurisdiction which has been in dispute by the two organizations for years. We have since the organization of the Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association claimed the exclusive right to set cut stone. The B. M. & P. I. U. have, on the other hand, claimed this classification of work. The Building Trades Department has done little to assist us in maintaining this jurisdiction, and the contention had come to a point where it had to be settled by the two organizations interested. The agreement was drawn up by the two organizations whereby the setting was conceded to the B. M. & P. I. U., and the cutting formerly done by the B. M. & P. I. U. was returned to the stonecutter. What objection should the Building Trades Department have to a classification of work that was mutually agreeable to the two organizations? Rather should such an agreement be ratified by the Building Trades Department as it settled a contention which the Department was unable to adjust.

The real issue is set forth in the second paragraph of the resolutions adopted by the Executive Council of the B. T. D. Namely, that this agreement was entered into by the Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association for the purpose of destroying the Marble Workers. It is indeed to be regretted that a body of men would pass such a resolution without first fully investigating the matter. We deny the charge emphatically. Just refer to the agreement and the fact is plain that the agreement between the B. M. & P. I. U. and the Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America was signed July 30, '13. Was there any contention over the setting of interior marble at that time? The Building Trades Department at their Seattle convention offered no objections to such an agreement. Then why should a body of men representing several of our international unions composing the E. C. of the A. F. of L., declare that the Journeymen Stone

Digitized by Google

Cutters' Association of North America were traitors to the American labor movement?

Our Executive Board is of the opinion that the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department should have made a more thorough investigation of this agreement before hastening to adopt such a resolution as the one condemning the Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America.

We are at this time and have been since its inception members in good standing in the Building Trades Department. We have been loyal to such affiliation, and in those cities where the Marble Workers have been in trouble with the B. M. & P. I. U., and the local councils ordered all men to remain off the work, we have put our men on the street. In fact right in this city all organizations affiliated with the local council were put on the street for three weeks while the Building Trades Department was in convention at Seattle, and the stonecutters were among those on the street.

The resolution is indeed an unwarranted condemnation and does not speak well for the future welfare of the Department. As I said above, we are members of the Building Trades Department in good standing, and expect to continue our loyal affiliation to the Department, and it is but just and due this organization that the Building Trades Department should rescind this resolution in so far as it pertains to the Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America. Yours fraternally,

WALTER W. DRAYER,
General Secretary.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA.
INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *August 6, 1914.*

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, President, A. F. of L., 801-809 G Street Northwest, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your communication under date of July 25, 1914, asking us to define our attitude and our relationship to the Building Trades organizations affiliated with and part of the A. F. of L., was placed before our General Executive Board in session at this office and ordered complied with.

We might inform you that this matter of the agreement with the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union, along with the demands of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department for our suspension, the revocation of our charter and the order to all state, central, and city bodies to refuse to recognize us or give us assistance, was very carefully considered in detail from all viewpoints and from all angles.

We can not find in the laws of the A. F. of L. any article or section prohibiting or preventing us from entering into agreements with other organizations affiliated or unaffiliated with the A. F. of L. Therefore the resolution of the Building Trades Department demanding that we withdraw from said alliance, and abrogate the agreement or compact entered into with the Bricklayers, "*which is in violation of the laws of the A. F. of L., and the Building Trades Department thereof,*" is a gross case of misquoting the law, as there is no such prohibitive law in the constitution of the A. F. of L., or that of the Building Trades Department.

The agreement entered into by us with the Bricklayers was made in good faith, to be kept, and not to be broken, nor to be used merely as a plaything for the time being. We had suffered greatly through sympathetic strikes over jurisdictional disputes, costing loss of work and wages to our members as well as the payment of enormous strike benefits by our organization, thus depleting its treasury.

We determined we would not stand such a state of affairs any longer. We entered into an agreement and we are going to stand by it. We are opposing no organization affiliated with the A. F. of L., nor are we going to take part in their jurisdictional disputes. We are going to remain neutral. Therefore our relations and attitude towards the other building trades organizations affiliated with, and part of, the A. F. of L. will be the same as it has always been, with the exception that in jurisdictional disputes we will take no part with them, nor will we ask others to take part in our jurisdictional disputes on a building.

It is rather a peculiar question to ask us after all these years of affiliation to define our attitude towards the other organizations of the A. F. of L. It is

Digitized by Google

equivalent to asking us to define our attitude towards the A. F. of L., and in this respect we wish to say we helped to organize the A. F. of L. We have been a component part of the A. F. of L. ever since. We have been with the A. F. of L. in all its ups and downs. We have stood the brunt of battle in many a hard-fought contest. We were selected by the A. F. of L. to make the fight for the eight-hour workday. We assisted others to gain better conditions. We propose to do so in the future. We willingly gave assistance when called upon. Here are a few items:

Donations to other organizations in distress from 1881 to 1901	$299,000.00
For relief of the United Mine Workers on strike in Pennsylvania in 1902	29,422.50
To San Francisco in time of earthquake and fire	15,893.75
Donation to A. F. of L., in defense of Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison contempt case	2,000.00
In defense of Iron Workers in dynamite case	18,007.26
For relief of flood sufferers in Dayton	5,000.00
For relief of flood sufferers in Hamilton	1,000.00
For relief of Western Federation of Miners on strike in Michigan	10,902.75
For relief of fire sufferers in Salem, Mass.	5,000.00

Besides that we have promptly responded to every assessment levied by the A. F. of L. and its E. C., no matter for what purpose. We could always be counted upon as prompt payers and now we are asked to define our position, attitude, and relationship to the A. F. of L., and the organizations affiliated thereto.

In summing up, we wish to say our loyalty to the A. F. of L. can not be questioned. We are in affiliation with you in good standing. We will aid and support you whenever we can. We believe in your principles and policies, but we reserve the right to strike, or refuse to strike, not only in jurisdictional disputes but in all other cases. We reserve the right to enter into agreements with other trades to protect our members in their daily toil, and we reserve the right to transact our business in our own way as guaranteed to us by the laws of the A. F. of L. Article II, Section 2; Article IX, Section 5.

Hoping we have clearly defined our attitude and relationship to the A. F. of L. and all its affiliated organizations, with best wishes and kindest regards, on behalf of our General Executive Board, we are fraternally yours,

JAMES KIRBY,
General President.

FRANK DUFFY,
General Secretary.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STEAM AND OPERATING ENGINEERS.

CHICAGO, ILL., *August 19, 1914.*

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, President of the A. F. of L., Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: In receipt of your several communications of recent date. Absence from the office prevented answering sooner.

In reply to your inquiry as to the agreement existing between the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' International Union of America and ourselves, desire to say that there is nothing in said agreement that changes the relationship that has always existed between other Building Trades and ourselves or affects our affiliation with the A. F. of L., but on the contrary strengthens our position and places us in a position to improve our conditions generally and to be a much more valuable asset to the American labor movement.

The arrangements existing between the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' International Union and this organization have been discussed for a number of years, our Hoisting and Portable locals continuously requesting that something along this line be brought about.

A representative of our organization attended the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' International convention which was held in St. Joseph, Mo., January 9, 1912. His presence in this convention resulted in the following resolutions being unanimously adopted:

"To the delegates of the International Union in Convention assembled in the city of St. Joseph, Mo.

Digitized by Google

"I hereby present the following resolution and hope for its earnest consideration:

"WHEREAS, at various times the Executive Board of the I. U. has secured material assistance from sister organizations in the Building Trades in upholding the principles and policies of the B. M. & P. I. U., therefore,

"*Be it Resolved*, That this convention give the Executive Board full power to make any alliances with the International Union of Steam Engineers or any of the Structural Building Trades that they may deem necessary for the welfare and protection of the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' International Union of America.

JOHN GILL,
Representing Local Union No. 37.

"WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam Engineers and particularly Local No. 403 of New York and vicinity has rendered our International Union very effective assistance, notably on the Prudential Life Insurance Building in the city of Newark, N. J.; therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That this convention extend a vote of thanks to the I. U. S. Engineers and particularly Local No. 403 of New York City, and recommend that the subordinate unions in the jurisdiction of the I. U. assist the Hoisting Engineers of the I. U. S. E., wherever possible.

JOHN GILL,
Representing Local Union No. 37."

From that date until the present time the relationship between the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' International Union of America and our organization has become closer and more general.

Our General President Comerford addressed the Houston, Texas, convention of the Bricklayers' organization, held in February, 1914, and made a strong plea to the delegates for them to affiliate with the A. F. of L. I have since been informed by the delegates who were present that his address had a splendid effect upon all the delegates, many of them, upon returning to their homes, advocated the affiliation of their organization with the A. F. of L., and we are in hopes and of the opinion that such will come to pass in the very near future. We never lose an opportunity when meeting with the representatives of the Bricklayers' organization to bring to their attention the importance of this affiliation.

The following is a copy of the agreement existing between the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' International Union of America and our organization, and I am pleased to be in a position to say that it has proven very beneficial to our organization.

"*Agreement by and Between the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' International Union of America.*

"*First.* We agree to a general 'offensive and defensive' alliance under the following conditions:

"*Second.* That no member of either organization shall work on any operation where workmen are employed other than those who carry a good paid-up working card of each respective international union.

"*Third.* That in all 'offensive and defensive' movements no subordinate local of either international union shall be permitted to take any local action whatsoever until the question requiring joint action shall have first been submitted to and determined upon by the Presidents of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' International Union of America.

"*Fourth.* No movement of an 'offensive and defensive' character shall be countenanced in cases where such would be in violation of existing agreements that have been submitted to and duly approved by the presidents of both international unions, as is required by the constitutional laws thereof.

Digitized by Google

"In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, hereby set our hand and seal this 22d day of April, 1914.

For the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

MATT COMERFORD, *President.*
MILTON SNELLINGS, *1st Vice-Pres.*
WILL M. FINLAY, *5th Vice-Pres.*
JAS. G. HANNAHAN, *Genl. Sec.-Treas.*

For the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' International Union of America:

WM. J. BOWEN, *President.*
THOS. R. PREECE, *1st Vice-Pres.*
WM. DOBSON, *Secretary.*"

You can readily see how this is so beneficial when you understand that about 70 per cent of our hoisting and portable work is with members of the Bricklayers' organization. In almost all cases a member of their organization has the employing of the engineers.

In conclusion desire to say that this agreement has established a number of new locals for our organization and made strong locals out of our weak ones, and in a number of cases prevented locals from going out of existence.

Hoping that I have given your honorable board the desired information, I remain fraternally yours,

JAMES G. HANNAHAN,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

Instead of here expressing our opinion or making comment upon this entire situation, we prefer to discuss the question in all of its phases under a more appropriate and specific head covering the entire subject not only in relation to the organizations enumerated under this head, but also their relations to each other, to the Department, as well as to the A. F. of L. The matter is covered in that part of this report under the caption, "A. F. of L. Departments."

A. F. OF L. DEPARTMENTS

During the past few years several matters have arisen in connection with American Federation of Labor Departments which require the serious consideration and action of this convention, for unless the course pursued by some of them is corrected, damage and injury will be inflicted upon the interests of the working people and the effectiveness of our movement particularly impaired as well as the purposes and effectiveness of our Departments wholly destroyed. That some of the Departments have departed from the basic purposes for which they were created, that they have acted in contravention of the laws and rules of the A. F. of L., can not be questioned. It is necessary to present some of the actions of the Departments in order that the subject may be fully understood.

The Building Trades Department has undertaken decisively to determine questions of respective claims to jurisdiction over certain work, despite the fact that different organizations have insistently claimed that the work belonged to them, and in the effort to enforce a jurisdiction decision, suspended an organization which insisted upon its jurisdiction claim. Upon direction of the A. F. of L. the suspension order was rescinded by the Department and its Executive Council recommended to the Seattle Convention of the Department that the entire subject-matter of the claim be re-opened and recommended that a conference of the representatives of the respective organizations primarily in interest, that is, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers, be held for the purpose of reaching an adjustment of the disputed claim in question. The Seattle Convention of the Department refused to re-open the question and refused the opportunity for such a conference, with the result that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters was refused the opportunity of a review of the case and a conference

Digitized by Google

for adjustment and therefore by a referendum vote of its membership, its withdrawal from the Department was ordered. The result has been that in a number of cities throughout the country the labor movement has been divided in hostile ranks upon the jurisdiction claimed, with great injury to the workers not only of the branches of the building industry involved, but the workers in the other branches, injuriously affecting the interests of the workers and often making employers who are fairly inclined to organized labor the innocent sufferers.

The Seattle Convention of the A. F. of L. urged the Building Trades Department to take some action, and suggested a form by which fairer representation would be accorded to affiliated organizations in conformity with the membership of the organizations represented. It is inconceivable that representation in any assemblage is fair and at all just where the voting power of seven organizations, numbering in the aggregate 40,000 members, is about equal to the voting power of an organization with a membership of 200,000, nor would it be fair and just for the voting power of one or two large organizations to be in a position to dominate. The Building Trades Department convention rejected the A. F. of L. recommendation.

The Metal Trades Department at its last convention at Seattle adopted a law requiring the members of any international union to respond to a strike when ordered in accord with the Department law, and this, too, regardless of whether the laws of international unions require that before any body of its members shall be permitted to strike, the same shall have the approval of the international union involved.

The Railroad Employes' Department without valid reason and by a process of elimination denied an international the right of representation in the Department's convention, and when the officers of the international union protested to the E. C. of the A. F. of L., and were advised to tender the payment of its per capita tax, the same was returned. And this despite the fact that at the direction of the E. C. of the A. F. of L., President Gompers communicated with the officers of the Railway Employes' Department upon the subject.

These are some of the facts with their attending evils and injury which this convention of the A. F. of L. must seriously consider and determine.

It is necessary to recite here some of the purposes for which the Departments were created and how they came into existence. We know of no better way than to quote from the stenographic notes made at the Norfolk A. F. of L. Convention in 1907, when the subject-matter of the formation of a Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. was under consideration. The E. C. in its report recommended that the subject-matter of differences existing between the then existing "Structural Building Trades Alliance," and several other building trades of the A. F. of L. be referred to the Committee on Building Trades. The Building Trades Committee subsequently cited the difficulties which past efforts had encountered, and recommended that a Building Trades Department chartered by and subordinate to the A. F. of L. should be created.

Mr. Frank J. McNulty, representative of the Electrical Workers, a delegate to the convention and a member of the Building Trades Committee, was delegated by it as its spokesman in advocacy of the adoption of the recommendation of the committee to create a department. During the course of the discussion he said:

> "For the first time in the history of the A. F. of L. recognized bona fide building trades of this country came to a convention of the A. F. of L., and have united for the purpose of creating a Building Trades Section that will unite the labor movement of this country. I hope you will not think for a minute that it is the intention of the building trades to separate our labor movement. That is far from the idea. The purpose is to have the building trades and miscellaneous trades work hand in hand in every state in the country to eliminate if possible the continual fighting of the building trades over jurisdiction. In the past we have made enemies of our friends among the employers through fighting over jurisdiction of work. We realize that unless the building trades can be united under one head, it will be impossible to eliminate these fights.
>
> "The building trades have agreed among themselves to forget the jurisdiction quarrels and with the assistance of the E. C., try to create a section that will eliminate those quarrels and protect our friends among the employers."

He then proceeded to recount several of the contests which had arisen in many cities and which would be avoided by the creation of the department, and added:

> "I sincerely trust that you will give this your careful consideration and not think for a minute that we are trying to form a branch in order to divide the movement. On the contrary, we want to unite the movement."

Digitized by Google

Mr. McNulty gave the further assurance that there was no thought of trying to separate the building trades from the A. F. of L. He asserted that all questions should be "subject to an appeal to this body (the A. F. of L.), at any and all times."

Vice-President Duncan, delegate from the Granite Cutters to the convention, though not a member of the Committee on Building Trades, advocated the adoption of the proposition to create a department. He declared that it was—

> "The first tangible action looking to concrete work among them (the building trade unions), that has ever been presented to this convention."

Further on he said:

> "If this A. F. of L. establishes a Building Trades Department to handle all building trade affairs, it will give us a court where affairs can be attended to on short notice. It will also be a component part of the A. F. of L."

Then again he said:

> "The same system of attachment to the A. F. of L. follows all the way through. We hope it will wipe out all this skirmishing and fighting we have had in the past."

President Gompers declared that he believed:

> "If the proposition is fairly understood and properly administered it is going to make for greater solidity for the labor movement of our country, and it will eliminate much of the former contentions."

In response to questions Delegate McNulty declared that in all matters the E. C. and the A. F. of L. itself should be regarded as the parent body, and ended by stating:

> "We intend to keep the A. F. of L. thoroughly acquainted with all our doings; in fact, we consider ourselves under the E. C."

In the course of time the A. F. of L. found the necessity to establish concrete regulations and general rules governing the Departments of the A. F. of L., which are found in Article XV of the A. F. of L. constitution. The following is declared in Section 1:

> "For the greater development of the labor movement, such Departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time."

This section demonstrates the fact that the A. F. of L. undertakes the establishment of Departments subordinate to the A. F. of L., so that the interests of labor may be the better protected and advanced by the greater development of the labor movement.

Section 3 of Article XV reads as follows:

> The fundamental laws of each Department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department or Local Council of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with laws of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws of the latter, Departments and Local Councils are to change their laws to conform thereto.

It will thus be seen that in the adoption of this section of the law of the A. F. of L. Departments are required to comform to and administer their affairs in the same manner as the laws governing the A. F. of L. itself, that no Department or any of its local councils were authorized or permitted to enact any laws, rules, or regulations at variance with those of the A. F. of L. itself, and that when the A. F. of L. shall make any change in its own affairs, Departments are required to change their laws to be in harmony with those of the A. F. of L.

What the convention of the A. F. of L. had in mind as to the duties and functions of the Departments is clearly and distinctly set forth in Section 4, Article XV, as follows:

> Each Department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting that portion of its business.

That is, that the A. F. of L. departmental functions were to perform the A. F. of L work by and through the Department subject also to A. F. of L. jurisdiction, and as Dele

Digitized by Google

gate McNulty said in the 1907 Norfolk Convention already quoted, all questions would be subject to an appeal to the A. F. of L. at any and all times.

And in connection with this subject it is necessary to call attention to that part of Section 3 of Article XV of the constitution of the A. F. of L. setting forth the objects of our movement. There it is provided that "Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor."

And in Section 2 of Article II the following occurs as one of the objects of the A. F. of L.:

> The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

Section 8 of Article XI provides:

> No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

The smaller is always encompassed by the larger. It never occurred to us, and we doubt if it ever occurred to any delegate to the conventions of the A. F. of L., that a Department would deny representation to a duly qualified and eligible international union. It can not be disputed that the provisions of Section 8 of Article XI apply with equal, aye, with greater force, to the attempt of a Department to refuse affiliation to an international union duly qualified and eligible to representation.

We have given here the creation and development of our Departments and briefly their history, the errors into which some of them have fallen and the laws and policy which the A. F. of L. has had and has expressed to them. Yet in addition we deem it essential to make plain our judgment that we realize the difficulties with which our Departments have to contend; the constant changes and transitions of industry; the desire of organizations, trades, callings, and industries to extend their jurisdiction of membership and power, even in that desire for extension trespassing upon the jurisdiction claims of other well constituted organizations perhaps equally justified in those claims and desires. Nor do we wish to minimize the splendid results achieved in the interest of Labor despite the obstacles which have arisen. It is the aim, the purpose, and the policy of the A. F. of L. to bring about closer relations among all the wage workers, to unite them, to bring them in close alliance with each other, to cultivate the feeling and conscience of co-operative action and solidarity of feeling, and whenever and wherever possible to bring about amalgamation of organizations whose memberships are closely allied or akin to each other. But we also realize the fact that men are men, that they are not plastic, that they can not be artificially molded into any form which some may desire. It is by the policy and practice of recognizing the human equation in men, the strength, the weaknesses, the altruism, the selfishness, the broadness or narrowness, isolation or federation, the looking beyond or simply to the immediate moment—all must be taken into consideration if we hope to carry on successfully this voluntary movement of working people, to make common cause, to blend their interests in the one great interest for human betterment, to protect the toilers now, to educate them to a self-imposed discipline that sees all men's good in human brotherhood.

Departments should be required to conform to the laws, rules, and policies of the A. F. of L., and to conform their activities within the limits and for the purposes as laid down by the A. F. of L., and to the recognition that the Departments are regarded as the official method by which the A. F. of L. transacts that portion of its business.

We, therefore, recommend that Article XV of the Constitution of the A. F. of L. be stricken out, and the following inserted in lieu thereof:

> ARTICLE XV.—*General Rules Governing Departments of the American Federation of Labor*
>
> SEC. 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, Departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each Department is to manage and finance its own affairs.
>
> SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any Department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

Digitized by Google

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in Local Councils, or railway system federations of Departments, local unions are required to be part of affiliated national or international unions affiliated to Departments, or of the American Federation of Labor. Said local unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to central labor unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each Department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council, or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Departments, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each Department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the Department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective Departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in Departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other Departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other Departments.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council of each Department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof.

SEC. 9. The officers of each Department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the Department has conformed to the laws, procedure, and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each Department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades' Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the convention.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various Departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their Department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Execuitve Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each Department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to, and to be used by each Department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the Department, each Department to designate its officer to submit the report.

In submitting this part of the E. C.'s report and recommendations for the better regulation of the affairs of the various Departments, and their relation to the A. F. of L., it is necessary to state that the entire subject-matter has commanded much of our attention for several years, and more particularly so during this past year. At our May meeting an exhaustive discussion was had not only among ourselves but with the officers of the Departments.

Digitized by Google

We directed that the views of the representatives of all the Departments be ascertained, and they were later received and at that May meeting, President Gompers was requested to prepare and submit at our following meeting a review of the situation. This he submitted to us in document form, and with it an expression of views of the officers of the Departments.

The entire subject was again fully discussed in conference with the officers of the Departments and the entire subject-matter was referred to a committee of the E. C., consisting of President Gompers, Vice-President Duncan, and Secretary Morrison, who later again held conferences with the representatives of the Departments. Our committee met for three days in succession and devoted their time and attention to the subject in hand. The committee devoted another whole evening session to the consideration of the matter and finally reported to the E. C. at our October meeting.

After two full days of discussion of this subject in all its phases, such changes as the E. C. deemed necessary were adopted and presented in the form as herein submitted, with the full confidence that it is the best solution of the entire problem with which the A. F. of L. and its Departments are confronted, and will, if adopted by this convention, prove of momentous advantage to the working people of America, to our local unions, to system federations, to the various Departments, as well as to the progress and perpetuity of the A. F. of L. itself.

Realizing that the Departments will find it necessary to change several of their laws, modes of procedure, and other matters affecting them by reason of the adoption of the laws and recommendations we have above submitted, and that it will require some considerable time to put them in practical operation, we submit the following so that time and opportunity may be afforded the Departments to conform to the new law and regulations:

Resolved, That Article XV of this constitution as adopted by this convention shall go into full force and effect and be a part of the constitution of the A. F. of L., on and after March 1, 1915. And in the meantime, that is, up to said March 1, 1915, Article XV of the Constitution of the A. F. of L., as it now exists, shall be in full force and effect.

LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' STRIKE

Many of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor have been involved during the year in strikes and lockouts, the results in many instances being greatly advantageous to the membership and the organizations represented. There is one organization to which we desire to call particular attention for two reasons, one, that by Resolution No. 110 the Seattle Convention pledged the assistance of the A. F. of L. to the International Ladies' Garment Workers in the great strike in which that organization was involved, and two, because of the great victory gained. By advice, by consultation with the officers, by addressing mass meetings, by the persistence and determination of the men and women involved, a great victory has been achieved by the Ladies' Garment Workers and not only for the Ladies' Garment Workers but for the entire labor movement.

The agreement finally made between the Garment Workers' Union of Philadelphia and the Garment Manufacturers' Association provides for permanent agencies for adjusting grievances; for better wages, shorter workday, better and safer conditions of life and work; for a fifty-two-hour week with Saturday half-holiday; overtime, not to exceed six hours a week nor two a day, time and a half; piecework prices to be made in advance; wages paid on a fixed day each week. The association agreed to co-operate with the union to establish proper standards and safety and sanitary conditions in all factories and shops in the industry. Home work is prohibited and many other wrongful features are abolished.

This agreement is indeed a great victory for the garment workers of Philadelphia. It means for them the beginning of a period of progress. It means better homes and better living. It means greater opportunity for the orderly and constructive work of trade union organization in behalf of the working people. The trade union does more than hold out hopes of better things; it secures results for the immediate present. It helps to put industry upon a safe and dependable basis. It makes for peace and progress in all their relations.

PRINTING PRESSMEN—CHICAGO NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS' ASSOCIATION

In our supplementary report upon this subject to the Seattle Convention on November 20, 1913, we gave a succinct history of the negotiations up to that time with the Chicago Newspaper Publishers' Association. There is but little which we can add to that report.

At our January meeting another subcommittee was appointed to continue the negotia-

Digitized by Google

tions. After considerable correspondence both by wire and through the mails, the Newspaper Publishers' Association declined to meet in conference with the representatives of the Printing Pressmen, for the reasons set forth in a letter from the Secretary of that Association addressed to President Gompers under date of February 26, 1914, as follows:

CHICAGO LOCAL OF THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS' ASSOCIATION
Room 906, Tribune Building
CHICAGO, ILL., *February 26, 1914.*

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, President, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of January 29, I am instructed to say on behalf of the Chicago Daily Newspaper Publishers that, while it is always a pleasure to confer with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. on matters of common interest, they submit for your serious consideration whether it would not be a mistake, from the point of view of the best interests of organized labor as well as of those of the publishers, for such a conference as you propose to be had at this time.

Harmonious and stable relations, based on mutual good will and good faith, between employers and employes, are the underlying and controlling consideration of all contractual relations between them. Whenever it appears that these fail a contract is ineffective and without value. In fact it is worse than of no value because it gives an outward appearance of industrial peace, which the insincere may use to the surprise and disappointment of those who rely upon it. This was the experience of the Chicago Newspaper Publishers in respect of their last contract with the pressmen's unions, both local and international. Is it the part of wisdom, having in view the interests of both parties, to consider the possibility of a repetition of such a risk? The publishers think it would be most unwise particularly in view of the fact that there is an alternative course, sound in morals and successful in experience. This is exemplified in the harmonious contractual relations between the Chicago Newspaper Publishers and the stereotypers' union, and also the typographical union. These contracts are in each case made jointly with the local and the international unions. It is recognized that a local union, in times of controversy, may be under the stress of strong personal feeling, which may threaten the maintenance of a contract in good faith, an influence to which the internatioual officers of the craft are not subject. The international organization therefore becomes a party to the contract jointly with the local union, and guarantees the faithful execution of the contract on the part of its local body. Under this provision the Chicago Publishers' Association has, as you know, reestablished contractual relations with the International Stereotypers' Union, notwithstanding the recent strike by the local Stereotypers' Union. The International Stereotypers' officers did all in their power to carry out their joint obligations under the former contract with the Chicago Publishers' Association, and while their efforts were at the time ineffective, the Publishers' Association recognized and appreciated the good faith back of the effort, and in time re-established contractual relations with the stereotypers' union. The success of this plan of joint contractual relations with both local and international unions has been even more strikingly exemplified in the case of the Typographical Union. When four years ago, the Chicago Typographical Union, under radical and unwise leadership, broke its contract with the publisher in one of the newspaper offices and struck, the international officers immediately made good their guaranty and declared the strike illegal and void, and took effective measures to bring the local union back to the recognition of its contract obligations. These experiences demonstrate how essential is the element of international participation in labor contracts to insure their stability in times of local stress and feeling.

This guaranty of good faith and stability the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union is, unfortunately, unable to give the Chicago publishers. When the local Pressmen's Union inaugurated the recent strike in the Chicago newspaper offices the international union not only did *not* fulfill its joint obligations to the publishers under the contract, but actively aided and abetted the Chicago Pressmen's Union in its breach of contract. The president of the international came to Chicago and took personal direction of the strike, and in cooperation with the local organization has maintained an active campaign of hos-

Digitized by Google

tility up to the present time. His attitude at that time, and his actions since, indicate that he does not regard as valid any contract between his local unions and members of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. The best evidence of this is his unsuccessful attempt in May, 1912, to call out the pressmen in the several Hearst newspapers in other cities than Chicago, and his orders to all pressmen's unions throughout the country to hold themselves in readiness to strike if so ordered by the officers of the international union. It is also within your personal knowledge that, at the conference of the printing trades which you held in Chicago on May 23, 1912, as officially reported by Mr. Michael Colbert to the Executive Council of the International Typographical Union, Mr. Berry said: "I am here to get the printers on the street if I can. I would break any contract under similar conditions, and I have tried and am trying to get the printers to break theirs." He was reported as repeatedly declaring that "the ethics of trades unionism demand the violation of the best contract ever made, if necessary to assist a sister union in distress."

We submit that under such conditions it is impossible to consider any assurance of good faith on the part of the present administrative officers of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union seriously, or to regard them as other than insincere in purpose and impossible of faithful performance, because these men have shown themselves persistently faithless to their former contract obligations to us, and are on record as advocating the breaking of contracts with employers when such action seems to suit their immediate purpose.

The Chicago publishers believe that in view of the existing conditions you will recognize the necessity and the wisdom of their position in declining to consider the renewal of contractual relations with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union so long as it is administered by the present executive officers. We venture the hope that the intelligent and sincere interest of your E. C. in the furtherance of right relations between employers and employes may prompt such co-operation to the end suggested as may properly come within the functions of your organization.

It is well known that there is an active sentiment of protest in the rank and file of many of the pressmen's unions throughout the country against the policy of bad faith in the violation of contracts which has governed the present administration of the international union. Representatives of this sentiment have sought conference with the Chicago publishers, but it has not seemed wise that the publishers should have any part in such a movement, and they have therefore declined to meet them. We give you this information as evidencing the sincerity of our own position, and as an assurance to your E. C. that there is a sentiment within the membership of the local pressmen's unions throughout the country which disapproves the present administrative policies of the international organization. When this sentiment finds adequate expression in placing the administration of the international union in the hands of men who can be trusted to keep faith on their own part, as well as to compel their local union to replace its present officers with men who can be trusted to keep faith with their employers w th whom it may have entered into contract relations, the Chicago publishers will then feel justified in taking up for serious consideration the possibility of entering again into contractual relations with the pressmen's union as they have already done with the stereotypers' union.

While the Chicago publishers do not wish to be understood as declining to meet you and your E. C. for conference in this matter, they submit their own view that such a conference, under present conditions, would be unwise in that the publishers could only repeat the views herein expressed, and for the further reason that the very fact of such a meeting would be likely to be misinterpreted by the present officers of the international and the local pressmen's unions as meaning a possibility in their behalf which does not exist. Sincerely yours,

HENRY H. CARY,
Secretary, Chicago Local of the A. N. P. A.

President Gompers replied thereto on February 28 as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 28, 1914.*

Mr. HENRY H. CARY, Secretary, Chicago Local of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, Room 906, Tribune Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

Digitized by Google

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 26th instant reached me just before my departure for Chicago and I am dictating this reply on the train.

After a careful perusal I feel constrained to say that the position assumed by the Chicago Daily Newspaper Publishers' Association is cause for disappointment and chagrin. Surely if in February, 1914, the Chicago Newspaper Publishers feel that a conference to endeavor to adjust the matters in dispute is unwise and therefore decline, the committee of the E. C. of the A. F. of L., Messrs. Duncan, Mitchell and Lennon, November, 1913, were either misled or gathered an erroneous understanding of your attitude at that time, for upon the report which they submitted to the E. C. upon this conference, the E. C. based its supplementary report to the Seattle Convention of the A. F. of L. For convenience I quote that report in full. It is as follows:

"SEATTLE, WASH., *November 20, 1913.*

In accordance with the instructions of the Rochester, N. Y., Convention of the A. F. of L. that the E. C. should enter into negotiations with the Newspaper Publishers' Association of Chicago, Illinois, in an effort to adjust the pending dispute with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, and for the purpose of securing the employment of union pressmen by all the members of the Newspaper Publishers' Association of Chicago, correspondence was entered into and efforts made to carry out the instructions of the convention. Little progress was made until just prior to the present convention in Seattle.

Finally, by prearrangement, a subcommittee of the E. C., consisting of James Duncan, John Mitchell and John B. Lennon, met the representatives of the Chicago Newspaper Publishers' Association at their rooms and discussed the subject throughout the afternoon of November 3, 1913. The representatives of the Publishers' Association did not indicate a desire to enter into arrangements to unionize their pressrooms, claiming they were getting along in a manner satisfactory to themselves and had agreed to the conference principally because it had been called by the A. F. of L., and out of courtesy to the request and efforts of the E. C.

After lengthy discussion of the whole subject and events antecedent thereto, and on being informed that a report on the subject would be made to the Seattle Convention of the A. F. of L., the representatives of the Publishers' Association agreed that the subcommittee could report to the E. C. at its meetings in Seattle, and through it to the convention, that if the Seattle Convention desired to continue the efforts at adjustment of the contention, the Publishers' Association would be agreeable to meet again in conference at a suitable time to be arranged after the Seattle Convention had adjourned.

The subject-matter was considered by the E. C. since we have been in Seattle and action was taken thus to report the subject to the convention with the recommendation that the convention should authorize the E. C. to continue its efforts to adjust the yet pending dispute and to act with or on behalf of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union at such conferences as may be necessary to bring about what we hope may be an understanding between the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and the Chicago Newspaper Publishers' Association, in connection with which it might be possible thoroughly to unionize all the mechanical departments in the printing offices of the Chicago Publishers' Association.

Respectfully submitted.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL:
SAMUEL GOMPERS,
JAMES DUNCAN,
JOHN MITCHELL,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
D. A. HAYES,
WM. D. HUBER,
JOS. F. VALENTINE,
JOHN R. ALPINE,
H. B. PERHAM,
JOHN B. LENNON,
FRANK MORRISON."

Digitized by Google

It may be of interest to note that the officers of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America who were at the Seattle Convention expressed their acquiescence in the progress which seemed to have been made in endeavoring to bring about better relations between that organization and its members on the one hand and the Chicago Newspaper Publishers' Association on the other.

You can, therefore, have an appreciation of what I apprehend—that is, that the disappointment and chagrin will be shared by them as well as by the committee of the E. C. who had the conference with the publishers, whose report in turn was made to the Seattle Convention, upon the delegates to that convention and upon the rank and file of the workers of our country.

In your letter you say:

"We venture the hope that the intelligent and sincere interest of your E. C. in the furtherance of right relations between employers and employes may prompt such co-operation to the end suggested as may properly come within the functions of your organization."

Immediately preceding this sentence and in the same paragraph you say that you decline to consider the renewal of contractual relations with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, "so long as it is administered by the present executive officers."

Of course I do not know whether my inference as to your suggestion is accurate, but if it is intended to convey the idea that the E. C. of the A. F. of L. should or could co-operate or take any action to supplant the present executive officers of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, then I must be permitted to state as broadly as I can that such action does not come within the "functions," the right or the desire of the A. F. of L. The International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, like every other affiliated organization, through its membership has the sovereign right and power to choose its own officers and administrators and it would be a sorry day for America's workers, and for the organized labor movement instituted for their protection and for the promotion of their rights and interests, if the officers of the general labor movement, that is, the E. C. of the A. F. of L., were to attempt, even if they so desired, and I assure you they do not, to interfere in the selection by the membership of the organizations of the persons whom they choose as their officers and representatives.

Concede if you will for the sake of this correspondence that a mistaken policy has been pursued. I contend that that too is not a sufficient reason to decline a conference that might help to correct an alleged error or course of action and which might have led and would lead to better relations in the future than have existed in the past, and certainly better than that which now exist.

In the early part of last year, after considerable correspondence with you, Mr. Lennon, Mr. Alpine, and I representing the E. C. had a conference with Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Lawson in New York City. Then after much correspondence by mail and telegraph, the conference was held last October between Messrs. Duncan, Mitchell, and Lennon, and the Publishers' Association. Then after the report which the E. C. submitted to the Seattle Convention, which seemed to indicate and promise a helpful way out, to say the least, of a disagreeable situation, I have been in mail and telegraphic communication with you for about a month, to find as a result that for the reasons you assign the Chicago Newspaper Publishers decline the conference.

In your letter you say that the Chicago Publishers believe that I will "recognize the necessity and the wisdom of their position in declining to consider the renewal of contractual relations with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America," and then say, "so long as it is administered by the present executive officers."

I frankly tell you that I do not recognize either the necessity or the wisdom of their position. During the conference in which I have participated with the Chicago Newspaper Publishers' Association, from what I learned of that which was expressed on both sides and during the conference in which the other representatives of the E. C. participated the necessity and the wisdom of the very opposite course were urged and which seemed to have met with encouragement.

Digitized by Google

It may not be amiss just here to call your attention to a fact in connection with this entire matter. It is possibly known by you that there are some who attack and denounce any effort on the part of workmen to enter into agreements and contractual relations with employers, attack and denounce any and all reasons and who predicate their attitude upon the idea that workmen should not bind themselves either in honor, or in any other way, to refrain from striking, collectively quitting work, and attempt to impose new conditions upon employers at any moment when it seems to them to be most advantageous, and this too regardless of any result on industry, commerce, or progress.

Of course, you know that the American labor movement as represented by the trade unions constituting the A. F. of L. not only believe in but they practice the policy and principle of agreements with employers for specific periods to maintain industrial peace during the life of these joint bargains or agreements, and that at their termination to endeavor to secure improved conditions as the result of the better service they are continually giving to their employers and to society.

I mention this variance of views, policy, and practice despite the alleged or actual incidental departure therefrom to bring to your attention that it is just such an attitude which the Chicago Newspaper Publishers have assumed in the subject-matter of this correspondence that gives aid and encouragement to the first and to the detriment of the well-ordered, well-considered plan, policy, and practice of the great labor movement of our country under the banner of the A. F. of L.

Unless I shall hear from you further of some change of attitude of the Chicago Publishers' Association, I doubt that it will be further necessary to communicate with you upon this subject. Very truly yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, A. F. of L.

Of course copies of this correspondence were forwarded to President Berry, of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, who under date of March 9 wrote a comprehensive letter to Mr. Cary of the Chicago Newspaper Publishers' Association, the purport of which was to show the general constancy of the International Union to maintain the contractual relations with newspaper publishers all over the country; that the offer for arbitration was made prior to the contest in the Chicago newspaper offices; that there had been a change in the personnel of the International Union's Executive Board, and that it was an offer for an earnest effort to reach and maintain new contractual relations with the Chicago Newspaper Publishers.

In view of all that we have reported and the circumstances, we are still of the opinion that contractual relations should be established between the Printing Pressmen's Unions and the Newspaper Publishers, and we recommend that the E. C. be authorized to resume effort toward the attainment of that purpose.

A. F. OF L. OFFICE BUILDING

The Executive Council made an investigation of the project to erect an office building for the American Federation of Labor. When this subject was under consideration at former conventions certain specific instructions and power were given to the E. C. for the erection of an A. F. of L. office building together with part financial means by which the building could be erected. We have carefully gone into the entire subject, examining sites and buildings. In some instances the sale price has been prohibitive; in some others the location was inconvenient; latterly offers were made to us of buildings which are available at a fairly reasonable sale price and which, with renovations necessary, could conveniently and amply become the permanent office building for the A. F. of L.

In addition we are advised that some of the buildings to which we refer would admit of the construction of one or two additional stories and thus give the opportunity for the extension of more commodious quarters whenever necessary. What we have in mind is not the construction or purchase of an office building in which offices are to be rented for commercial or business purposes, but to confine it to the offices of the A. F. of L., its affiliated departments and for such other offices for unions for which there may be convenience.

The Seattle Convention required a report upon this subject to this convention and

Digitized by Google

limited the authority and power of the E. C. which had been granted to it by former conventions. We therefore submit the above with the following recommendation:

> That this convention authorize and direct the E. C. of the A. F. of L. to cause to be constructed or to purchase a building for an office building for the A. F. of L. and its Departments and such other unions for which structure may be suitable; that the E. C. be further authorized to avail itself of the former instructions of the conventions of the A. F. of L. to use such funds as are authorized in the furtherance of the object herein stated and that the E. C. be further authorized to raise such other funds as might be necessary to carry out the instructions herein set forth.

A. F. OF L. EXHIBIT—PANAMA-PACIFIC EXPOSITION

At the Seattle Convention, authority and instructions were given the Executive Council to plan for an American Federation of Labor exhibit at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco, California, February 20 to December 4, 1915; that the exhibit be made fully worthy of the cause which our movement represents, calling upon international unions to co-operate to the end that their industry and organization be fully and properly represented and the exhibit made complete. The Union Label Trades Department at its convention immediately preceding the A. F. of L. Seattle Convention unanimously pledged its co-operation and the co-operation of its affiliated international unions in the execution of this commendable effort. It was also decided at Seattle that President Gompers, in connection with his visit to San Francisco (authorized by the convention), endeavor to secure either an entire building or a half building for the A. F. of L. exhibit. That effort was made but the plan of the directorate carried into effect precluded its possibility. After considerable conference and correspondence, units 180 and 181, consisting of 54 feet 1 inch in width, and 21 feet 9 inches in depth, in the Palace of Education and Social Economy were assigned for the booth of the A. F. of L. exhibit.

We placed the entire matter first in the hands of President Gompers, and then directed Secretary Morrison to co-operate with him to secure such further assistance as may be necessary. Owing to the fact that their attention has been almost continuously given, first, to their regular duties, and then to the immediate legislation pending in Congress, they were unable to place the matter in concrete form until recently when they reported to us. We have approved the plan of exhibit which is in conformity with the plan and design as designated by the general scheme adopted by the Exposition Directors. The general plan which the A. F. of L. is following in its exhibit is a complete departure from the old methods employed in other expositions in this and other countries. In former expositions, objects were exhibited and though these were interesting, they left a less vivid impression upon the mind of visitors than will an exhibition of the character contemplated for the Panama-Pacific Exposition. This exposition is intended to be primarily educational in character, and to be in symbols, charts, and figures to show the progress and achievements in tangible form that will convey the principles and purposes for which our movement stands, that which it has achieved and its relation to the people and the life of the community and of the country—a lesson of immediate and lasting value.

There is no doubt but that if the international unions, whose active co-operation has already been urged, act wisely and promptly, the exhibit to be made by them and the A. F. of L. will not only reflect credit and honor upon our movement, but it will be a potent agency to impress still further upon our fellow-workers and the people generally the great struggle for justice and humanity in which we are so earnestly and effectively engaged. It will be a suggestive, stimulating and educational exhibit. It will have its influence upon the students, thinkers, publicists, and the masses here and abroad and will, beyond doubt, deserve and receive the highest award at the hands of the jury entrusted with that function.

No more effective piece of work can be devised in the interests of our fellow workers and our movement than by the international unions giving enthusiastic and prompt assistance to the fulfillment of this project—the A. F. of L. exhibit at the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915. In view of the fact that the funds of the A. F. of L. are meager and the expenditure for this exhibit will be considerable, we recommend that the E. C. be authorized to call upon the affiliated organizations and friends to contribute a commensurate share of the expenses involved.

Digitized by Google

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

No medium of publicity or literary agency in America has been a greater power for justice for the oppressed and for fair opportunity for all than has the official monthly magazine of the American Federation of Labor, the *American Federationist*. Founded by the authority of the Chicago Convention of the A. F. of L. in 1893, the magazine has constantly grown in power and influence, not only among the working people themselves but among students, publicists, lawmakers, administrators, and interpreters.

Contributed articles and editorial expressions in the *American Federationist* have driven home with convincing logic and irresistible power the fundamentals of justice, right, and humanity; the laborers' side of labor, social and political problems; higher concepts of rights, duties and obligations; the relations of workers to employers and to society; the defense of the weak against the rapacity of the strong; protest against wrongs too long endured and demands for rights too long denied. This official journal has been an invaluable agency in the long fight for real industrial freedom that the workers have waged for nearly a quarter of a century.

At first the ordinary publications were closed to our cause. There was no way to get a hearing before those who must be convinced before remedial legislation could be secured. There was no way to present the cause of justice for human beings who had not the means to buy publicity in publications conducted for profit. In that fight the *American Federationist* has led, ably supported and aided by the labor press.

A great change has been worked in public opinion throughout the land among the people of all callings. It was necessary to convince all that constructive results for justice might be secured. The rights attaching to property have long found a hearing and advocates before all tribunals. The rights of human beings had to secure their hearing and their advocates. It was necessary to convince those who held power in their hands that the rights of human beings are of infinitely greater importance than rights attaching to property. This cause had to be presented in a way that would appeal to and convince those who mold public opinion and policies and as well as those who by the ballot ultimately decide public issues.

It has been necessary for those who undertook the advocacy of these principles to incur full responsibility wherever that might lead. Freedom for the workers has involved freedom of speech and press. Efforts to maintain these rights unrestricted have necessitated that those responsible for the publication of this official magazine challenge judicial usurpation of authority at the risk of personal liberty. By this concrete immediate instance of denial of rights to workers the *American Federationist* effectively forced home the urgent need of legislative relief to secure relief from the abuse of injunctive process.

The *American Federationist* has successfully done this. It has aroused and crystallized the judgment of the people of our country which found its expression in the enactment by Congress of the labor sections of the Clayton Antitrust Act and in the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States upon the constitutionality of the Missouri trust law. That decision laid down the principle at least so far as that state is concerned, that there is a distinct line of demarcation between the control of the products of labor and the control of human beings over their own labor power. A study of the columns of the *American Federationist* readily discloses the persistent discussion and insistent demand for the writing into law of that principle embodied in the Clayton Antitrust Act, that **the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce.**

In the movement for the more thorough organization of unorganized fellow-workers the *American Federationist* not only has furnished the argument and the philosophy of organizing material in advocating the principle of organized effort, unity, federation, and solidarity, but has been a splendid practical aid. It has stimulated thought and found response in the hearts and minds of all, and helped the struggling labor press to a better understanding of the underlying principles, as well as the hope and the aspirations of the organized labor movement. It has furthered and interpreted the interests of the workers in all lines of endeavor.

In addition, in the columns of the *American Federationist* have been published the financial reports of the A. F. of L.—the income received from all sources and expenditures for all purposes, thus challenging the criticism of our opponents and receiving and deserving the commendation and confidence of our fellow-workers. It publishes the reports of the organizers, salaried and volunteer, giving the record of the work done in each locality, and giving advice and encouragement to the toilers the continent over. These reports are the first-hand sources of labor history. They reflect in palpable form efforts to promote human

Digitized by Google

welfare. They show the movement in the making and contain the only general survey of the labor movement in America published anywhere.

The *American Federationist* prints contributed articles and reports from officers in the labor movement of this and other countries. While maintaining in its columns an open forum, no expression of opinion by any one adverse to the rights and interests of Labor has been published but which has been accompanied by prompt and effective refutation.

The *American Federationist* has been sent to the membership of directly affiliated local unions and has kept the workers better advised of the work, aims, and purposes of our movement, thereby creating a closer bond of unity and sympathy. This project of supplying the membership of directly affiliated local unions with copies of each issue of the *American Federationist* is not financially a profitable one, nor indeed is the *American Federationist* in itself a business concern conducted with regard to profit or loss, but our magazine is regarded and used as an authoritative means of recounting the history of the methods and achievements of the labor movement, voicing the fears and hopes as well as the wrongs and the rights of the toilers, and declaring for the highest ideals and aspirations for a higher and better life. These advantages are of far greater value than can be computed in mere money terms.

The *American Federationist* has performed a great educational service. It has supplemented this information with carefully prepared interpretations and detailed information—in other words, the magazine is the official organ which deals with the policies and the philosophy of the trade union movement. It is the publication to which officers, union members, workers and students, turn for data and interpretations as a reference source to help them in their work, their writings, their speeches, their study.

All fellow-unionists should avail themselves of the splendid opportunities afforded for mental expansion and clearer vision of the length and breadth and width and depth of our movement by voluntarily subscribing for the *American Federationist.*

A. F. OF L. WEEKLY NEWS LETTER

The newspaper occupies a very important place in the literature of the American public and hence is a powerful agent in molding public opinion. The regular press of the land is a commercial enterprise, subject to all the influences that are powerful in commercial centers. Hence the workers for years found it practically impossible to get their cause correctly reported or interpreted in the daily press.

No enterprise or movement can succeed without getting itself known to the public, for the public is the final arbiter in all things. Every important movement must have publicity organs that will be true to the cause. Financial and industrial enterprises can buy for the material side of business the necessary publicity, but the labor movement can not buy for the human beings concerned in production publicity for their interests and for the truths concerning their problems. Now industrial development may be considered from two viewpoints—the material and the human. Employers have been interested chiefly in the material, and have secured publicity for it and for the cause of profits. Labor organizations are concerned with human welfare. Upon them falls the responsibility of securing to the workers proper publicity. By making public their cause the workers can put soul and humanity into business.

Publicity for the cause of Labor is the great service of the labor press of the land. But the labor press has not the financial resources that make our regular paper so efficient and so successful in dealing with the news of the day and hour. For this reason the 1909 convention of the A. F. of L. authorized the publication of a Weekly News Letter, as an aid and a source of suggestion to hard working labor editors.

The Weekly News Letter, published at the A. F. of L. headquarters, has immediate access to information in regard to the developments and the progress in the trade union movement and in regard to progress in securing legislation which affects the whole movement, and hence is a medium by which news can be quickly carried throughout the country and results obtained expeditiously. In this way the Weekly News Letter supplements the other publications of the A. F. of L.

The *American Federationist* is an aid to the editorial departments of the labor press, the Weekly News Letter is an invaluable source of information to the news columns. Both services supplementing each other are necessary in securing the proper publicity for Labor's cause. Each publication enables us to reach various reading circles.

As the usefulness of the weekly publication has been recognized and appreciated by the labor editors the publication has been made more serviceable to meet the growing de-

Digitized by Google

mands made upon it. It has furnished regular dependable information of progress and growth in the economic fields. Not only has the Weekly News Letter been of service to the labor press, but it has been of very great assistance in performing the administrative work of the headquarters. It has enabled the officers to put information quickly and cheaply in the hands of the members of organized labor so that immediate and effective action could be taken by them. This has been an indispensable aid in keeping the rank and file of organized labor in touch with the changes in the parliamentary situation arising in connection with legislation in Congress.

During the fiscal year, and up to date, the Weekly News Letter has published 23 extra editions totaling 1,330,000 copies. The total number of copies printed and circulated during the same period is 1,835,000.

LABOR PRESS

There is no more effective way to control men than through their minds. Control over mind-stuff material constitutes control over the lives and destinies of men and women. The material which most largely enters into the creation and the shaping of public opinion is in the pages of the newspapers. The power that controls the press of America determines to a large extent political, social, and economic development. A truth can make or break a sentiment. A truth has the power to move the heart of a man to compassion or to fire his soul with some great purpose. Yet the press has the power of life and death over many truths. That which is not known for all practical purposes does not exist. Facts, causes, conditions, that are unknown to the public have no part in determining public opinion and policies. The workers have found that in struggles for industrial justice one element vitally important for success is getting the facts about their cause before their fellow workers and the public.

Public opinion is formed almost entirely by the press. Back of the press is an invisible power autocratically determining what information shall be published and what suppressed. That power controls the great news-gathering agencies. It extends to the editorial rooms. It is felt in the publishing houses. This invisible autocrat owes its resources to business and property interests, consequently either consciously or unconsciously it serves those interests.

To give publicity to the cause of those who contend for reform or humanitarian purposes there must be a press free from the domination of this throttling control. Such a press has been steadily growing in influence and numbers. The number and the character of the labor papers published today are most gratifying. The labor press has been the champion of the workers—the masses of our people; to speak the right word at the right time for those bowed by heavy burdens and weary hearts—the victims of injustice, heedlessness, greed, and brutality; those whose cause did not have popular favor. Many of those who have ungrudgingly given the toil of heart and mind to the labor press have found reward only in the consciousness of worthy work worthily done. Many a weary hour goes into the preparation of the news columns and the editorials of each issue. The difficulties are discouraging but the labor editor knows that every bit of truth, however small or fragmentary, that he is able to inject into the thought material of the public is an entering wedge to blast away prejudice and misrepresentations. Every effort helps the ultimate purpose—the freedom and the welfare of humanity.

The labor press has a very great work to perform. Its business is to get before the people the real news of life—the truths about living and working. The metropolitan press is largely a commercial undertaking—for it living and working are newspaper materials for stories that appeal to popular interests. For the labor press the point is to make truths about living and working known to everyone. These truths have power to move men and governments.

The labor press must have support and opportunity in order to accomplish its purpose. Every one loyal to the cause of Labor should feel the duty devolving upon him to support financially and morally the labor press that has done so much for the cause and can be enabled to do infinitely more.

LECTURE BUREAU

In regard to the resolution requesting that the convention instruct the Executive Council to establish lecture bureaus and to employ expert sociologists, which the convention referred to the E. C. with instructions to give consideration to the subject with the object of bringing about a wider knowledge of the measures and policies advocated by the trade

Digitized by Google

union movement, we beg to say that the subject was referred to the Washington resident officers who held a conference with the representatives of the various affiliated Departments and the Legislative Committee. After a thorough discussion it was decided that during the coming winter President Gompers should deliver a series of lectures to organized labor in Washington; that these lectures be stenographically reported; that the questions and answers be taken down so as to bring out the subjects of discussion with reference to every feature of the labor movement; that these questionnaires and answers be published in pamphlet form for the officers and organizers to assist them in lecturing upon the labor movement. The pamphlet will be distributed to the rank and file of the labor movement, the sale price to be practically at cost.

A. F. OF L. LIBRARY

We have given much consideration during our meetings to the subject of enlarging the library of the American Federation of Labor along the lines suggested in Resolution No. 172 of the Seattle Convention. We submit the following for your consideration and your direction as to further action you desire taken.

The A. F. of L. has at present what constitutes a nucleus for such a library as is proposed. We have a number of the books published on labor and other matters bearing upon the problems of economics. For several years we have endeavored to keep a complete file of government documents dealing with labor legislation and labor interests. There are of course the publications of the Federation, its files of correspondence, etc., which are the sources of historical information in regard to the movement, its development, policies and achievements. Data upon the Hatters' Case and the contempt proceedings growing out of the Buck's Stove and Range Company's injunction proceedings have been carefully indexed and catalogued. There are also a good many copies of court decisions affecting the workers and their organizations. Many reports from organizations at home and abroad are filed and are available for use. All that has been done toward establishing a library has been done in addition to the regular work of the office by those who have many other duties. Our informational sources are necessarily incomplete because we have not had the funds to spend in purchasing and because we have been unable to employ librarians to give their time to the systematic collection and cataloguing of material.

In considering the matter proposed two things present themselves as fundamental necessities—money and co-operation. The local work could be accomplished principally through co-operation at comparatively little expense. However, to make the library at headquarters as nearly complete as possible, to purchase works of art, such as music, painting, sculpture, would be an extremely costly undertaking and would also necessitate additional expense for housing and for the services of trained librarians. The cost objection of course is not a prohibitive consideration, it is only raising a question of values—whether or not such a library would be of sufficient value to the movement to justify the inauguration of the policy.

It must be conceded that those who control the sphere of thought control the most powerful forces in the lives of men. When the workers infuse their concepts, the principles educed from their experiences, and their psychology into the world of study, instruction and intellectual productions, they secure a tremendously advantageous position for their cause, which is the cause of justice. Such a library would become a research center for students interested in the labor movement. It could be made a formulative power in all the educational world. It would thus afford an opportunity to impress the predominance of the human element over all other elements upon thinking people who probably will occupy places of importance and power. The development of the university movement is too obvious to be ignored—the university is widening its scope of operation tremendously, university men are taking conspicuous places in public affairs. This is a power with which Labor can establish friendly co-operative relations to our advantage. It is a power that has been too long left to organizations hostile to the best interest of the workers.

We recognize that works of art have an inestimable value and that the workers as well as others have hungered for things of the spirit, yet in view of the limited resources and the immediate needs of the A. F. of L. the compiling of informational data and the gradual collection of labor literature seems the most practicable and the most necessary of the proposals. Co-operation with various organizations and institutions would reduce but would not eliminate the expense of establishing a library.

No doubt all labor organizations would contribute full sets of all their publications. The labor press would send copies for filing as well as back files. Many of the member-

Digitized by Google

of organized labor and its friends have books dealing with labor subjects, rare, out-of-print volumes, personal collections of clippings, circulars, bulletins, etc., of historic value, which they would gladly contribute to an institution that would care for them and use them for the cause. Collections like the Ely collection in the John Crerar Library are invaluable to research students and to writers and could be obtained for a labor library. A general announcement of the proposed establishment of a Labor Library and our desire to obtain such material now in the hands of individuals would undoubtedly result in a generous response. Many authors and publishing houses would freely contribute their publications to an institution of the nature contemplated. If book reviews were published by the Library, many books would be sent with the hope of securing notice by the A. F. of L. But of course there would have to be a fund for purchasing the greater number.

The gathering of information to be supplied to local organizations does not present such great financial difficulties. There are many agencies already organized for similar purposes with which co-operative relations could be established. Many associations and libraries now publish bibliographies and lists that would be very helpful for our purpose and might be willing to furnish information of exactly the nature desired. These agencies may be classified into those national in organization and those local. The A. F. of L. could get in touch with the former, and the local bodies with the latter and all information sent to headquarters, which would serve as a general clearing-house.

The national institutions referred to include the Congressional Library; the library of the federal Department of Labor which publishes a valuable monthly list of magazines and articles upon Labor; associations such as the Political Science Association, Political Economy Association, American Historical Association, American Association for Labor Legislation, the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, colleges, universities, and technical schools of national reputation. All of these are now preparing bibliographies and are observing new treatises upon subjects related to labor interests, and might be induced to assist in this special work. All collegiate departments of political economy deal with labor subjects directly, and departments of political science and history at least indirectly. These departments probably would be willing to organize clubs or groups or to establish seminars that would give expert service to the A. F. of L., and in turn would allow us to preach the gospel of unionism to them. Data from these sources sent into headquarters could be there collated and prepared for the use of the various local organizations.

In turn each state body has a field for special work. Nearly every state has a state university and a state historical society from which information and co-operation could be secured. The state federations of labor are able to interest appropriate university departments to offer more courses of interest to students of labor questions and thereby disseminate more widely the principles and philosophy of organized labor. Such a movement would result in additions to labor literature in the university library. Many state universities supply library lists to high schools and to debating clubs—both state and local organizations could demand information on labor subjects. Labor could ask for and insist that the state university give extension courses in labor economics and history and other subjects of special interest to them. Demands could be made upon university departments of literature for information and courses in labor literature and labor songs. Similar demands could be made upon art departments for courses in Labor in art. The working people have a right to make these demands upon universities supported by state funds. Their demands would be effective. Some states, for example Wisconsin and Indiana, have special agencies for compiling information upon issues of current interest. It would not be difficult to secure their assistance for the cause of Labor.

The state federations of labor should co-operate with the local bodies and with the library at headquarters. All information collected should be sent to Washington so that the data there could be kept complete for the whole country. It would be the part of the local bodies to have labor literature added to local public and school libraries and to have labor interests considered in the curriculum of the local schools. The central bodies in cities like New York or Chicago have a big opportunity and a chance to do most important work. In these and other cities of similar character there is also an opportunity to get information by getting in touch with museums, art galleries, and art schools.

There are a greater number of sculptures dealing with labor subjects than is commonly appreciated. There are monuments in various cities and sculptures in scattered museums. Little or no effort has been made to collect information that would give a general idea of the number and the character of these artistic conceptions of Labor. Such a catalogue is a fundamental necessity for securing the installment of copies or reproductions in other art collections.

Digitized by Google

The working people of Ghent have made one of the most notable efforts to encourage the creation of new art. Their organization, the Vooruit, has subsidized Jules von Brisbroeck, a Flemish painter and sculptor. Probably his best known marble group is *Vers L'Emancipation*. Another Belgian sculptor, Constantin Meunier, gave years of his life to interpreting modern industrialism. A collection of these will soon be on exhibition in New York. This will afford an opportunity which ought not to be lost by organized labor. They can use this exhibit to give prominence to the cause of Labor. They can present requests for similar exhibits and for the purchase of originals or copies for local galleries or parks, etc.

In carrying out the purpose of this plan, the individual bodies would need special educational committees, responsible for the success of the movement. These committees might in the course of time develop study clubs or debating clubs for the members of the union. There is more intellectual hunger than is generally recognized, and meeting this need among union men would result in a stronger union, more aggressive work, and the development of capable, resourceful officers and other advocates. Any cause that succeeds and grows must occupy a place in the lives of people drawn together by heart-interests. The greater the number of such ties uniting the hearts of the members of the union, the stronger will be the cause of Labor. The most real, the most powerful forces, are the invisible forces—Labor should exert a greater influence in the world of books and thought and by so doing give broader scope to the cause of Labor, which is the cause of humanity and justice.

FREE TEXT-BOOKS

In line with the declaration of our last convention, the officers of the state federations of labor were addressed upon the subject of free text-books and an increased number of teachers at an advance in salary. While responses were not as complete as could be desired, yet those received indicate a hearty spirit in favor of the declaration and the desire to be helpful in securing the enactment of such legislation in the various states which have not thus far adopted such measures.

In the city of Cleveland, Ohio, the school board undertook to discriminate against teachers who might hold membership in unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. By invitation President Gompers visited that city in the early part of June and addressed a mass meeting held in protest against the action of the school board. As the result of the agitation created by the action of the Cleveland school board, the field for organization among the teachers throughout the country has grown and in many instances salaries have been voluntarily increased by local boards of education.

UNIFORMITY OF TEXT-BOOKS

In conformity with the directions and instructions of the Seattle Convention, President Gompers prepared a draft of a model bill for state uniformity of text-books and education and state ownership of copyrights. The bill was submitted to the attorney of the American Federation of Labor who gave his favorable opinion of it. The bill is as follows:

> BE IT ENACTED BY THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF ————:
>
> Section 1. The system of education of the pupils in the public schools of this state and the political divisions thereof shall be uniform in character and methods, and the Superintendent of Public Schools of the state shall prescribe a system and methods to carry this section into effect.
>
> Section 2. The text-books used in the public schools of this state and the political divisions thereof shall be uniform in character and contents with instructions for the uniform method of instruction to the pupils.
>
> Section 3. The text-books used in the public schools of the state and in the political divisions thereof shall be printed by direction and under the authority of the Superintendent of Public Schools, and these text-books shall be delivered to the boards of education of the political divisions of the state in sufficient numbers for the free distribution to each pupil of each public school.
>
> Section 4. The Superintendent of Schools of the state shall apportion to each political division of the state the sums which it shall pay to the Superintendent of Schools of the state for the use in the public schools, the same to be paid to the Superintendent of Public Schools within ninety days from the date of delivery of such text-books. The charge for the books and the delivery thereof shall

Digitized by Google

based upon the actual cost of their production with the additional cost of administration of the duties in this law prescribed and including cost of delivery. The Superintendent of Schools of the state shall not deliver more books than may be requisitioned from him by the boards of education of the public schools of the political divisions of the state.

Section 5. An appropriation of $———, is hereby made to enable the Superintendent of Public Schools of the state to carry into effect the provisions of this law. The payments by boards of education of the public schools of the political divisions of the state for books delivered to them, shall be placed in the hands of the Comptroller of State and held by him subject to the order of the Superintendent of Public Schools of the state for the continuity of the performance of the duties in this law provided.

Section 6. The Superintendent of Public Schools of the state shall have copyrighted the text books provided for in this law. The copyright shall be in the name of the Superintendent of Public Schools of the state of ———.

Section 7. All laws inconsistent with the provisions of this law are hereby repealed immediately upon this law becoming effective. This law shall go into effect September 1, 1916.

Of course the titles of the legislatures, the state authorities and local school boards must be changed in the bill to conform to the titles of these offices in the various states and municipalities.

Owing to the fact that there has been such a stress of work the bill was prepared only a short time ago, and sent out to the state federations of labor. The matter should be further urged during the coming year.

RETIREMENT OF VICE-PRESIDENTS MITCHELL AND HUBER

In conformity with the directions of the American Federation of Labor the following resolutions were drafted, handsomely engrossed and framed, and presented to John Mitchell and William D. Huber:

For John Mitchell

WHEREAS, At the 1913 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Seattle, Washington, John Mitchell, for many years a Vice-President, a distinguished and beloved officer, voluntarily severed his official connection therefrom; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Mitchell has given many years of service to the labor movement, and has freely and unrestrainedly devoted his energy and his ability to the labor movement, the movement for humanity; and

WHEREAS, His service to this cause which began when he was a laborer among his fellow miners, and has grown in understanding and in effectiveness as his heart and mind groped after the manifold, deeper needs of the miners and yearned over their hardships and suffering, was appreciated and highly esteemed by his fellow workers who bestowed upon him all the honors at their disposal; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Mitchell carried into his administration of the affairs of the international the same devotion, ability, and judgment that have made all his endeavors of such great value, he was particularly successful in building up an aggressive, effective organization of miners and guiding the organization safely and triumphantly through conflicts; and

WHEREAS, In the great responsible office to which he was elected, as member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor he brought into the wider field and to wider opportunities the same qualities that had distinguished his previous work he made an individual distinctive contribution to the cause of Labor, which won for him the respect, the confidence, and the gratitude of the workers, to which were added the love and loyalty of all as a tribute to his geniality and his spirit of warm-hearted, winning sympathy; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Mitchell in addition to his constructive, administrative, services to the labor movement, has also been helpful to the cause by interpreting its principles and its purposes in his writings and in his public utterances on the lecture platforms; and

Digitized by Google

WHEREAS, The representatives of the various organizations of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, most deeply appreciated the character of Mr. Mitchell's work, and directed the Executive Council to draw up resolutions expressing their sentiment; therefore, be it

Resolved, on behalf of the trade union movement of America, that through these resolutions we indicate to John Mitchell the deep regret with which the organized workers regard the severance of his official relations with the movement and their keen appreciation of the value of his life work and life force in their behalf; and

Resolved, That we assure him he shall continue to hold the same place in our affections and esteem, which was accorded to John Mitchell the much-loved active worker for Labor.

By order of the 1913, American Federation of Labor Convention:

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President.

Attest:

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.

For W. D. Huber

WHEREAS, William D. Huber, after having given many years to the service of the organized labor movement, now has withdrawn from active participation in the systematic effort to further the cause of human welfare; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Huber had developed and used his power to help solve the industrial problems of his own trade, and was selected by his fellow tradesmen to be international president of their trade, in which capacity he was able to direct the affairs of the organization so as to secure for the trade greatly improved conditions of work and increased wages, to guide the international into an era of great growth and prosperity, and

WHEREAS, His work in behalf of the carpenters, his geniality and generosity and other attractive qualities of heart and mind had secured for him a strong hold upon the affection and the respect of the workers of his trade, and his ability and success had won for him prominence and national reputation, so that eight years ago, the representatives of the trade union organizations of America honored him by electing him to serve as a vice-president and member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to which is entrusted the welfare of all the federated trade organizations; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Huber brought to this newer and broader opportunity for service for all those who bear the burdens and do the work of modern industry the same unfailing courage and faithful service that he so freely gave in the fields of his former activity; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor realizes that the labor movement has been builded by means of persistent, constructive work of the faithful workers, who have given themselves unrestrainedly to its advancement, and is fully appreciative of the nature and the value of the services which Mr. Huber has rendered the cause of Labor, which is the cause of humanity; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we convey to Mr. Huber our appreciation of the helpfulness of his services and the assurance that the work which he has done will secure for him a lasting place in the hearts and memories of his fellow workers.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President.

Attest:

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.

PRESIDENT WHITE'S DECLINATION TO SERVE AS VICE-PRESIDENT

It has never occurred in the history of the American Federation of Labor that any of its elected officers have felt impelled to decline the honor conferred upon them. The Seattle Convention elected by unanimous vote Mr. John P. White, President of the United

Digitized by Google

Mine Workers of America, as "Seventh" Vice-President of the A. F. of L. It seems to us necessary that as a matter of future reference in the official records that the following correspondence should be made part of our report and of the official printed proceedings of this convention:

NEW RICHMOND HOTEL,
SEATTLE, WASH., *November 24, 1913.*

Mr. JOHN P. WHITE, Vice-President-elect, A. F. of L., 1111 State Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: This is one of the first letters which I have dictated since the close of our convention on Saturday evening, for I want to be one of the first to address you as Vice-President-elect of the A. F. of L. and to congratulate you upon your election. I also am writing to advise you that the Executive Council, at its meeting in Seattle yesterday, November 23, decided to hold its next meeting at headquarters in Washington, D. C., the week of January 19.

Of course I know that the convention of the United Mine Workers of America will be in session at that time, but I most earnestly hope that you can so arrange it as to attend this meeting of the E. C. It will be a very important meeting, for it will devolve upon the Council to devise ways and means for carrying out the instructions of the Seattle Convention upon the many matters which the convention referred to the E. C.

Trusting that I may hear from you in regard to the above at your early convenience, and with best wishes, I am fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, A. F. of L.

ALBANY HOTEL,
DENVER, COLORADO, *December 18, 1913.*

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, President A. F. of L., Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your favor of the 24th ult., extending congratulations on my election to the Seventh Vice-Presidency of the A. F. of L., duly received, and I note your reference to the meeting of the E. C. which will be held at headquarters, Washington, D. C., January 19, 1914.

I appreciate very much your cordial congratulations, but wish to announce that I have fully decided not to serve in that position.

This may appear rather strange to you, but I feel that I would not be doing justice to the United Mine Workers if I accepted the office of Seventh Vice-President.

Had I been in a position to attend the Seattle Convention, I would not have permitted the use of my name for the Seventh Vice-Presidency. When John Mitchell announced his retirement from the office of Second Vice-President, a position that he might have held indefinitely so far as I was personally concerned, my associates urged me to become a candidate for the position made vacant by Mr. Mitchell. I consented, with the understanding that that was the office to which I would aspire.

In the light of what has transpired, and in view of the fact that the United Mine Workers' organization was entitled, in my judgment, to the recognition it had long enjoyed on the Council of the A. F. of L., I feel that I should not accept the Seventh Vice-Presidency.

In my opinion, the loyalty of our organization to the A. F. of L. can not be questioned, and time has demonstrated that it has had no selfish motive, and the marked distinction enjoyed by its representative on the Council of the A. F. of L. has been viewed with pride and satisfaction by its membership and the general labor movement.

Of course I do not understand what the underlying motives were that prompted some to view my aspirations with suspicion and alarm and that caused my friends to withdraw my candidacy for the office of Second Vice-President, or what would lead others to believe that if I were elected to that position it might cause a break in the Federation and be instrumental in promoting internal discord.

In the absence of detailed information, I can only conclude that the opposition that developed, to which there might have been attached political significance, does not seem to be consistent, and I am at a loss to harmonize the final

Digitized by Google

results. If there were any well-defined reasons why I could not serve in the capacity of Second Vice-President without endangering the internal peace of the Federation, I can not see how I can honorably accept the office of Seventh Vice-President.

Of course I have nothing but the kindest feelings for my colleagues and friends who sought to advance me in the labor movement, but my convictions are deep and my decision unalterable. I would have preferred defeat for the Second Vice-Presidency rather than to be chosen unanimously to the Seventh Vice-Presidency, all things being considered.

I have endeavored to strengthen the United Mine Workers' organization in every legitimate way, and the records of the Federation will show that 50 per cent of the increase in the membership of the Federation during the last year can be credited to the United Mine Workers.

I hope my friends who assisted in conferring the Seventh Vice-Presidency upon me will not think that I am ungrateful in pursuing the course I have decided upon, and you may be assured that I shall do all in my power to promote the organized labor movement of our country.

Therefore, in the light of the circumstances I have referred to, I hope you will consider my decision final.

With the compliments of the season, I am yours very truly,

JOHN P. WHITE,
President, U. M. W. of A

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 25, 1913.*

Mr. JOHN P. WHITE, Vice-President-elect of the A. F. of L., State Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your favor of the 18th reached here the 22d during a two days' absence from the office. Because of its importance and the brief time before the beginning of your term of office I write you today. I have perused the contents of your letter with interest and disappointment, for I would not have you believe that my congratulations to you upon your election by the Seattle Convention to be one of the vice-presidents of the A. F. of L. were other than cordial and sincere.

You say you decline to serve in the position of "Seventh Vice-President of the A. F. of L." and assign several reasons for your declination.

In the light of what you say in your letter as to the causes and reasons which prompt you to the above declination, it seems to me that I should present to you facts showing not only the reasons you give for your letter have little, or, indeed, no basis in fact, but that I ought also to give you some brief history of the elections and selections of the officers of the A. F. of L. and which bear upon the matter in question. Perhaps the last phase should come first.

From the beginning of the Federation in 1881 up to 1886 there were various phases and changes in the officers elected and selected. In 1886 there were but two Vice-Presidents—George Harris of the Miners and J. W. Smith of the Tailors.

In 1887 neither of these gentlemen was a candidate for election. Daniel McLaughlin of the Miners and William Martin of the Iron and Steel Workers were elected Vice-Presidents.

There was no change in 1888.

In 1889 Mr. McLaughlin was not a candidate; Mr. Martin was elected Vice-President first and P. J. McGuire of the Carpenters and Joiners was elected Vice-President second.

In 1890 Mr. Martin was not a candidate for re-election, and Mr. McGuire was elected Vice-President first and Mr. William Carney of the Iron and Steel Workers was elected Vice-President second.

This continued until 1892.

In 1893 Mr. Carney was not a candidate for re-election. The E. C. was increased by two additional Vice-Presidents. Mr. McGuire, Mr. C. L. Drummond of the Typographical Union, Mr. James Brettell of the Iron and Steel Workers, Mr. William H. Marden of the Boot and Shoe Workers were elected Vice-Presidents in the order named.

Digitized by Google

In 1894 Mr. John McBride of the Miners was elected President over Samuel Gompers, and this brought several changes, and because Mr. McBride was a member of the Miners' Union, Mr. Chris Evans, who also was a miner, declined to be a candidate for the position of Secretary. The officers were elected in the following order:

John McBride, President; P. J. McGuire of the Carpenters, James Duncan of the Granite Cutters, but who in that convention represented the Baltimore Federation of Labor, Roady Kennehan of the Horseshoers, T. J. Elderkin of the Seamen, Vice-Presidents; August McCraith, Secretary, and John B. Lennon, Treasurer.

In 1895 Samuel Gompers was elected President over John McBride, Mr. McGuire and Mr. Duncan were re-elected as Vice-Presidents, Mr. James O'Connell of the Machinists, and Mr. M. M. Garland of the Iron and Steel Workers, were elected Vice-Presidents, Mr. O'Connell defeating Mr. Kennehan, Mr. Elderkin not being a candidate. The elections were had in the order stated.

In 1896 the only change which occurred was in the election of Mr. Frank Morrison as Secretary, there being no other candidate.

In 1897 there was no change.

In 1898 Mr. Garland was not a candidate for re-election. Mr. John Mitchell of the Miners was elected as his successor. That convention increased the number of Vice-Presidents from four to six. The officers elected by that convention were as follows, and in the order named: Samuel Gompers, President; P. J. McGuire, James Duncan, James O'Connell, John Mitchell, Max Morris of the Retail Clerks, Thomas I. Kidd of the Amalgamated Wood Workers, Vice-Presidents; Frank Morrison, Secretary, and John B. Lennon, Treasurer.

In 1899 there was no change.

In 1900 Mr. McGuire was not a candidate for re-election; Mr. Duncan was elected Vice-President first. Then, as a matter of courtesy, I am fully persuaded, Mr. O'Connell yielded to the election of Mr. Mitchell before him, Mr. O'Connell being re-elected to the Vice-Presidency in the order in which he held that position. The election of Mr. Morris and Mr. Kidd followed, and Mr. D. A. Hayes of the Glass Bottle Blowers was elected Vice-President in the regular order.

In 1901 and 1902 there was no change.

In 1903 the convention re-elected the same gentlemen to the position of Vice-Presidents of the A. F. of L. and provided for two additional Vice-Presidents, these positions being filled in the following order—Daniel J. Keefe of the Longshoremen, and William J. Spencer of the Plumbers and Steamfitters.

There was no change in 1904.

In 1905 Mr. Kidd was not a candidate for re-election, Mr. Keefe was elected to the Vice-Presidency in the order named and Mr. William D. Huber of the Carpenters and Joiners elected over Mr. William J. Spencer; then Mr. Joseph F. Valentine of the Iron Molders was elected in the order named.

In 1906 and 1907 there was no change.

In 1908 Mr. Keefe was not a candidate for re-election and Messrs. Duncan, Mitchell, O'Connell, Morris, Hayes, Huber, Valentine, were re-elected in the order named, and then Mr. John R. Alpine of the Plumbers and Steamfitters was elected Vice-President.

In 1909 there was no change in the election. In the spring of 1909 Vice-President Morris died. Charged by the constitution with the duty of filling vacancies, the E. C. filled that vacancy but continued the practice of the A. F. of L. by electing Mr. H. B. Perham of the Railroad Telegraphers to fill the vacancy in the Vice-Presidency, each of the Vice-Presidents being named by seniority of their service.

In 1910, 1911, 1912, there was no change.

At the Seattle, 1913, Convention, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Huber were not candidates for re-election. Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Hayes, Mr. Valentine, Mr. Alpine, Mr. Perham, were elected by seniority, and you, Mr. John P. White, and Mr. Frank Duffy of the Carpenters and Joiners, were elected as Vice-Presidents in the order named.

Thus I have given you not only the tabular history of the elections and selections of the members of the E. C. but also the general practice as followed by the A. F. of L. in the election and selection of the Vice-Presidents. And you

Digitized by Google

will thus observe that there was not a direct nor an indirect effort or attempt to slight you in any manner or to reflect upon your loyalty to the labor movement or your ability or willingness to serve the cause of Labor.

You are aware of the work and the duties devolving upon me during conventions of the A. F. of L. And not only in conventions but in being of some assistance to committees and in addressing meetings arranged to be held during noontimes and evenings. I have no time to participate in any controversial question outside of the convention, at any rate not during the time when they are held, and I have taken, and take, no part in any conference or discussions with any one relative to the "politics," policies, or the personnel of the officers with which the convention itself has properly to deal. Hence, I want you to believe me that I knew and know little, if anything, of any conference or agreement or dissenting views which any may have held regarding the filling of the offices of the A. F. of L. at the convention at Seattle. And yet I am free to say that I heard your name mentioned in connection with the election as Vice-President in the earlier stages of the convention, and also that of Mr. Duffy, but I also learned, from a source which I candidly tell you I can not now recall, that the gentlemen who acted as Vice-Presidents felt that there ought not to be a departure from the usual custom and practice, and that therefore their names should be presented to the convention by the seniority of their services and that this consideration was the only factor in the matter of the determination of the subject by them.

The constitution of the A. F. of L., Article V, Section 1, provides that "The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Treasurer, to be elected by the convention." Your attention is called to the fact that there is no provision for a first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, or eighth Vice-President, but for "EIGHT VICE-PRESIDENTS."

Your attention is also called to the provision of the constitution of the A. F. of L., Article VI, Section 5, which reads as follows:

"In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President, until his successor is elected. In that event, it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the E. C. at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy."

From a careful reading of these provisions of the constitution, you will find two facts:

First, that the "eight Vice-Presidents" are co-equal in every particular and every sense; that there is not any seniority in their positions nor power nor influence direct or indirect which any one exerts or exercises over another.

Second, that in the case of the Vice-Presidency there is not even the right of succession to the Presidency.

It may be interesting for you to know that in the 1894 convention at Denver, when Mr. McBride was nominated for the office of President, objection was raised because he was not a delegate to the convention; that I ruled that any good-standing member of any organization affiliated to the A. F. of L. was eligible to any office within its gift.

At the 1898 convention, Mr. Thomas L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers, not only raised objection, but protested against the eligibility of Mr. John Mitchell to election as a Vice-President. He raised the same question as was raised in 1894 against Mr. McBride, but gave additional grounds for protest which it is not necessary here to enumerate, and that I there and then decided that Mr. Mitchell was eligible and he was elected.

It is not known to me what representations have been made to you that could have swayed you to write your letter of the 18th instant. And there is no one who questions the loyalty of the United Mine Workers of America to the A. F. of L., and as I have already stated, no one questions your loyalty. I think also it is but just to say that no one is justified in questioning the loyalty of the A. F. of L. and myself to the miners of America, and to the United Mine Workers of America, or lack of appreciation of the splendid work you have performed in the interests of your fellow-workers.

It is true, as you say, that if there were any well-defined reasons why you could not serve in the capacity of "Second Vice-President," you can not see how you could honorably accept the office of "Seventh Vice-President." With that expres-

Digitized by Google

sion I entirely agree. But let me say that there is no well-defined or any other reason other than precedent and practice why you could not have been elected to what has become by practice known as "Second Vice-President," as well as to the office of "Seventh Vice-President." As I have already indicated, the term first and second, or, say, seventh or eighth Vice-President is not an official title by which the Vice-Presidents are known to the A. F. of L. It has become simply a habit or a practice; it is not provided in the constitution or the laws of the A. F. of L. Their designation was simply a matter of the order in which they were elected.

I do wish that I could have the opportunity of discussing this matter with you man to man, face to face, so that all this subject-matter could be presented to you as comprehensively as it should be, for I feel that if you persist in the position you have written me, that is, not to serve in the capacity of Vice-President of the A. F. of L., you will be doing an injustice, not intentionally, but just as effectively, to the United Mine Workers of America as well as to the A. F. of L.

I know the difficulty of modifying a statement or position one has declared, and yet, in view of all that I have presented to you for consideration, for the best interests of the great cause of Labor and humanity, in which we are both, and all of us, enlisted, I sincerely hope that you will review the matter and accept the position of Vice-President of the A. F. of L., to which you were unanimously elected by the delegates to the Seattle Convention, to serve not only in your own great field of endeavor but to give the benefit of your name and your co-operation in the wider and the broader field of trade unionism.

May I ask that you view this matter also as to whether the world of Labor—the men and women who are giving without stint all that is in them for the common cause—whether in their view the cause assigned will be sufficient warranty for your declination to serve.

Of course I understand that a man must square his conduct with his own conscience regardless of what others may think, but such independent, individual opinion, judgment, and action must find its justification in a great fundamental cause, and not in one which has so little, if any, foundation upon which it can rest.

If it be at all possible for you to make it convenient for a conference at an early date, I should be most pleased to have one with you. In any event, in this beginning of the new year, I make the appeal that no act of ours shall becloud the horizon of the great work of Labor.

Kindly let me hear from you favorably at your earliest convenience, by mail, telegraph, or long distance telephone.

Wishing you the compliments of the season, I am sincerely and fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President,*
A. F. of L.

P. S.—The January, 1914, issue of the *American Federationist* has already gone to press, and it contains your name as Vice-President of the A. F. of L. The official letterheads for the ensuing year have all been printed, and also bear your name as Vice-President. The official printed proceedings of the Seattle Convention have already been generally distributed. They show your election to the Vice-Presidency of the A. F. of L.—S. G.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *January 8, 1914.*

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, President, A. F. of L., Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: I have your favor of December 25. Delay in replying thereto has been due to the fact that I am so very busy with the affairs of our organization at this time, making preparations for the convention, and I have not had time to reply as promptly as I would like.

I might say in connection with your letter, I have perused its contents very carefully. While my reasons may be insufficient for refusing to accept the Seventh Vice-Presidency and to serve on the Council, I, nevertheless, have decided not to accept this honor. I have no feelings toward any man personally in connection

Digitized by Google

with this matter, and I will be found in the future, as in the past, doing all that I can to promote our labor movement.

I might say that we are making every preparation for our first biennial convention which convenes on January 20. Everything indicates that we will have the largest convention in our history. Wage scales will expire in the bituminous districts April 1. Therefore, aside from matters pertaining to our own affairs as an organization, we will have much to consider in the way of negotiations with the coal operators.

Trusting that the affairs of the Federation are progressing satisfactorily, and assuring you of my continued good wishes, I remain fraternally yours,

JOHN P. WHITE,
President.

(Telegram.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 20, 1914.*

Mr. JOHN P. WHITE, Vice-President, A. F. of L., State Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

The E. C. in session has had under consideration the correspondence between yourself and President Gompers. In view of the fact that the fundamental point upon which was based your letter has, we hope, been fully explained, and that the eight Vice-Presidents of the A. F. of L. hold equal rank and no preferential position, not only for ourselves, but believing that we voice the sentiments of the labor movement of our country we urge you to accept the honorable position to which you were unanimously elected by the Seattle Convention of the A. F. of L., and thus give your valued name and services as a member of the E. C. of the A. F. of L.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, A. F. OF L.
SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President.*
FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary.*

(Telegram.)

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *January 23, 1914.*

FRANK MORRISON, Secretary, A. F. of L., Washington, D. C.

Your message dated 20th not delivered until last evening. I have made known my position and can not change my decision.

JOHN P. WHITE.

When President Gompers attended the convention of the United Mine Workers of America at Indianapolis, he personally urged Mr. White to reconsider his decision, and then in a letter to Mr. White under date of February 25, in referring to that matter he said:

> "And now apart from all, I recall with a great deal of pleasure the few brief moments of conversation we had upon the platform of Tomlinson Hall after my closing remarks, and just before I was about to leave the hall. I presented to you the thought of your taking under favorable consideration your becoming Vice-President of the A. F. of L., and you said that you would give the matter your very thoughtful consideration. I trust that you have or soon will give the suggestion your favorable consideration and reach a favorable conclusion. Immediate haste is not necessary, but for the sake of the great cause in which we are enlisted I trust that you will at your earliest convenience write me fully and freely as to all the above, and also that you will act favorably upon the urgent suggestion which I have made."

To that Mr. White replied on March 5, as follows:

ALBIA, IOWA, *March 5, 1914.*

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, President, A. F. of L., Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: I have carefully considered your request, urging me to reconsider my previous decision and serve on the E. C., and after giving it the best thought of which I am capable, I have decided that I could not do so.

Digitized by Google

My action in refusing to accept the Seventh Vice-Presidency will in no way influence my conduct or attitude towards the Federation or the American labor movement, and I hope to be found in the future as in the past doing all that I can to build up and strengthen the organized labor movement of our country.

Assuring you of my kind personal regard, and best wishes, I am yours very truly,

JOHN P. WHITE,
President.

When we learned the final determination of Mr. White to decline to accept the office to which he was elected and believing that inasmuch as the convention elected a member of the United Mine Workers of America, we deemed it advisable to fill the vacancy by selecting a member of the same organization; we thereupon tendered the office to Mr. William Green, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America. He advised that he could not accept the position.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Despite the length of this report we have not been able to deal with all of the subjects coming before us during the year or with all of the year's activities of the American Federation of Labor. We have endeavored to report upon the most vitally important matters. Never in the history of the A. F. of L. has a convention dealt with so many important and far-reaching subjects whose ramifications extend practically to every avenue of human activity as did the Seattle Convention. There were several very important subjects referred to us which we have been unable to consummate by reason of the far-reaching scope of these subjects. We have also inaugurated much work of great advantage to our fellow workers and all our people. We refer particularly to the instructions of the convention with reference to the enactment of laws by state legislatures covering advertisements for men during strikes and the regulation of private detective agencies; the investigation of the effect machinery has on unemployment; the history of the causes which developed the formation of the Departments of the A. F. of L.

These matters just enumerated are the more important subjects upon which we are unable to submit a report.

The Executive Council should as soon as practical consistent with other duties, carry out the instructions in these respects of the Seattle Convention.

CONCLUSION

In concluding this report showing a summary of the year's splendid progress, we can not refrain from referring to the great good fortune that is our lot as contrasted with the suffering and distress which fellow workers across the ocean are enduring. The organized labor movement of America is stronger than ever before and is now confidently considering the problems of the next year's forward movement. The labor movements of the old world countries have been shocked and disturbed to their very centers. Many of their members have laid down the hammer and the pick and are on the firing line of battle. Our hearts go out to them and to their families left to almost certain need. How these labor movements have been shocked and disturbed is shown by the abandonment of labor congresses and conventions and the break in the long established custom of exchanging fraternal delegates.

These conditions make more grave the obligation devolving upon the members of the American labor movement to maintain here the high standards which organization has secured and to hold themselves strong and able to exert an influence for peace whenever opportunity shall present itself.

The labor organizations of our country are at the threshold of a new era of great progress and opportunity. May the deliberations and the spirit of the delegates to this convention be

Digitized by Google

of such a nature that the best and wisest use may be made of these opportunities for the workers. Make the slogan of this convention and the plans for the coming year—NOW FOR THE THREE MILLION MARK!

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS
President

JAMES DUNCAN
First Vice-President

JAMES O'CONNELL
Second Vice-President

D. A. HAYES
Third Vice-President

JOS. F. VALENTINE
Fourth Vice-President

JOHN R. ALPINE
Fifth Vice-President

H. B. PERHAM
Sixth Vice-President

FRANK DUFFY
Seventh Vice-President

JOHN B. LENNON
Treasurer

FRANK MORRISON
Secretary

Executive Council
American Federation of Labor

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

Mr. William J. Spencer, Secretary Treasurer of the Building Trades Department, submitted his annual report, which follows:

Following the adjournment of the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Seattle Washington, the Building Trades Department convention opened its seventh annual session.

The proceedings were marked by the keenest interest from the first order of business until the last, but space will scarcely permit of a detailed review of the subjects acted upon, so mention is made only of those matters which vitally affect the welfare of the Department or which have demanded continued consideration.

The convention of the A. F. of L. referred certain resolutions dealing with a dispute between the Marble Workers' International Union and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union to the Building Trades Department. These briefly recited the history of a conflict which was initiated by the Bricklayers as against the Marble Workers, the object of which is to destroy the organization of the latter and to require the members who are in full affiliation with the A. F. of L. to join the Bricklayers' Union, an independent body. This would eliminate the marble worker as a factor in building construction by the enforced delivery of jurisdiction over marble cutting and setting, in so far as pertains to building operations, to the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, with a consequent partial dismemberment of the A. F. of L.

The resolutions called for the support and co-operation of the A. F. of L. and its affiliated organizations in resisting the unjustifiable attacks directed by the Bricklayers against the Marble Workers. On their receipt the officers of the Department advised with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., following which conference the Bricklayers were requested to hold in abeyance their instructions to local unions either to secure control of the marble work or to strike. The telegram as well as the reply made is herewith quoted:

"SEATTLE, WASH., *November 23, 1913.*

WM. DOBSON, Secretary, Bricklayers' and Masons' International, University Park Building, Indianapolis, Ind.

"Owing to the awful situation in the building trades in several cities, due to the action of your members undertaking to set interior marble and the injustice it inflicts upon kindred building trades as well as fair employers, and inasmuch as your officers have agreed to attend conference of representatives of stone trades, at joint meeting of Executive Councils of A. F. of L. and the Building Trades Department, the situation was discussed and it was decided to urge not only that the conference should be held at an early date, but that the other building trades should return to work in the cities affected, providing your organization will hold in abeyance its action in claiming to control interior marble setting, pending the action of the above mentioned conference of stone trades unions. Inasmuch as President Gompers must leave for California early Tuesday morning reply from you not later than tomorrow (Monday) evening will be greatly appreciated.

"By order of joint Executive Councils:

SAMUEL GOMPERS.
FRANK MORRISON.
JAMES DUNCAN.
JAMES SHORT.
WILLIAM J. SPENCER.
GEORGE F. HEDRICK."

Night letter.

"INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *November 24, 1913.*

"SAMUEL GOMPERS, President, A. F. of L. Convention, Seattle, Washington:

"We regret exceedingly the disturbed condition resulting from attacks being made upon fair employers by local building trades departments as a result of marble

Digitized by Google

controversy. Whatever injustice is being inflicted upon kindred trades is self-inflicted. The chief victims of the situation are the contractors involved, who are innocent sufferers. We offered to arbitrate our dispute with the international officers of the Marble Workers last June. This offer was spurned. The only answer we could get was that the Marble Workers had nothing to arbitrate; that they stood pat and would do all interior stone work or none. We urge that when an international union refuses point-blank to arbitrate a controversy such as ours was, it is neither entitled to nor worthy of the support of organized labor. In view of this refusal to arbitrate we consider it a crime that kindred trades should be forced into the streets in idleness for the sake of protecting a union that has not only refused a peaceable means of settlement but has for years flagrantly violated the fundamental principles and ethics of our trade union life in 1907. We conceded interior ornamental marble work to this union. Not satisfied with this they extended their classification to cover all interior stone work, driving not only the stone mason but also the stone cutter from dimension stone, marble or otherwise. In their attempted absorption of this interior work they told the stone mason and stone cutter to eat cobblestones. In other words, they refused to give membership to the men from whom they had attempted to make so brazen a steal. The taking back under our jurisdiction of all interior stone work was our only alternative in protecting our members, but we extend to the marble worker the privilege of membership with us, and we propose to give back to the stone cutter his right to cut and fit all stone work stolen from him by the Marble Workers. We are setting marble in twenty cities, and in view of the fact that we have an agreement with the marble employers we can not withdraw our men from their work or hold in abeyance our claims to interior marble work pending a conference being held with your Executive Councils. We urge, in justice to the employer, since arbitration was refused by the Marble Workers, that local departments be instructed to keep their members at work pending the outcome of the joint conference mentioned in your telegram.

DOBSON."

The unsatisfactory and misleading reply of the Bricklayers left the Department with but one course of action. This was acted upon after mature deliberation by the adoption of the resolutions.

Throughout the year the Department has been called upon from time to time to aid the Marble Workers against the aggressions of the Bricklayers. That the Marble Workers have not been subdued, however, is best evidenced by the vigorous defense of their rights and organization, in spite of the determination of a numerically superior body. As a general proposition the subject is one of unusual importance that has demanded and will continue to receive much consideration at the hands of the Building Trades Department.

During the Seattle meeting an effort was made by the representatives of the Brotherhood of Carpenters to reopen the dispute previously disposed of by the Department by awarding jurisdiction to the Sheet Metal Workers over "metal trim."

The proposition was contested in a spirited manner until decided by a negative vote, when the feeling had become so intense that it is believed to have led to a referendum being taken by the Carpenters to withdraw from the Department. Information to the effect that the referendum had carried was conveyed in a communication from Secretary Duffy which is herewith quoted:

"INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *February 17, 1914.*

"Mr. WM. J. SPENCER, Secretary, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L., 412 Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.

"DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: At the request of more than 250 local unions from forty different states, we submitted to referendum vote of our entire membership the proposition to withdraw from the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. The Committee on Compilation has just completed the count, and the result of the vote is as follows:

"In favor of withdrawing from the Building Trades Department..... 40,792
"Opposed to withdrawing from the Building Trades Department..... 13,328

Digitized by Google

"This is considerably more than the necessary two-thirds vote required by our general constitution, and I am therefore notifying you of the withdrawal of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America from the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., by authority of the referendum vote of our entire organization. Fraternally yours,

FRANK DUFFY,
General-Secretary."

It is to be presumed that the severance of relations became effective after the general vote was taken and on notice of the same being served in the Department, but in reality it occurred on the 30th of September, 1913, to which date remittance for per capita tax was made.

The defection of the Carpenters is of deep concern to the Building Trades Department, but it has not retarded the progress of the organization except in the instance following, to which attention particularly is drawn.

It seems to be the general consensus of opinion that steps should be taken by the A. F. of L. to the end that the Brotherhood of Carpenters observe the law, which especially provides for the membership of that union in the Building Trades Department, if it is permitted to retain its standing in the parent body.

Early in the current year an agreement was entered into between the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union on the one hand and the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' International Union and the International Union of Steam Engineers on the other. This compact or understanding, together with others of a like nature previously entered into by the Operative Plasterers' International Association and the Journeymen Stone Cutters, with the Bricklayers, made possible the institution of local councils which in the natural order of affairs became dual organizations to the regularly chartered councils of the Department. Hence a withdrawal of the local unions followed in some localities and a division of authority was in the same measure created which unfortunately embarrassed the A. F. of L. and the Department, as, for instance, in the case of the attack made by the Bricklayers on our affiliated International Union of Marble Workers.

It may be said in passing that even this combination, strong as it may appear, has by no means thwarted the purposes of the Department and its parent organization in their defense of the Marble Workers nor arrested the progress of that union.

Nevertheless the possibility of internal friction through failure to render obedience to the law of the organization confronts us, and our co-operative functions are impeded.

The opinion is entertained by some who have given the subject earnest study that the A. F. of L. and its Departments must insist upon a greater display of integrity by affiliated unions than has been evidenced by those unions to which attention is herewith drawn.

The decision of the A. F. of L. in the case of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers, directing that the members of the organization who are employed as laborers be turned over to the Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' International Union, has been duly carried out, and so far as the Department has knowledge there is no further cause for grievance on this score.

Indeed, a step still forward has been taken since at the midsummer meeting of the Executive Council of the Department representatives of the Operative Plasterers' International Association and those of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers, agreed to hold a conference for the purpose of consolidating the two organizations in so far as applies to the members of the latter union who are qualified for membership in the Plasterers International Association. One meeting has already been held and another we understand has been arranged for, so that we may properly consider the subject as a report of progress.

In one other respect a material change in the status of the Department was decided upon at the last convention. From the establishment of the organization until the Seattle Convention the officers of the Department consisted of a President, Secretary-Treasurer, and an Executive Council composed of seven members. On the occasion of our last annual meeting a resolution was introduced and subsequently carried which provided that the Executive Council be composed of one representative from each affiliated international union, and that the expense inci-

Digitized by Google

dent to such membership be borne by the respective internationals. Opinion differs as to whether the new plan has more merit than the one previously in vogue, but we have had scarcely sufficient experience to test the soundness of the change.

The financial condition of the Department is thoroughly sound and gratifyingly satisfactory, as the following recapitulation will show:

Balance on hand August 31, 1913		$10,380 37
Receipts from all sources, 8-31-1913 to 9-1-1914		21,487 32
		$31,867 69
Total current disbursements	$20,869 61	
Donation Michigan Copper Miners	3,000 00	
		23,869 61
Balance on hand August 31, 1914		$7,998 08

It will be noted that three thousand dollars was donated by the Department to the Michigan copper miners. This is deserving of special mention since the constitutional law with regard to funds did not deny the right of the organization to make such a donation. Amendments were presented in due form, however, and thereafter adopted, which will in future place restrictions upon a similar disbursement of our funds.

Numerically the Department has suffered a decrease in membership to the extent of the withdrawal of the Brotherhood of Carpenters in the amount of 219,000 members. As against this, however, it is a pleasure to record a gain of some 50,000 members by the unions composing the Department, which total 342,450.

It has been a great assistance to the Building Trades Department, as well as a source of comfort, that we have enjoyed the most pleasant and helpful support of the A. F. of L., its officers and E. C. Their timely advice and wise counsel have in great measure enabled the Department and its officers to tide over many of the serious problems wlfich have demanded consideration and study during the past year.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Secretary-Treasurer Albert J. Berres submitted the following report for the Metal Trades Department:

I herewith submit a report of the work the Department has been engaged in during the past year and call to your attention an amendment to the constitution adopted at the Seattle Convention after much debate which has since been the subject of protest on the part of the Iron Molders' Union of North America.

It is unfortunate that some of the affiliated international organizations of this Department have not done more in the direction of building up their finances so that when action is taken and their members become involved, they can feel reasonably sure that financial support will be given. However, few have seen fit to take advantage of their opportunity for leadership by placing their organizations on a plane with those that are capable of entering upon a movement and carrying it on for a reasonable length of time, meeting all of their obligations to their membership. It would not be fair to all to say that none have put forth efforts in this direction for, as I have reported on former occasions, we have made some advances, which were directly due to the policy established by this Department to bring about the adoption of a uniform rate of dues and per capita tax. It is evident, however, that some are not satisfied with the progress made in this direction. When we consider that the majority of the organizations affiliated to this Department meet bi-annually and some not so often, it is easy to understand that such reforms can not be brought about in a few short years.

Until our internationals all recognize the importance of carrying into effect the policy inaugurated by this Department, only such steps for improved conditions should be taken as will not call for or involve organizations generally. In other words, we can well afford to be patient and move cautiously until we can adjust our affairs to meet the requirements demanded by the change in our laws.

Digitized by Google

Joint Organizing Campaign in the Automobile Industry

There was adopted by the Seattle Convention Resolution No. 125, which provided that the jurisdiction of the organizations whose crafts are a part of the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile industries, shall be protected, and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to notify the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union to discontinue all encroachments upon the jurisdiction of designated unions, and that the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union be required to turn over to their respective unions all men members of the local unions that lawfully belong to other international unions. If they failed to comply within one year from the date of the adjournment of this convention their charter was to be revoked.

As a result of this action the Metal Trades Department took up with all internationals, any part of whose membership was engaged in the manufacture of automobiles, the question of joining with the Department in an organizing campaign in the automobile industry, to which the following organizations responded as favoring the proposition:

A. F. of L.
International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers.
International Association of Machinists.
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, etc.
Iron Molders' Union of N. A.
Pattern Makers' League of N. A.
Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.
International Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.
Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, etc.
Upholsterers' International Union.

As a result of the favorable replies, the Department instructed each international to have its representatives report on January 26, 1914. The campaign of organizations was begun in a manner which we believed would bring success. The announcement made about this time by Mr. Ford, of the Ford Automobile Company, that on a certain date he would inaugurate a profit sharing system among the employes, caused a setback to our movement. This announcement was given wide publicity and as industrial conditions in our country were anything but the best, it was natural that the metal tradesmen and others from all sections of the country should wend their way to Detroit. Because of this great influx of workers to Detroit there were thousands of unemployed metal tradesmen in the city in a short time.

We had selected that season of the year generally recognized as being the busy season, but our calculations were shattered in this instance, for instead of its being a busy season, it turned out to be one of the worst seasons the automobile industry has experienced. We continued the campaign until June 18, 1914, when upon investigation we found that the possibilities for a successful campaign were very remote. We advised all internationals taking part in the campaign to that effect, and finally recommended that the campaign cease for the time being. Notwithstanding the unfavorable conditions that came upon us, there was some excellent work done. Organizations already in existence added to their membership, and a number of locals of various trades and callings were organized.

While it is true that the campaign did not work out as we expected, however that result was due to circumstances over which we had no control which prevented the ultimate success of the campaign. If another effort is made, under favorable conditions, we shall organize the automobile industry beyond doubt. Wherever we have carried on joint organizing campaigns during the existence of this Department they have awakened not only the workers of the metal trades but the workers in general. I am therefore convinced that most excellent results can and will be obtained by conducting similar campaigns in industries or localities where conditions justify conducting such campaigns.

Digitized by Google

Panama Canal Wage Reduction

The Panama Canal Act, which became effective April 1, 1914, contains the following:

"All persons necessary for the completion, care, management, maintenance, sanitation, government, operation, and protection of the Panama Canal and Canal Zone shall be appointed by the President, or by his authority, removable at his pleasure, and the compensation of such persons shall be fixed by the President, or by his authority, until such time as Congress may by law regulate the same, but salaries or compensation fixed hereunder by the President shall in no instance exceed by more than 25 per centum the salary or compensation paid for the same or similar services to persons employed by the Government in continental United States. That upon the completion of the Panama Canal the President shall cause the same to be officially and formally opened for use and operation."

Had this provision gone into effect it would have meant a reduction of the wages of the entire working force on the Canal Zone. Upon learning of the intention of Colonel Geothels, Chief Engineer of the Canal, to visit the United States, we communicated with him and asked that we be accorded a hearing upon this matter. The hearing was arranged for but without definite results, because he said it was in accordance with the act of Congress and because he considered that the rate provided under the act was fair. As a result of the outcome of this conference we called on members of the Appropriations Committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate, and after an active campaign in the matter, the Appropriations Committee inserted the following in the appropriations bill:

"The wage scale of the persons employed in the construction of the Panama Canal in effect prior to April 1, 1914, shall continue unchanged during the period of actual construction, but not later than June 30, 1916, and no claim of any person employed in connection with the construction of the Panama Canal shall be recognized or paid by the United States for longevity service or lay-over days accruing subsequently to June 30, 1909."

The action of the Congress of the United States in this matter saved to the employes on the Canal Zone something like $200,000.

Government Contracts

After months of active effort we have succeeded in getting several of the government departments to furnish us with copies of contracts let by them. These contracts give the names of contractors and subcontractors. This information will help us to secure the enforcement of the eight-hour law. We are reasonably sure that in many instances the eight-hour law has been and is being violated but we hope, under this new arrangement, to know when and where the law is being violated, by co-operating with the labor organizations in the localities in which these contracts have been let, by informing them of the name of the contractor in their locality and of the contract he has received from the government, and instructing them to keep a close watch and to report to us any violations of the law.

At the present time the Navy Department is not furnishing us with copies of their contracts, but we hope to be furnished with them in the very near future. The last navy appropriation bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, carries over $36,000,000; it is essential that we keep in close touch with contracts let under this bill, for they offer many opportunities to get improved conditions. In the past, there has been much discontent in the several navy yards caused by the Navy Department's giving contracts to outside firms when employment in the yards was slack. To overcome this at least to some extent, the following was inserted in the present navy bill for the current year, introduced by Congressman Buchanan, and we propose seeing to it that the intent of this clause is carried into effect:

"Of each of the sums appropriated by this act, except such amounts as may be required to meet obligations authorized in previous acts, and for which contracts have been made, no part shall be used to procure through purchase or contract any vessels armament, articles, or materials which the navy yards, gun factories, or other industrial plants operated by the Navy Department are equipped

Digitized by Google

to supply, unless such government plants are operated approximately at their full capacity for not less than one regular shift each working day, except when contract costs are less than costs in said government plants, and except when said government plants are unable to complete the work within the time required, and except in cases of emergency."

We also took an active part in a campaign which had for its purpose the building in a government navy yard of one of the battleships authorized in the Naval Appropriations bill. The bill contains such an instruction.

Method of Fixing Wages in Navy Yards

The law under which the wages are fixed in navy yards had been in existence since 1862. This law is in no way specific. The regulations drawn by the several secretaries of the Navy Department under this law have not been such as to give a fair opportunity to the men to prove their cases when asking for an increase in wages. Several conferences have been held during the past year between the representatives of the several navy yards and the officials of the Navy Department upon the wage question. In a few instances some small increases were given as the result of these conferences.

Realizing that it was difficult under the present law and rules to get the increases employes believed they were entitled to from time to time, we decided to ask legislation that would enable us to overcome the obstacles which confronted us when meeting with the wage boards and the officials of the Navy Department. Several bills were introduced dealing with this subject, but the one which received the endorsement of this Department was introduced by Congressman Buchanan, H. R. 18136. The bill undertakes to regulate the wages of all mechanics and laborers employed in certain departments of the government, and provides for the means by which these purposes can be accomplished.

The local organizations in all districts where navy yards and arsenals are located have been communicated with, and copies of this bill sent to them. We are informed that many of them have endorsed the measure.

With the aid of our affiliated internationals and councils we hope to have this bill passed at an early date.

A Bill to Regulate the Method of Directing Work of Government Employes

We are greatly interested in the passage of H. R. 17800, introduced by Congressman Deitrick of Massachusetts, to regulate the method of directing the work of government employes. A favorable report has been made by the House Committee on Labor and our best efforts will be put forth to have this measure passed. From the hearings held in the city of Washington, at the Shoreham Hotel, during the present year by the federal Commission on Industrial Relations, it was evident that some representatives of the United States government are exerting every effort and influence to have so-called efficiency systems installed in certain institutions of the government. We appeared before the federal commission and protested against the government's adopting any system which compels the use of stop-watches and the numerous other methods which are a part of such systems and which, if installed, will effectively destroy the efficiency of the American worker.

This bill is worthy of the support not only of members of the organizations employed in government institutions but of every American who believes in his right to make use of and to exercise his mental powers.

Amending the Eight-Hour Law

In accordance with the resolution which was passed at the Seattle Convention, having for its purpose amending the federal Eight-Hour law, several conferences have been held between the officers of the A. F. of L., and the several Departments, but up to the present time we have been unable to agree upon how the bill should be amended. However, an agreement may be reached in time to have a bill introduced at the next session of Congress. There would have been little opportunity for action on this measure during the present session of Congress had the amendment been drawn. We shall have a better opportunity during the coming session to push such an amendment to a successful conclusion.

Digitized by Google

Organising the Plant of the York Manufacturing Company

Our campaign to bring about organization of the York Manufacturing Company's plant is still carried on. We have found it difficult to make much progress in this campaign because of jurisdictional questions involved. Two organizations directly affiliated with this Department, the International Association of Machinists and the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, etc., are in conflict over the installation and erection of at least portions of this work. The Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners not affiliated with this Department, also claims jurisdiction over certain parts of the installation, so that we have been confronted with this peculiar condition that when the membership of one organization refused to take any part in the installation of these machines the membership of another organization readily steps in and does the work, notwithstanding our protests. That practice was condemned by the Seattle Convention.

Such a disregard of principle means failure to any effort. It discloses a narrow view where there should be a broad one. If one's own international organization is to be considered first, regardless of the general effect upon an organized movement, then we are in a pitiable state. Some action ought to be taken that will prohibit a recurrence of such a condition.

Non-Affiliation of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen

We again report the non-affiliation of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen. While we would much prefer that any international organization declared eligible to affiliation to this Department, would make application for affiliation without undue influence being brought to bear upon them by the officers of the A. F. of L. or this Department; however, in a case where an international has been declared eligible to membership and then refuses to affiliate, it should be made to do so.

Organized Councils

During the year we have organized metal trades councils in Fort Wayne, Ind.; Millers Falls, Mass.; Panama Canal Zone; Elmira, N. Y.; St. Paul, Minn. We have reorganized St. Louis, Mo.; Spokane, Wash.; and Schenectady, N. Y. We have also been successful in some instances in having local unions affiliate that had refused co-operation for a period of time. We request such co-operation as the Executive Council can give to have all eligible locals affiliate with metal trades councils.

San Francisco Eight-Hour Agreement

Since the expiration of the agreement that gave to San Francisco, Cal., the general eight-hour day a number of conferences have been held between committees representing the National Metal Trades Association, and the Metal Trades Council of San Francisco, but in each instance the result of these conferences did not meet with the approval of the membership of both organizations. However, the eight-hour day has been continued. We have recently been advised that an agreement has received consideration and that the Metal Trades Council has, by a majority vote, adopted the same, and that the Secretary was instructed to notify the National Metal Trades Association that the officers of the Metal Trades Council were ready to sign the agreement.

Finances and Membership

Our finances show a little improvement over last year, as does the membership.

In conclusion permit me to report that we have given every assistance possible in having passed by Congress the several measures in which the A. F. of L. was so much interested. We have on several occasions circularized not only our metal trades councils, but all metal trades locals, upon these measures. Many matters have been handled with the government officials for our councils and internationals, and responses have been made to localities where our advice was desired or our presence needed. We are firmly of the

Digitized by Google

belief that, while it may not be within the next year or two, we will gradually have an understanding beween each other and the co-operation that will meet our needs and which is demanded by the present industrial condition. We are of the opinion that this Department must and can work out its own destiny. It can not march any faster, however, than its affiliated internationals will permit. Realizing the importance of an organization such as is expressed in this Department, we believe that it is best its growth should be guided by experience rather than by wild imaginations.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Secretary-Treasurer Thomas F. Tracy submitted the following annual report from the Union Label Trades Department:

In accord with the usual custom I desire to submit to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the following brief outline of the work accomplished by this Department, and the benefits accruing to our affiliated organizations through an increased output of union labeled products and the increased number of union store and shop cards that have been issued for the year ending September 30, 1914.

At the close of the fiscal year we had affiliated to this Department thirty-eight national and international unions, which have paid per capita tax upon a membership of approximately 422,500, which is an increase over the previous year of 36,850 members.

During the year two international unions have affiliated to this Department: the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes of America, with a membership of 14,000, and the Pocket Knife Blade Grinders and Finishers' National Union, with a membership of 310.

In the same period of time, because of non-payment of per capita tax, the following organizations were suspended in accordance with the constitution:

The International Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, that formerly paid upon a membership of 4,000, and had paid no per capita tax for a period of two years.

The International Union of Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers of North America, which had formerly paid upon a membership of 3,000 members, paid no per capita tax for the year.

The Amalgamated Leather Workers affiliated to the Department, and received a certificate of affiliation more than a year ago, but since then paid no per capita tax.

As has been customary in several years past, an effort has been made to ascertain the increased output of union labeled commodities, store and shop cards through the issuance of labels, etc., by our various affiliated organizations. The reports received from them are as follows:

	1913	1914	Increase
A. F. of L.	9,485,000	9,910,000	425,000
Bakery and Confectionery Workers	581,728,000	630,170,000	48,442,000
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers	5,765,000	7,955,000	2,190,000
Electrical Workers	151,003	200,462	49,459
Garment Workers of America	50,497,000	53,210,000	2,713,000
Glove Workers' International Union	1,035,000	2,235,000	1,200,000
Metal Polishers, etc., Union	10,000	11,000	1,000
Molders' International Union	27,100	47,600	20,500
Powder and High Explosive Workers	1,150,000	1,360,000	210,000
Stove Mounters' International Union	20,000	30,000	10,000
Tobacco Workers	439,044,875	446,794,950	7,750,075
Travelers Goods and Leather Novelty Workers	102,000	147,000	45,000
United Hatters of North America	14,214,856	14,775,092	560,236

Digitized by Google

In the report received from the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union is contained the following statement: "The former Secretary-Treasurer of our organization did not keep a record, so far as I can see, of the number of labels issued for 1913; however, for nine months, from October, 1913, to July, 1914, the time I have held the office, there have been issued 559,000 whisk labels and 5,408,000 broom labels."

In connection with this it should be noted that the figures as given above apply to labels that are put upon distinct commodities, each article representing an individual label. While on the other hand we have organizations, such as those in the Allied Printing Trades, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Coopers' International Union of North America, United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods, Laundry Workers' International Union, the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America and others, as well as the individual label of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, which are either stamped in or used as imprints upon the various characters of work that is produced. It is impossible to estimate the number of various articles on which these various imprints are made.

Besides these figures there are several of our affiliated organizations, such as the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada, the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, and the American Wire Weavers' Protective Association, that keep no records in their international office as to the number of labels that are used by their various local unions; hence it is impossible to obtain any definite figures as to the total amount of labels used during any one given year.

In the case of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, while a union label is stamped upon each roll of paper made under union conditions and while these figures might be available because of the water-mark impression which is put into paper manufactured under union conditions, the officers report that it would be impossible to give any reliable data as to the number of labels used.

The label of the Allied Printing Trades Council covers the work of all the organizations in the printing trades, and the officers in charge of the issuing of the cuts of this label report that the demand for the cuts is continually increasing, thereby demonstrating the increased demand for union label printing.

The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union report that there were ten union stamps issued for the year ending July, 1914, and the number of persons employed where the union stamps are issued for the year ending July, 1914, was 8,000.

The Coopers' International Union of North America reports that the organization has issued 225 union stamps.

The Laundry Workers' International Union reports that 73 union stamps have been issued during the year to new union shops, and that there are 1,563 people employed where these stamps are issued.

The United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods reports that 35 union stamps have been issued for the year ending July, 1914, and that there are 200 people employed where this stamp is issued.

The International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America reports that for the year ending July, 1913, 336 union stamps were issued, and for the year ending July, 1914, 382 union stamps have been issued, making a gain over the previous year of 46 union stamps.

The Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America has issued for the year ending July, 1914, 12 steel dies. There are employed where these stamps are issued about 1,200 employes.

There are also affiliated to the Department at this time three organizations issuing store or shop cards as follows: Journeymen Barbers' International Union, Retail Clerks' Protective Association, and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

The Journeymen Barbers' International Union report for the year ending July, 1913, that 1,044 shop cards were issued, and that for the corresponding year July, 1914, 1,081 shop cards were issued, making a gain over the previous year of 37 shop cards.

The Retail Clerks' International Protective Association reports that for the year ending July, 1913, there were 1,650 shop cards issued, and that for the year ending July, 1914, 1,502 shop cards were issued.

Digitized by Google

The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America report that for the year ending July, 1913, there were issued 380 shop cards, and that for the year ending July, 1914, 496 shop cards were issued, making a gain over the previous year of 116 shop cards.

In the issuing of store or shop cards it must be remembered that the figures as above given show the number of store or shop cards issued each year, and that no definite information has been received at this office as to what number among the figures given were cards that were reissued, but it is safe to assume that the great majority of the store or shop cards issued for the year ending July, 1914, were original issues, which fact demonstrates the activities displayed during that year in organizing new places.

These statistics as given above demonstrate that there has been greater activity during the past year than ever before in our history.

Local Label Departments

During the year we have organized, or affiliated with the Department, local departments in the following cites: Topeka, Kans.; Kalamazoo, Mich.; Trenton, N. J.; Cincinnati, Ohio; Pueblo, Colo.; Duluth, Minn.; Brockton, Mass.; Denver, Colo.

This makes the total number of local departments now in existence 61. There are a number of others under process of organization in other localities.

During the year we have carried on an effective campaign of publicity, and in connection with the same have distributed two issues of 25,000 each of the directory published by this Department, containing the names of manufacturers who are using the union label of our affiliated organizations upon their products. Besides this, circular letters and other printed matter bearing upon the question of union labels, store and shop cards, have been distributed extensively to local unions of international unions affiliated to the A. F. of L. throughout the United States and Canada. Outside of the official correspondence of the office, which is continually growing, there have been distributed about 145,000 pieces of mail, and about 800 express packages during the year.

The last convention of the Union Label Trades Department decided that an educational campaign should be carried on, and that an effort should be made to have representatives of this Department visit each convention of an international union and a state federation of labor held during the year. In pursuance of this purpose 18 state conventions of labor and 20 conventions of international unions have been attended by representatives of the Department. An effort was made to bring forcibly to their attention the necessity of purchasing union labeled products and patronizing such places as displayed union store or shop cards. That this work has been to a degree highly successful is beyond question, and it is the intention to continue this work during the year to come. Educational work upon the union labels among our own members is undoubtedly of value and benefit to our affiliated organizations.

The last convention of this Department voted to continue to give such assistance as was possible to the Woman's International Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary, and the sum of $500 was appropriated to assist this organization. As the result of this assistance, together with other money at hand, this organization started an effective campaign, and report that during the year 25 locals have been organized in various sections of the country, and other organizations are contemplated.

The assistance received from the Woman's Union Label League in the promotion of the sale of union labeled products can not be under-estimated. When we realize the value of the enormous purchasing power of the wives and daughters of trade unionists, it certainly behooves us to assist in organizing these local label leagues to the fullest possible extent.

The income of the Department for the year ending September 30, 1914, is as follows:

Total income for year October, 1913, to September 30, 1914	$18,504 88
Total expenses for year October, 1913, to September 30, 1914	10,332 25
Balance on hand October 1, 1914	$8,172 63

Digitized by Google

The work carried on by this Department is largely of an educational character and to be successful must be conducted with vigor and energy at all times and in all places.

I am sincerely of the opinion that this brief review of the work performed by the Union Label Trades Department for the past year will be not only interesting and instructive, but that it will demonstrate there is a more active interest being taken in the purchasing of union labeled products, and in the patronizing of such places as display the union store or shop card during the past year than ever before. I am firmly of the opinion that this work will be continued and will grow more rapidly in the future.

RAILROAD EMPLOYES DEPARTMENT

John Scott, Secretary-Treasurer of the Railroad Employes Department, submitted the following annual report:

In submitting a brief synopsis of the work of this Department and the progress made during the past year, I am pleased to say that substantial gains have been made, not only through the addition of many System Federations to the Department, but a broadening out in our scope of usefulness.

Seventeen charters have been issued to System Federations in the past year, including the following roads:

Intercolonial and Prince Edward Island of Canada.
Chicago and Northwestern.
Wabash.
International and Great Northern.
Minneapolis and St. Louis.
Norfolk and Western.
New York, New Haven and Hartford.
Boston and Maine.
Coal and Coke of West Virginia.
Chicago and Eastern Illinois.
Southern Railway and affiliated lines, including the—
- Mobile and Ohio.
- Cincinnati, New Orleans and Texas Pacific.
- Alabama Great Southern.
- Harriman and Northeastern.
- New Orleans and Northeastern.
- Alabama and Vicksburg.
- Vicksburg, Shreveport and Pacific.
- Southern Railroad in Mississippi.
- Northern Alabama.
- Georgia Southern and Florida.
- Macon and Birmingham.
- Virginia and Southwestern.

St. Louis and San Francisco.
Wheeling and Lake Erie.
Western Maryland.
St. Louis Terminal.
Central of Georgia.
Missouri and North Arkansas.

The above list comprises several new System Federations and a number of federations reorganized in conformity with the laws of the Department adopted at our recent convention, specifying the six crafts comprising the mechanical section of the Department—Machinists, Boiler Makers, Blacksmiths, Sheet Metal Workers, Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. These six organizations have clearly defined craft jurisdictions, and cover nearly all branches of shop work in the railroad industry, thus reducing to a

Digitized by Google

great extent many of the jurisdictional disputes that have retarded our progress in the past. With this idea in view, and profiting by the experiences of the past, the delegates to our last convention unseated the plumbers' organization, which was considered as having no identity with the railroad industry inasmuch as the sheet metal workers' organization now represents and has agreements with approximately 95 per cent of the coppersmiths and pipefitters in the railroad shops who are classed as combination men. To extend affiliation to the plumbers would not only invite a state of perpetual litigation on jurisdiction but would in nowise enhance the interests of the movement by increased membership.

With the co-operation of the affiliated organizations the Department has been conducting a campaign of organizing work during the past several months and much success has been met with; it is our intention to prosecute this work vigorously and to formulate a system federation on all lines.

The Department officers have been called upon on many occasions to act in an advisory capacity where controversies have arisen over violation or misunderstanding of agreements and have been successful in bringing about an amicable adjustment and thus avoided possible strikes. Every means has been utilized during the past year in our efforts to bring about a settlement of the strikes with the shopmen on the Harriman and Illinois Central, Pere Marquette, and Missouri, Oklahoma and Gulf lines, and although we regret being unable to report very great progress in this direction, no measures will be left untried that offer any promise of results.

The laws of the Department require that all proposed agreements be submitted for approval before being presented to the railroad management. By this means we have been enabled to incorporate many features in the rules towards the standardization of agreements. The service and council of the Department have at all times been available when called upon to render the needed assistance.

The present depression in the industrial world has been felt most severely by the railroad shopmen. Thousands of our affiliated members have had to submit to enforced idleness by reason of the retrenchment policies of the railroad companies as a result of the European conflict. As a consequence the activity of our members in the matter of securing betterments in the way of wage increase and improved working conditions has been held in abeyance until the return of more prosperous conditions offers some reasonable assurance of success.

Having revised our laws to meet with the present day requirements and to provide for a greater expansion of the movement, there is every promise of a future of great possibilities for this Department. The advantages of having organizers in the field are proving most satisfactory and a long-felt want has been supplied. We look forward with much optimism to the return of normal conditions and feel assured of even greater advancement.

MINING DEPARTMENT

The annual report of the Mining Department submitted by James Lord, President of that Department, is as follows:

In accordance with the rule requiring the Departments to report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, I submit this brief report of the work of the Mining Department during the last year.

The Department itself has had little of my time; since assuming the duties of the office of President I have been almost continually either in the strike districts or engaged in work relative to these strikes.

The Colorado strike, which has continued more than a year now, has in my opinion surpassed all other like struggles in brutality visited upon the men, women, and children involved. I was never more firmly of the opinion that the workers never did and never will get anything that they are not able to take.

The Colorado strike, like the copper strike, the West Virginia strike and any and all of the greater struggles of Labor, resolved itself into a fight on the part of the workers for constitutional government. Such has been our experience in

Digitized by Google

all large coal strikes. If we could only get constitutional government, if we did not have to deal with the hired gunman, the injunction, and the murdering militia in these fields, we would and could in a short time have all those working in or around the coal or metalliferous mines enrolled for membership in the bona fide labor movement of this country. But when in addition to the problem of housing and feeding from 10,000 to 40,000 men, women, and children, our people are assaulted, shot down, cast into prison, where they are either held without bail or held because of an exhorbitant bail fixed; when we have to meet the prostituted judiciary and militia, and are face to face with an injunction everywhere we turn, the problems confronting the miners become very acute.

Another influence, stimulated and manipulated by the same people who control the crooked political and judiciary powers, is making itself felt and that is the disgruntled element who are forever fighting the existing labor movement, right or wrong. They term themselves "revolutionary unionists," and some are openly avowed I. W. W.'s., but all are saying the same things and working to the same ends—the destruction of the existing movement. And while we may not have taken them seriously in the past, we should, when the evidence goes to show that they are being handled by the large interests, simply another weapon against organized labor, keep an eye on them. There is no question in the minds of those who know something about the situation, that the I. W. W's. were used in this way in Butte, Montana. Those who have been actively engaged in the strike districts know the attitude of these Judases relative to any progress being made in those fights.

The situation in the Copper country is bad. Many of our men are indicted for different crimes ranging all the way from shouting in the street to murder. The uprising in Butte, with the depression that has followed in the metalliferous industry as a result of the continental war, has caused the W. F. of M. to work under serious difficulties. If help is not forthcoming these indicted men will in all likelihood be convicted, as they are going up against one of the greatest aggregations of wealth in the world to be tried in a county that is absolutely owned and controlled by the Steel Trust.

On the outcome of the Colorado strike hinges a similar matter. Over fifty men are at present in the Trinidad jail charged with from one to a dozen murders, etc. Their crime has been that they were presidents and secretaries of local unions of the U. M. W. of A., and were possibly more active than the average run of men.

This strike of over a year's duration was forced on the miners of Colorado by the inhuman, greedy methods of the Standard Oil corporation, which at the present time owns not only the mines and railroads, but the state government of Colorado. Five of the seven demands of the Colorado miners are for enforcement of laws already on the statute books. After all this trouble and fighting, after little children have been burned alive by Colorado's murdering militia, after a year's hardship and discomfort in the tent colonies, the miners almost unanimously accepted the proposition submitted by President Wilson, which simply means carrying out the law and nothing more. This proposition has been refused by the group of operators who yield to no people, no government.

At the present time the federal troops are still in Colorado but the militia is beginning to appear at different points in the strike zone.

As far as the Department itself is concerned, I, as already stated, have not devoted much time to it. While in Washington I have put forth every endeavor to try to interest the federal government in certain phases of the Colorado war, with some results. In this I have been ably aided by Mother Jones, whose long experience has admirably qualified her in this kind of work.

The idea of the Departments is, in my opinion, sound and correct. To bring the membership of an industry, or closely related industries, together in a closer affiliation regarding membership, agreements, etc., is undoubtedly the thing that needs to be done. Bringing them together, giving consideration in an intelligent harmonizing way to the claims of each craft or union involved, and dealing with matters on their merits without prejudice, is not so easy as it looks, and will bring out the best of effort, experience, and knowledge on the part of everybody involved.

Digitized by Google

CANADA

P. M. Draper, Secretary of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, submitted the following report of the year's progress:

It is with much satisfaction that we note the splendid progress being made by our brothers in the international trade union movement in the Dominion of Canada. A glimpse at the figures from the Canadian *Labour Gazette* will convey to you the growth during the past three years of our great movement in Canada. At the close of 1911 there were 119,415 members of the international trade union movement in the Dominion, with 1,550 local unions; at the end of 1912, 136,389 members contained in 1,638 local unions; at the close of 1913, the membership had increased to 149,577, with 1,792 local unions of the international movement. It is safe to say that by the close of 1914 the membership will reach 175,000. The membership of non-international bodies at the close of 1913 was 26,222. This also includes independent unions, unaffiliated and without a national head. It is therefore easily seen that the international trade union movement is making such strides as to leave no doubt of the ultimate absorption by the international movement of the entire trade union movement in Canada. In fact the indifferent section is becoming a totally negligible quantity. This does not mean that organization efforts may be lessened in intensity. Rather does it mean that continued effort all over the country promises still greater success for the labor movement.

Our brothers in the Dominion are at present face to face with an industrial crisis such as the Dominion of Canada has never before experienced. It is a pleasure to note that at the recent convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada not only did the Secretary's report show that the membership of that body had held its own, but that the finances were in as good a shape as the previous year, which speaks well for the movement in Canada. It is also worthy of note that the following extract from the Executive Council's report was endorsed unanimously by the convention:

In a declaration on the war the Executive Council said:

"Amid this horror, your Executive Council recommends that the convention reaffirms its utter abhorrence of war as a means of settling disputes; that we recognize the working class in one country alone can not stop war, and to prevent these struggles it is necessary for the working class among the great nations of the world to come to an understanding; that we declare at any moment the working class in the other countries involved make a move to end this struggle that we in Canada will co-operate in that move to end this terrible conflict as speedily as possible."

While this is only an extract, surely it must commend itself to all right thinking men as a statesmanlike utterance in the midst of the general excitement of this awful contest.

One pleasant feature of the progress of the labor movement in the Dominion is the splendid efforts put forward to obtain legislation in the interests of the workers and the successful results. A study of the new Workmen's Compensation Act in the province of Ontario, which reflects credit upon the efforts of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, will convince you of the great improvement in the laws of this province relating to compensation for accidents arising out of employment.

Amendments to the existing employers' liability laws have been made in several provinces. It is to be hoped that the efforts of the workers in the different provinces now being put forward to obtain compensation legislation such as is on the statute book in Ontario will result in success.

Much legislation has been obtained in different parts of the Dominion and many representatives of labor have been elected to municipal bodies. All this goes to prove the very active and healthy state of the labor movement in the Dominion.

The magnificent fight of the United Mine Workers on Vancouver Island for better conditions will stand as a record in the history of the labor movement in North America. The finest tribute to international trade unionism and a glowing lesson to the workers all over this continent is the fact that the United Mine Workers were able to finance the strike to the extent of $1,500,000.

The Dominion is face to face with an unemployed problem which is taxing her resources. The international movement has been so well constructed that even

Digitized by Google

amid these problems it shines bright in its strength and principles, and is ready to go onward in the great march for the betterment of the conditions of the trade unionists and wage-earners, both from an economic and a legislative standpoint.

PORTO RICO

The following report was submitted by Santiago Iglesias, President of the Federacion Libre de las Trabajadores:

The history of the working people of Porto Rico has been of such character in the past that it was practically impossible to organize and maintain labor unions of any effectiveness.

Generally the "Gremios" of the workingmen which were allowed in the colony under Spanish rule (ending 1897) had for honorary chairman a man from the ecclesiastical and military authorities. The great mass of workingmen were illiterate, a condition which made the work of organization among the working people even harder. As they were generally unable to read and write even Spanish it was hard to teach them through pamphlets and literary matter the ideas and practices of the trades unions.

But the greatest difficulty under Spanish rule was to create unions capable of bettering the economic and social conditions of the workers. Persecutions and dread were common among the laboring people.

At the time of the American occupation of the island the trade unions were organized in the country on the same basis as are the unions of the United States. The Federacion Libre of the workingmen of Porto Rico was first organized October 20, 1898, at a meeting held in the municipal theatre at San Juan.

The idea of the Federacion was advocated in the labor paper *Ensayo Obrero* after the first of May, 1897, but its legality was thought to be doubtful under the Spanish laws of that period and the consequent persecutions made men hesitate in this movement. The Federacion Libre was established at San Juan through representatives of twelve not very well organized unions and afterwards registered by the government August 24, 1900. The American Federation of Labor in the year 1901 appointed Mr. Santiago Iglesias as representative of the A. F. of L. in Porto Rico. Since that time there have been organized throughout the Island of Porto Rico 379 unions comprising all trades. All of these are affiliated to the American labor organizations with a total membership of more than 15,000. At this time 110 of these unions are in good standing and these include 9,000 members.

The Federacion Libre held its first labor congress at San Juan May 1, 1900, on the day of the inauguration of American civil government in Porto Rico. Seven such congresses have been held in the course of the subsequent fourteen years.

Representatives of the Federacion Libre usually attend the conventions held annually by the A. F. of L. and advocate measures to further the interests and conditions of the working people of Porto Rico. A delegation of the cigar makers also attended the international convention held in Baltimore in 1912. The bonds of fraternity and union have become stronger between the workingmen of both countries as a result of our participation in these conventions, and interests of the working people of this island have been protected in the most practical manner.

Last year there were organized twenty-five local unions of different crafts in this country.

Strikes

The American Tobacco Company, through the agency of its branch the Porto Rico American Tobacco Company, has made of Porto Rico a vast center of exploitation which affects not only those who work as cigar makers at the tables, but all those who are employed elsewhere in that same industry. This gigantic company employs thousands of countrymen on its estates and has monopolized nearly all the best lands of Porto Rico suitable for the growing of tobacco. The above named firm imposes upon the peons the worst of conditions as well as the lowest of wages. Under the thin canopies covering plantations thousands of sickly laborers may be seen, anemic women and stunted children.

In the cities the work of selecting the leaf of the tobacco is done almost exclusively by women and children under the worst sanitary conditions and at

Digitized by Google

absurdly low wages and the average of diseases caused by tuberculosis in those departments is among the highest prevailing in Porto Rico.

Until last year the American Tobacco Company had only five branches in the towns of San Juan, Bayamon, Manati, Ponce, and San Lorenzo. At the present time it has eight concerns more besides those five: Aguas Buenas, Arecibo, Toa Alta, Cayey, Juana Diaz, Penuelas, Coamo, and Villa-alba, which, added to the factory where moulds and suction tables are used at San Juan, make a total of fourteen factories where cigars are made and in which 5,000 cigar makers are employed.

The number of strikes entered into by the cigar makers of Porto Rico is as follows: On September 22, 1913, the cigar makers of the P. R. A. T. Co. declared a strike in the city of San Juan, and demanded better materials with which to work and more respect in the factory on the part of the employers. The cigar makers won the strike which lasted three days. This strike affected 900 cigar makers.

On October 10 the cigar makers again declared themselves on strike at Juncos, against the firm Calenti and Cobas. Their principal demand was a raise in wages. This strike lasted only about sixteen days. The cigar makers obtained some advantages among which was better wages on certain cigars. The strikers were union and non-union cigar makers, but no application for benefits was filed with the Cigar Makers' International Union. The number of cigar makers involved in this case was 900.

On October 15 of that same year, a general strike was declared throughout the tobacco district of Caguas against the Cayey, Caguas Tobacco Company, the Arguelles Cigar Company, the West Indies Commercial Company, of New York, and the Plantations Company. This strike involved Caguas, Cidra, Cayey, and Gurabo, where these companies had their branches. It also took in San Juan. The total number of strikers was 802 of whom 674 were union members. The cigar makers made no application for strike benefits from the international office. The strike was won by the strikers and large gains were obtained thereby on a number of brands of cigars.

On November 21, 1913, the cigar makers again declared themselves on strike. This strike was at Juncos where Calenti and Cobas Company had threatened that the factory would shut down. The number of strikers involved in this case was 73, of whom 63 were trade unionists. The chief object of this strike was to obtain an increase of wages. On this occasion the strikers filed an application for benefits. Owing to the pluck of the strikers the strike was kept up for seventy days and added a new triumph for the strikers. They obtained an increase on certain brands of cigars, and a contract was entered into whereby no man who is not a member of the Cigar Makers' International Union may be employed by the above firm.

On February 17 the San Juan cigar makers struck as a result of a complaint made by the women leaf strippers. The Porto Rican-Amercian Tobacco Company was duly advised that unless said company agreed to the demands of the women which were insignificant in themselves, the cigar makers would demand a raise in wages in accord with a prepared plan for a trade movement in March.

This strike involved about 3,000 workers about one-half of whom were union members. The cigar makers at the beginning did not file application for benefits but realizing that the company was preparing to resist the demands of the strikers, the unions held a meeting and agreed to have a referendum vote for deciding upon the question of the strike. Benefits were asked and the strike was approved. This put courage and hope into the strikers. The unions and the officers of the unions participated in the work with more vim and energy.

The company defended itself powerfully; it furnished arms to criminal hands to destroy the pickets; it paid the fines of the strike-breakers taken to court for attacks upon the strikers. The company used every possible means within the reach of money to break the strike, but the intelligent attitude of the cigar makers aided by the representative of the A. F. of L. in this country prevented the company from carrying out its plans. The strikers suffered great persecutions and the central strike committee helped those who had no right to any benefit, who were not members of the unions, by paying traveling expenses, lawyers' fees, fines, and other expenses, about $12,000, which was furnished by the unions of United States, Canada and Porto Rico.

Digitized by Google

The international union paid out in benefits to 704 members in good standing the sum of $38,765. This strike was settled four months from the date of its beginning and the cigar makers are to receive a raise in wages of more than $15,000.

This strike started at San Juan but was taken up also in all the factories owned by the P. R. A. T. C., especially so at Bayamon, Manati, Ponce, and San Lorenzo.

This strike signifies a decided advantage for the cigar makers of Porto Rico and for the Cigar Makers' International Union of America.

The last strike that was declared this year by the cigar makers took place at Caguas. This strike was declared July 7 against the Cayey-Caguas Tobacco Company. The principal demand was a raise in wages. The strike affected 154 cigar makers. This strike lasted fourteen days. Increase of wages was obtained on one make of cigar and other demands were gained by the cigar makers.

As a result of the activities kept up by the unions of the island, organization work among the cigar makers has progressed wonderfully. The number of cigar makers organized at present has reached the 3,000 mark, whereas last year it was scarcely 1,500. A new union has been established in the town of Aguas Buenas. There is some prospect of forming new organizations in other towns. The cigar makers' unions are running smoothly and help the other trades in Porto Rico.

The bakers' and carpenters' unions of Cabo-Rojo declared a strike for an increase in wages and both were successful. The employers signed agreements with their men and the trades were organized. The tobacco strippers from Bayamon, Juncos, Caguas, Ponce, and Gurabo (2,000 women), declared a strike for a raise in wages. They also demanded the enforcement of the workingmen's laws, or in other words such laws as regulate labor.

Strikes were successful in the sections of the island that were organized.

Congressional Investigation

President Gompers made a visit of one week to our island. With him came George W. Perkins, President of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America; Daniel Harris, President of the New York State Federation of Labor; William Strauss, Chairman of the Joint Advisory Board of the Cigar Makers' Union, and J. J. Fitzpatrick.

From one end of the island to the other large assemblies and meetings were held and it is estimated that more than 100,000 workingmen have had the opportunity of hearing the ideas the old veteran of the labor movement expounded in such a masterly manner. President Gompers and Mr. Perkins went about the island and scored a "hit." Their visit was fruitful of excellent results for the labor movement.

The suggestion of President Gompers to secure the appointment of a commission to make a congressional investigation in the country was accepted with great satisfaction by all the people of the island. Such an investigation would enable Congress (upon which the organic legislation of Porto Rico depends) to know the true conditions prevalent here and the injustice and oppression to which the inhabitants of the island are subject. The wretched state and condition of the country people and of a great part of the people of the towns was termed infamous by President Gompers. The effect of the declarations of President Gompers upon public opinion was nothing short of extraordinary.

All classes of society agreed with President Gompers that a congressional investigation in Porto Rico is absolutely necessary. Economically, the people of this island are considered as feudal dependents or a factory post fit only to be "worked," and the people considered as slaves depending on the sugar trust, the tobacco trust, and speculative schemes. The appointment of an investigating commission should be obtained of Congress. There is some accusation on the part of the people that the organic act of Porto Rico is being violated in many ways. Congress ought to appoint a commission or a committee to investigate all the accusations made by the press and the people and to study remedies for the horrible misery and plight of the people of Porto Rico.

Digitized by Google

The investigation made by Congress should consider the following facts:

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, Porto Rico purchased goods of the United States and foreign countries to the value of $42,926,473, but sold goods to the value of $49,705,413, so that in that year she must have had a numerical profit of no less than $6,778,940. At the end of the year 1913, the official balance showed a credit of $29,070,346 for Porto Rico. Such a large surplus of the product of labor in Porto Rico had never been seen before. But the greatest bulk of this surplus does not stay on the island.

The island which in 1898 possessed a total tributary wealth of $90,000,000 had reached the sum of $178,275,130 by 1912. It had practically doubled its total wealth while its population increased only 17 per cent. In 1913, one year afterwards, the most remarkable condition was the alarming diminution of its monetary circulation and credit, and, too, the consequent beginning of a crisis.

While there are 404,211 persons of school age, from 5 to 18 years, but 160,000 of the children attend school! Less than one-third of the people (less than 40 per cent) receive the benefits of education. Sixty per cent of the children are still the victims of ignorance for want of schools! Is it just that these innocent human beings should be doomed to live and be condemned to exploitation and stupidity like beasts of burden?

It is charged with some degree of justification that the true cause of our misery is that Porto Rico has been converted into a trading or bartering post in which mere slaves are employed. That more than 60 per cent of the net product or earnings made by the working classes of the island is taken away by the trusts and corporations will sufficiently explain why this country is drained of its money and the people left in a wretched condition financially. Loans to the poor people are made at the rate of from 12 per cent to 100 per cent per annum, which subjects thousands of families to inevitable misery and want. The majority of the country people of Porto Rico are suffering the pangs of hunger.

The people accuse some of the departments of the insular government and municipalities of the island with political corruption but the government of the island is impotent to prosecute and bring the responsible parties to account.

It is reported that the Guanica Centrale, the largest corporation in Porto Rico and in the world, is openly violating the federal laws and those of Porto Rico. It has created for itself a sort of sub-government with powers to operate commercial ports and to establish free trade between this island and Santo Domingo. It also has the ownership and monopoly of a large part of the land and business in Porto Rico thereby subjecting the inhabitants of this country to wretchedness and slavery. The Porto Rican American Tobacco Company and other corporations are doing similar things. The lawyers of these corporations are usually political leaders who have the most influence, members of the House of Delegates, councilmen, and men who draw a salary from the corporations for services rendered. They enact laws which benefit these combined interests.

The management of the prisons and penitentiary ought to be investigated so that the people may ascertain whether or not the agents are by speculation subjecting inmates to hunger and the most deplorable conditions.

The investigation should extend its efforts to the instruction and education given the inmates of the charity schools and paid for from the funds of the public treasury of Porto Rico. It should also inquire into the conduct and manner in which the persons in charge of such schools discharge their duties as regards the care given the boys and girls of these institutions. There is urgent need of making a close examination or investigation of the purposes for which these children have been admitted to the charity schools.

There is also a great need of knowing the means of livelihood of the parents or families that have children at these schools for the purpose of ascertaining whether the legal requirements have been fully complied with or whether there exist abuse and corruption on this score.

Congress should also order an investigation of the force of useless employes in the public service harmful to the dignity and good name of the country.

The Legislative Assembly of Porto Rico

The Commission on the Employers' Liability Act has now reported the result of its work to the Legislative Assembly and offered a draft of the aforesaid act.

Digitized by Google

The commission held many meetings, requested reports from numerous employers and from the workers of the island; compared data and information, studied the subject carefully, and drew up a bill which it submitted to the legislature for consideration.

This bill was introduced in the House of Delegates by Honorable Jose de Diego at the regular and extraordinary sessions held during the current year.

The House referred its bill to its Committee on Labor, and the latter summoned representatives of the A. F. of L. and members of the labor unions of the island.

Mr. Samuel Gompers and other prominent leaders of the A. F. of L. who were in Porto Rico at the time approved the bill as it was amended by the House of Delegates.

The amendments introduced by the House made some of the provisions of the bill clearer and undoubtedly improved it.

This bill was passed twice by the House, the first time on March 12 during the regular session, and the second time on March 16 during the extraordinary session of the legislature. On both occasions the bill was killed without receiving the consideration that it deserved in the Executive Council, the upper house of the Legislative Assembly.

In contrast to the Executive Council, the House of Delegates studied the commission's bill carefully, and the discussion was so long and detailed that at one meeting it lasted from 9 p. m. to 7 a. m., without interruption, all the delegates remaining in their seats during the entire night.

A few minutes before the adjournment of the extraordinary session of the legislature, the Executive Council forwarded to the House of Delegates a joint resolution to postpone the matter and to continue the work of the commission so that it might again study a subject of which it had already made exhaustive study. The House of Delegates postponed this resolution indefinitely, considering it a mere pretext to suspend one of the most urgent matters before the legislature.

Existing legislation of Porto Rico on compensation to laborers and employers' liability is so poor and deficient that the laboring classes are bereft of all just protection under the provisions of law, and the adoption of legislation incorporating modern principles of liberality in protecting laborers who suffer accidents while at work is one of the most peremptory needs of the people of Porto Rico.

Citizenship For Porto Rico

From the entry of General Miles into the island in 1898 the Porto Ricans have been unanimously soliciting citizenship up to the past year when various groups of discontented elements were constituted in the island in order to counteract the tendency to Americanize the country.

The change of opinion is due to the failure of the Congress to consider and approve the bill granting American citizenship and the extension of self-government to the inhabitants of Porto Rico. Twice, and in two different Congresses the Senate refused to take any action on the bills approved by the House of Representatives conferring American citizenship upon our people. This attitude has been considered by the most thoughtful and educated people of the island as an evidence of contempt and gratuitous injustice on the part of the Senate.

The confusion in regard to the political status of the Porto Ricans can not go on. Having, as we do today, two lines of well defined policy in our island, namely, the American policy with its tendencies for good, and the anti-American with all its consequences of evil, we earnestly request that American citizenship be granted to the people of Porto Rico.

The power of the Porto Rican workers to insist upon fair and reasonable conditions of labor is now and has been for decades, and may for generations continue to be far less than that of the workmen of the United States. It is not probable, under present conditions and without the benefit of progressive education, that the people of the country will be able to obtain more favorable terms of employment and more reasonable conditions of labor without the intervention and protection of governmental authority in some way. The demands of the people for better conditions of labor are and will be opposed by the interests of those

Digitized by Google

who insist that the workers are of a low type, just as their demands for education may be opposed on the ground that their work must remain unskilled.

Therefore we request the establishment by Congress of a Department of Labor in Porto Rico. This department should have the same power and prestige as the other government departments, should have control of all questions which relate to labor and should be authorized to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage-earners of Porto Rico, to improve their working conditions and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment.

Sanitary conditions in Porto Rico are bad. We believe that sanitary reforms must be enforced without any hesitancy or delay.

In conclusion I should say that the island continues to be utilized merely or primarily as a means of providing opportunities for investment and commercial exploitation by privileged citizens. If the policy of educating the people be hindered on account of its expense and alleged uselessness, if the standard of living of the people be not raised, the condition of the working people of Porto Rico after one hundred years will be no better than it was in the year 1898, when the sovereignty of Spain gave way to the dominion of the United States of Amercia.

Attitude of the Government

The facts that have occurred during the last strike declared by the Cigar Makers against the Porto Rican-American Tobacco Company should be mentioned to locate official responsibility. It may rest upon Governor Yager and the other officials and members of the local and insular offices of Porto Rico for not extending the protection or the impartial guarantee of the law and authority. Certain citizens requested that a remedy should be brought promptly, setting forth their complaints and protests in the form of filed statements duly sworn to and presented to the central administrative branch of the insular government. Gross abuse, provocations and humiliation were all pointed out as having been participated in by certain members of the police force and judges against the persons of certain working men and women.

The cigar makers' strike affected 3,500 families. More than 15,000 people were victims of the labor crisis and the whole island underwent depressions brought on by the lull in the labor, agricultural, and all the other industries. Governor Yager at the beginning of the strike had a conference called in his office. At this conference representatives of the firm and the cigar makers attended together with the Chief of the Bureau of Labor, the Governor's private secretary acting as the interpreter. We beg to state that the representatives of the strikers requested the presence of the representative of the A. F. of L., and the Governor thought convenient to refuse this. Somewhat later the cigar makers made known the result of the conference in a public meeting, and their committee made the statement that they had practically been advised to return to work under the old conditions and without any previous arrangement. The private secretary of the Governor was charged with having co-operated in this, and the said private secretary of the Governor informed the president of the central strike committee that the best advice that could be given to the workers was to break up the strike. This statement apparently was intended to make known the opinion of the Governor.

The Governor neither authorized nor consented to placing a number of guardsmen on private duty close to the offices and private residences of the company's representatives.

One police captain and other detectives visited the offices of the company very often. Complaints were made at the Federacion Libre that some of these agents had received checks from the tobacco trust as a remuneration for private service.

Protests were received by telegraph against the harshness with which the cigar makers were treated in various towns of the island.

From San Juan to Arecibo and from San Lorenzo to Ponce there was some intention of forcing the strikers to accept old conditions. Under these circumstances our representative submitted the case to the Governor of Porto Rico (Mr. Yager) by letters. As many as thirty complaints against police abuse were forwarded to him.

To all of these letters he made not a word of answer until compelled by some one who is not in the country. The reply was from the private secretary to the

Digitized by Google

Governor (not the Governor) to the effect that the complaints had been filed with the Department of Justice pending investigation of the case.

In spite of all the protest and complaints against abuse duly denounced and sworn to by the working men and women interested therein, the agents and representatives of the company kept on undisturbed with their abuses against the laboring classes. They heaped humiliation in the most arrogant manner and apparently felt sure that every act of theirs perpetrated against the working people would receive approval. A striking example of this is seen in the case of our General Secretary, Mr. Rafael Alonso, in the rooms of the Federacion Libre at San Juan, as well as outside. This gross abuse was repeatedly denounced to the Governor but no answer was ever received.

Other complaints were filed besides these at the courts of Arecibo, Bayamon, Manati, San Lorenzo, and San Juan, which never received any endorsement by any judge, or even by the Department of Justice, and the Governor himself kept the most absolute silence. Finally in view of the silence and disregard shown by the government to these complaints and grievances of the workingmen another letter was sent.

In reply to this letter we received answer that the actions of the police were in all cases warranted by the circumstances.

After this last letter we can look no longer for other satisfactory results from the investigation. In the cases of Arecibo and Manati no reply was received. The Governor was consulted concerning other cases but no answer has been received. It is true that during the last days of the strike after the cigar makers had been in a strike four months, when the Washington authorities, the press and the mercantile firms earnestly wished for a solution of the matter, and the tobacco trust was in a deplorable condition and needed some arrangement, then the Governor gave a helping hand since his inactivity was noticed and disliked by the public in general. But no punishment was imposed, nor was there any just reparation to show that the Governor and Justice Department were impartial. In order to give an idea of the conclusions of the judiciary a paragraph of the report of the Assistant Attorney-General is quoted as follows:

"Admitting that policeman Quiles was not very polite with the strikers in the above mentioned incidents, it is to be borne in mind that the conditions were extraordinary, and that the police had to act arbitrarily to avoid disturbances, as it was easier to stop them before they began than afterwards. I do not give very much weight to the evidence, as the witnesses in favor of the strike would say almost anything against the police. As a matter of fact, *while policeman Quiles evidently acted somewhat beyond his authority*, I think the circumstances warranted his actions. Now that the strike is over, *Quiles may be reprimanded.*"

Some of our companions have been accused of certain transgressions of the law without having committed them, and some have been sued and sentenced to pay excessive fines as in a case found in Bayamon and another in Juncos. On the other hand the rigor of the law was not applied against those who attacked or assaulted and humiliated the strikers of both sexes.

These facts mentioned ought not to be passed over in silence. The A. F. of L. should adopt an adequate plan or process to deal with the complaints of the working people of Porto Rico. On this account I request that the convention take an expedient action in behalf of the persecuted working people.

Labor in Cuba

In accordance with recommendation of President Gompers an investigation of the labor situation is being carried on.

Letters of importance have been received recently from Havana which show that there exists a desire to start a campaign for the organization of a great federation to strengthen all the laboring classes in Cuba.

The matter of organizing, federating, and affiliating the labor movement of Cuba to the A. F. of L. and its international unions should be considered in a convention of the representatives of all independent organizations in existence in Havana and the island of Cuba.

An experiment at Havana, for example, could be made three or four months

Digitized by Google

for the purpose of seeing what practical work would result from trying to unite and bring the Cuban working people under the influence of the A. F. of L.

At Havana and in the island the organized trades are rather scarce, and the workers are separated into groups and factions of certain political schools whose principles are not applicable to practical improvement of the social and economic standing of the workers.

One group of the workers have succeeded in obtaining from the government a commission for the study of labor conditions. This commission in itself has not the support of a serious organization and the influence of the laboring people. True such organization is sadly lacking and the workers, weary and discouraged after so much sheer suffering, have not yet taken a properly directed movement to secure a general federation.

Conclusion

Owing to the efforts of organized labor a Bureau of Labor is now in existence in Porto Rico. The assistant of this bureau, in his capacity of a business lawyer, defends cases of seduction, mortgages, gambling, and of some other nature.

In his last report the chief of the bureau describing the policy of the bureau, said this:

"The bureau will not interfere, however, in favor of any effort either of laborers or of those who claim to be working for the benefit of laborers when such efforts are intended primarily to injure employers. On the contrary, the purpose of the bureau is to help laborers whenever possible by obtaining the co-operation of their employers."

I have insisted and am insisting that the Bureau of Labor should be true to the protection of labor by having in its offices true-blues of organized labor.

The A. F. of L. on this side of the seas is doing all in its power to assist the people to get justice and social and economic freedom, and that, too, the redemption of mankind establishing peace the world over.

LABOR CONDITIONS ON EUROPEAN MUNICIPALLY OWNED RAILROADS

Report by W. D. Mahon and L. D. Bland

DETROIT, MICH., *October 14, 1914.*

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

BROTHERS: In compliance with your instructions to make an investigation of the conditions of the street railway workers of Europe pertaining to wages, hours of labor, and the effects of municipal operation, we submit our report:

Germany

We sailed from New York on the 16th day of June, 1914, reaching Hamburg, Germany, June 23. We spent two days in Hamburg investigating the local conditions and from there went to Berlin, where we took up the work of investigating the general conditions of the street railway workers of Germany. The headquarters of the trade union movement of Germany is located in Berlin. On arriving in this city we first visited the office of Mr. Herman Jochade, Secretary of the International Transportation Workers, and through him we were introduced to Mr. Baumeister, Secretary of the German trade union movement, who cordially received us and pledged us all possible assistance in our work. He tendered us the service of one of his clerks to act as an interpreter. We were then introduced to the officers of the Transportation Workers of Germany. This is the organization to which the street railway workers or, as they are called in Germany, tramway workers, belong.

We found at the headquarters of the Transportation Workers a full record of the conditions of the German street railway workers, both as to hours, wages, and general working conditions. Through Mr. H. Rathmann, the tramway representative of the Transportation Workers, we were placed in touch with the conditions of the occupation in their entirety throughout Germany. Mr. Rathmann, who has been specially engaged in directing this work for a number of years, was thoroughly familiar with the entire situation, and able from his reports to give us any data or information we desired as to the conditions of the tramway men. We spent some five days in the office of the International

Digitized by Google

Transportation Workers, going over the records, interviewing the different representatives and getting full information as to the conditions of our fellow workers in that country.

The history of the street railway business of Germany is similar to that of the United States in many ways. The first tramways of Germany were established in 1865. From that period up to 1870 there were but three systems in operation in Germany. From 1870 up to 1890, there was an increase of forty-six more concerns. After that period began the electrification of tramways and the increase has been much greater. Up to the present time there have been some 272 concerns established and put into operation. The records, however, show that some sixty-three of these concerns are now termed branches and are consolidated with the larger tramway companies, which leave about 209 tramway concerns throughout Germany.

As to the ownership and operation of these concerns the records gathered by the Transportation Workers show that 134 of them are in the hands of private companies and concerns, while the other seventy-five systems are owned and operated by local administrative bodies, district or municipal councils. In some cases there is joint ownership by the municipalities and private parties and we were informed that there is a tendency to place the operation of these jointly-owned properties in the hands of private parties in order to avoid and to evade the responsibility of operation and of dealing with the labor question.

Organization

The work of organizing the tramway men of Germany has been a difficult and uphill task, and reminds us of our history in the United States. Mr. Rathmann in dealing with that question in his report to the Transportation Workers has the following to say:

> "Nothing is more difficult than the beginning. This is at least true with regard to the organizing work among the tramway workers in Germany. But not only was the start difficult. The whole work has been laborious up to the present. Enemies and adversaries of the organization were, and are still to be found not only among our own fellow workers, but also among the employers and among the capitalists, who have an influence upon government. There are probably very few industrial branches in which the capitalists are so closely connected, both financially and otherwise, with the representatives or officials of government as they are in our calling. The employers are using every conceivable means to get the tramway servants away from the organization. The most extreme measures—and these have up to the present proved the most effective in the interest of the employers—have, so far, always been the propaganda and the promotion of the class spirit among the servants. As soon as this spirit is awakened, the organization finds among the tramway employes enemies just as bad and just as obstinate as the employers themselves could possibly be. These fellow workers put up with anything; brutal insults from their superiors, humiliations in the presence of passengers, absolutely insufficient wages and excessive hours. They see their children starving and their wives sitting over home-work almost day and night; but their class spirit does not allow them to go the only way which would lead to some less insufferable existence; the way of the modern organization, the free trade union."

Organizing the street railway workers of Germany has proceeded with great difficulty, and under trying circumstances. It is claimed by some that the tramway employes have no legal right to organize. By others it is contended they come under certain laws which would give them the right, but Mr. Rathmann upon this subject says:

> "A legally guaranteed right to combine does not exist in Germany for tramway men. They are quite free. As long as the trams were run by horse power, the systems were under the trade regulations and the right to combine was secured for the employes by these laws. But when in the middle of the nineties of the last century, electric power was introduced, the tram systems were placed under 'light railway' laws and these did not say a single word about the legal position of the employe.
>
> "In respect to this the employers now try to cast doubt on the right to combine by means of agreements, decrees, threats, and by means of terrorism and such means. This often leads to bitter struggle."

Digitized by Google

But it is contended that inasmuch as the laws do not forbid, the Transportation Workers have a right to organize, and they have steadily prosecuted the work of organization since 1906. Their efforts have been crowned with considerable success in the way of improvements for the workers and Mr. Rathmann, in his reports, declares that:

> "There has been no improvement from any other source brought to the tramway workers but that has been done through their union."

There has been all kinds of opposition raised and all kinds of beneficial and fake organizations started to offset the work of the bona fide union. Upon this subject, Mr. Rathmann in one of his reports says:

> "Welfare institutions have been developed among the tramway workers. Old-age, sickness and accident insurance are compulsory by law. This is not the case with regard to the pension. As far as the state municipal concerns come into the question, they have in the majority of cases established benefit funds without payment of contributions."

Among the private company concerns the employes are required to pay the dues in these concerns and levies from 4 per cent to 6 per cent are made for that purpose.

In opposition to the bona fide union, all kinds of unions have been set up, such as religious and company concerns; then still other unions divided the men, placing the motormen in one union and the conductors in another, and it seems from the reports that it is hard for the organization to hold its membership under the existing conditions. Upon that subject Mr. Rathmann in one of his reports says:

> "A sudden rush to join the organization as soon as it is worth while, that is, to secure an increase in wage, and quite as sudden a rush to leave it as soon as the movement is over, seems to be a peculiarity of the tramway men, which in spite of all educative efforts of our union we have not been able to exterminate up to the present. Naturally the men injure themselves most by these tactics, since after every movement the vindictiveness of the employers comes into play, and thousands of men are afterwards turned into the street without their comrades or the organizations being able to interfere."

A sample of the negative organizations Mr. Rathmann mentions in his report is the Private Railwaymen's Union, "under the patronage of the representative of the Prussian Parliament." There are about 1,000 tramway men in this organization, he states, "whose members are oppressed by officials in the executive and whose whole purpose is to produce patriotic slaves."

Though the union has during the past three years fought on behalf of no less than 36,631 employes for an increase of wages, a shortening of the day's work and increasing the number of holidays, the records for 1912 show that among all these members there were but 8,528 in good standing in the organization. There can be no question but that the only movement that has been of any benefit to the tramway workers of Germany has been the efforts of the union and the work done by the trade unions of Germany in their behalf.

The strikes of German tramway employes have been of short duration, the longest on record being three weeks. This occurred at Konigsberg in 1912, and was bitterly contested by the employers. So successful have those movements been to the union tramway workers of Germany that the employing concerns began a campaign for special legislation to prevent the tramway workers from entering into movements of this kind.

We are submitting herewith a copy of a settlement that was made with one of the concerns after a strike:

Strike Settlement

Between the Social Democrat Members of the City Council and the Tramway Authorities.

1. The employes of the Bremen Tramways now on strike to be re-engaged by the management of the Bremen tramways under the old conditions except in so far as it is otherwise provided for in the following:

2. No disciplinary measures to be taken against the men who are now on

Digitized by Google

strike either at present or in future, against present or future employes for joining or being members of the German Transport Workers or any other union.

3. The employes to choose from among their own number a committee of seven or nine employes, who can present requests to the management and discuss resulting differences of opinion.

When an employe is discharged the management is to communicate with the committee giving the reason for the discharge.

4. Wages to be increased immediately as follows:

For the first and second years of service to 100 marks per month.
For the third to fifth years of service to 105 marks per month.
For the sixth to eighth years of service to 110 marks per month.
For the ninth to eleventh years of service to 115 marks per month.
For the twelfth to fourteenth years of service to 120 marks per month.
For the fifteenth to nineteenth years of service to 125 marks per month.
For the twentieth to twenty-third years of service to 130 marks per month.

Drivers receive 10 marks more. When men are employed in case of necessity on their "off duty" days, they are to receive the usual proportion of the monthly wage. On Sundays and holidays, they are to receive 5 marks.

5. Daily worktime for drivers to be shortened by a half hour from the 1st of June, 1911.

6. The relations of the tramways management to their employes are to be subject to paragraph 616 of the Civil Code.

7. The management is not to use pressure on their employes to make them contribute to a registered insurance fund and not to make employment conditional upon this. Fines are to be placed in a fund which is to be exclusively devoted to paying benefits.

8. The employes undertake to resume work on the Horner Line on the 26th instant, on the other lines as soon as practically possible, according to the orders of the management. Those employes who, according to the preceding agreement would at present only receive an increase of 5 marks a month, to receive immediately an increase of 10 marks until the time at which this increase comes into force according to the preceding agreement.

9. Reserve conductors to receive 3.50 marks a day.

10. Depot workers to receive the same wage as conductors.

In 1911 in connection with a strike of our colleagues in Strassburg in Alsace, the following agreement was drawn up:

(A) For all employes and workers: New shop committees to be elected to replace the previous ones. The agenda of the meeting of the committee to be made known in good time to the representatives of the organizations in question are to be allowed to take part in the negotiations and have advisory powers. The trade union officials of the Metal Workers' Union are competent to represent the workshop hands, and other artisans and the officials of the Transport Workers' Union to represent all other workers.

(B) For workshop hands: The places rendered vacant by the strike are to be filled by strikers in so far as these seek re-engagement and the re-engagement must be carried out through the municipal labor bureau. If places become vacant later owing to men having received notice, or for any other reason, then tramwaymen shall be employed first. An increase amounting to 3.5 per cent of the wage to be made at once, with the stipulation that the increase be at least 2 pfg. (½d) per hour. For Sunday work, which is not in accordance with the arranged plan of work, an extra wage amounting to 50 per cent to be paid. Rules for other questions—night duty, holidays, etc.—to be settled in a special agreement which will be drawn up with the co-operation of the new shop committee.

(C) For the men engaged in running the cars:

1. The following scale of wages was agreed to: First year, daily wage 3.40 marks; second year, daily wage 3.50 marks; from the third year on, permanent employment, the following monthly wages: Third year, 108 marks; fourth year, 111.50 marks; fifth year, 114.50 marks; sixth year, 117.50 marks; seventh year, 120.00 marks; eighth year, 122.50 marks; ninth year, 125.00 marks; then each year an increase of 2.50 marks monthly until the twenty-third year in which the wage is to be 160 marks.

Digitized by Google

The driver from the time of being permanently employed to receive a further bonus of 5 marks a month, that is, in the third year they are to receive 113 marks and so on until in the twenty-third year, they are to receive 165.

2. Work time to remain unchanged.

3. The permanent-way men to receive an increase amounting to 2 per cent of the previous wage, with the stipulation that for a fully qualified worker at least 3.40 marks must be paid; old or unqualified men may be paid less.

(D) 1. All the above mentioned wage increases to come into force at once. The day when work is resumed to be reckoned as a full working day.

2. There is to be no adverse changes of existing conditions for any grades of employes or workers.

3. Disciplinary measures and persecution are not to be practiced against those who have been on strike or those engaged in the meantime.

Working Conditions

The organized workers of Germany have no general labor contracts as we have in the United States. All contracts are made by the individual worker with his employer. He makes a contract to cover his probation period, then after he is accepted as a regular man he makes another contract. Except as the organization has been successful in modifying them the contracts are severe in their demands, restrictions, and penalties. Samples of the probation and regular employment contracts follow:

Probation Contract

Drawn up at Halle-on-Seele ——— 19 — at the offices of the Halle General Electric Metropolitan Railway Company.

In reply to the invitation resulting from my application, the undersigned having been hitherto a ——— born on ——— at ——— in the county of ——— married ——— father of ——— children. At present living at ———. Affirming that he has never been convicted and holding in the military service the rank of ——— presents himself today and declares:

1. Inasmuch as I have been engaged today to serve on the Halle General Electric Metropolitan Railway as ——— I undertake to be faithful and obedient in this position, and to carry out all the duties required of me conscientiously and to the best of my knowledge. I promise faithfully to observe the Police Regulations relating to the Tramway Service issued on the 2d of June, 1899, and the Service Regulations issued in 1901 for drivers of electric motor wagons. I must inform myself of the contents of these regulations as well as of any supplementary regulations.

2. During the time of my employ, the company has the right to dismiss me whenever any cause is to be found in the manner in which I carry out my duties, while I may leave only on the Monday following an eight days' notice.

2a. Except in the case mentioned in par. 2, the H. G. E. M. Co. holds itself bound to give eight days' notice.

3. For the carrying out of my duties I am to receive a daily wage of 2-6 per day plus 3 per cent of the fares received and to have the use of a suit of clothes to be worn when I am on duty, which however remains the property of the company.

4. I am entitled to a daily wage and to a suit of clothes from the day which is appointed by the company. I am not entitled to claim any compensation for the time taken up in notification and in learning my duties.

5. Without having to suffer a deduction of wages I hope to get two full days' free each month—these days to be decided by the management.

My remaining away from work on any other days except holidays, unless illness is the cause, not only entitles the company to deduct the wages for this period but also to dismiss me immediately.

I emphatically declare that if I leave my work or stop working without having given the regular notice my guarantee is immediately forfeited to the company.

6. I undertake to contribute to the Sickness Fund and to pay the contribution to the fund as fixed by statute.

Digitized by Google

7. The fares paid by passengers and entrusted to me are the property of the company, so that I am under obligation to hand them over faithfully and correctly. I am also instructed that by intentionally taking any one on the car who is not entitled to a journey without taking his fare I dispose of the profits, to which the company is entitled, to their disadvantage, and am liable under par. 226, No. 2 of the Penal Code, to be punished for dishonesty.

8. I hereby clearly recognize that my duties demand the punctual fulfilment of the discipline regulations for employes on the H. G. E. M. Railway Co., which have been or will be issued, the contents of which in so far as they have been issued I am acquainted with. Every case of contravention of these regulations will be regarded as a breach of the contract inasmuch as it will be regarded as a failure to carry out the contract.

I hereby undertake to pay the forfeit of 1/- to 10/- for every case of contravention of the existing orders or any that will be issued later and hereby empower the management to fix the amount of the forfeit, to deduct it for me from my wages, and place it in the benefit fund. I also explicitly renounce all legal action concerning the matter. I hereby subject myself in case of a contravention of the service regulations to the punishment inflicted by the management.

9. I am under obligation:

(*a*) To faithfully deliver up any articles left behind in the cars or which come into my possession in other way.

(*b*) To make good all damage and to bear the cost of repairs on the Halle G. E. M. Railway, which during my work or during the time when I am learning my duties may be attributed directly or indirectly to me. I therefore deposit a guarantee sum of 170 marks which is to be deducted from my wages at the rate of 10 marks a month.

This guarantee shall be forfeited, in addition to the case mentioned in par. 5 according to this agreement in case of dishonesty proved against me, heedless of the amount involved. In no case am I entitled to demand the withdrawal of the guarantee while an examination or inquiry is in progress no matter how long it may last, or before the expiration of three months after the termination of my service.

10. Finally I recognize that the following are required of me:

(*a*) Unconditional obedience to all superiors. Politeness towards all company officials.

(*b*) Respectful, quiet, and obliging conduct towards passengers.

(*c*) Avoidance of quarrels and disputes with fellow employes of all grades.

(*d*) Complete sobriety is emphatically demanded. Any contravention of this, especially in case of drunkenness, is threatened with dismissal.

(*e*) Other duties which are usually done by ——— to be undertaken without entitling me to any special compensation, and that before I become a conductor, I must learn the duties of a driver as provided for in par. 4, of the conditions.

11. Should the inspecting authorities for any reason desire to discharge me from the Halle Metropolitan Railway (par. 62, II of the Construction and Working Regulations for Tramways with Mechanical Power, June 26, 1906) I am not entitled by this agreement to object to it, and may be dismissed immediately without the management being compelled to pay me more wages than for the time I have been employed.

12. I undertake to carry small change to the value of 30 marks in the pouch which is supplied to me.

13. I hereby recognize that I may not engage in any other supplementary employment without the approval of the Halle E. M. Railway Company.

Digitized by Google

Regular Employment Contract

Agreement for conductors and drivers (motormen). Second Agreement, after having served for some time as extra hand).

BERLIN, ————, 19 —.

I hereby declare that I am prepared to accept emloyment as (conductor-motorman) under the Greater Berlin Tramway Company, and during the time I am in their employ I will submit to the following regulations:

1. I submit in all points to the existing "General Regulations," for conductors and motormen. I am well acquainted with these regulations and a copy of them has been handed to me. The "General Regulations" form part of the conditions agreed upon between the company and myself.

2. The Greater Berlin Tramway Company, on the one side and I on the other side may give notice to terminate the agreement. Notice must be given before the 15th of the month, and employment ceases at the end of the month. Work may however be stopped at any time, without notice, when there is serious reason for doing so. In accordance with par. 62 of the Construction and Service Regulations the Railway Inspection Board—Royal State Railways' Management—may demand the dismissal of an employe, when in the opinion of the Board he is not able and trustworthy from the point of view of technical knowledge.

3. The uniform which is loaned to me and which remains the property of the Greater Berlin Tramway Company must be returned within forty-eight hours to the Stores Department in the event of my leaving the company or transferring to some other position for which uniform is not provided. The uniform must be returned in good order; that is, brushed and cleaned.

I undertake to give up the uniform immediately if I am ordered to leave the service or to take over some other work.

4. I agree that the Sick Benefit paid by the company be paid on the day appointed for the payment of wages and ——— at the same time as the wages. This regulation secures to the company the right to pay the Sick Benefit on the days appointed for the payment of wages. I further agree that if on account of inability to perform the work required by me ——— when this inability is the result of an accident and is recognized by me, I receive an accident allowance, my wages shall be reduced by the amount of this allowance.

I agree to join the Old Age Pension Fund of the Greater Berlin Tramways Company and to pay the contributions as laid down in the rules.

5. The bond for 100 marks which I have deposited is to cover any damage caused by me during the carrying out of my duty and especially to secure the return of uniform, tools or apparatus, tickets, and other property of the company in good order. My bond is to cover any and every offense and irregularity, even when I act as conductor, although employed regularly as an extra driver. There can be no claim for the return of the bond within three months after leaving the employ of the company even though the bond is intact.

If the bond is not intact, on account of any irregularity of which I am guilty, I am not entitled to recover my bond until after two years from the termination of my engagement.

6. I am not to engage in any supplementary employment during my free days or during my free time without the consent of the management.

7. I agree to work overtime when circumstances demand it, or to take over other work in connection with the system.

I also agree to work, when required by my superiors, on any other tramway system under the joint control of the Greater Berlin Tramway Company.

In case of notice to terminate work I may be given some other form of work during the period between the giving of notice and the expiration of my engagement.

8. If I fail to observe the Service Regulations or if I do not properly perform my duties I am liable to a fine not exceeding 5 marks. The amount of the fine is to be fixed by the Greater Berlin Tramway Company, or by any authorized official of the company, and is deducted from my wages on the next payday. My agreement is not affected by this. Money paid in the form of fines is to be handed over to the company's Sick Fund.

Digitized by Google

9. I am entitled to receive wages only on those days on which I fulfill my duties, excluding "free" days, for which I am paid. I am also not entitled to receive wages on those days, when through no direct fault of my own I am unable to attend to my duties, thus for instance when I have to attend the court as a witness.

10. Unless I am given special permission to do otherwise I undertake to live as near as possible to the station to which I am appointed for duty.

11. This agreement annuls the former one.

12. A copy of this agreement has been handed to me.

I read, approve and sign this agreement.

The conditions of the tramway workers have been placed before the legislature, but without any results. The following speech delivered in the Reichstag in behalf of the tramwaymen is embodied in one of the reports of the organizations:

> "Such agreements contain decisions relating to penalties for the slightest error made by men on duty amounting to 10/-, 20/-, and 25/-, and further regulations concerning reimbursement of cost of repairs, and it has happened that employes who have been acquitted in the courts have been compelled by the company, in spite of this, to defray the cost of repairs out of their wages. The company also endeavors in this way to transfer the loss, which it ought to bear, to its employes. Again there are regulations which leave to the pleasure of the company the decisions as to the granting of wage bonuses. As to the giving of notice, the employes must give fourteen days' notice and over against this the management reserves the right to dismiss a man at a moment's notice, if the interests of the service require it, or if there is any special reason. Gentlemen, these are a few points taken out of the agreements which are in vogue today on all tramways, and now finally allow me to refer to the fact that the attempt has even been made to interfere with the private family life of the employes and to ply them with questions relating to the most intimate private affairs. In the Traffic Regulations of the South German Railway Company in Essen the following occurs relative to the question of supplementary employment. Every official who intends to marry must give at least three weeks' notice of this before he applies at the registry office. In the notification he must give the Christian name and surname and residence of the parents together with their residence and position. Also all changes which occur in the personal relationships of the official, especially referring to the birth of children or the death of a former wife or children. Gentlemen, there is only one thing lacking to bring about for the tramwaymen in the twentieth century the conditions which existed for laborers in the middle ages. These specimens may be enough to show you how necessary it is that the whole of the agreement conditions in tramway concerns in Germany should be thoroughly examined and satisfactorily revised. Gentlemen, the thousands of employes in the tramway service are no longer satisfied with fine phrases, with statements that 'further consideration will be given,' that 'there shall be further discussion'—whatever these technical expressions of the government may mean. You must give a final consideration to their wishes, and they have a right to it, to demand that at last strong action be taken to abolish these shameful conditions, and to put the whole of labor conditions on such a basis that it can be said that these men too may enjoy an existence such as human beings are entitled to.
>
> "The representative of the government declared in the course of a speech, 'The Railway Managements attach great importance not only to the fact that this was a question for the federated states, but especially to the fact that tramwaymen are not regarded as industrial workers.'
>
> "With this, the matter was referred to the separate parliaments, and one can clearly see what conclusion will be reached. We have not placed any more propositions before the parliaments of the federated states."

So it will be seen that the organized tramway workers of Germany have reached the conclusion that their only hope for relief from the impositions placed upon them lies in their trade unions, for in every instance where genuine betterments have been established for the German tram employes they have been the result of trade union activity.

Digitized by Google

A man going to work on the trams must practice for eight weeks to learn the business. This is a government regulation. For that work he gets 2½ marks a week, which would be about 60 cents in the money of the United States. He must also put up an indemnity in the way of a forfeiture, averaging about 75 marks, and this stands against him, indemnifying the company in cases of breakage or any violation of the company's rules and regulations, for all concerns have a system of fines ranging anywhere from 1 mark to as high as 15 or 16 marks, which men are fined for the violation of rules and regulations. So if a man should fail to report in the morning and lose his run he would be fined from 1 to 2 marks for such offense.

The medical test in the tramway service throughout Germany is very rigid. In addition to answering satisfactorily specific questions pertaining to military service, an applicant must undergo a thorough examination by the officiating doctor and be pronounced physically sound.

The company reserves the right to discharge without notice, while the employe who desires to quit is required to give notice in some instances as long as three months in advance. Failure to comply with this regulation invariably results in forfeiture of bond, and, as one of our German brothers put it, "every strike is a breach of contract and if the men lose they forfeit their bond money."

An example of this is shown in the report on the strike of the tramwaymen of Saarbrucken, which occurred in 1911. It was conducted by a union not affiliated with the regular movement. The strike failed and every striker reinstated had to pay the company 50 marks from his deposit money. The security was then increased 50 marks, so that each had to put up another 50 to make the deposit 100 marks. The men who refused to return to work were fined by the company 92.50 marks, which practically confiscated the amount they had on deposit.

All concerns furnish uniforms for the men, but these uniforms are furnished just as a shovel or any other tool is furnished. They are not the property of the men at all. They are simply worn while in the service, are kept in repair, and when the men leave the service they must be turned back to the company, or else they must be paid for out of the indemnity which the employe deposited on entering the service.

When we come to investigate the wages, hours of labor, and general working conditions of the street railway men of Germany, we again are reminded of the similarity to the history of our street railways of the United States. While in our opinion no class of workers in Germany work as hard or as rapidly as the workers in the United States, yet we found the conditions of the street-car men throughout entire Germany similar to the conditions of the street-car men of the United States prior to organization some twenty years ago, and similar to the conditions of the street-car men of the United States now in unorganized cities. Their workday is from ten to twelve hours, spread over a period from fourteen to sixteen hours a day.

In Germany all classes of workers are supposed to have a Sunday or one day off a week, and this is advertised as being the condition of the street railway men. Yet upon investigation we found that this was not true, and Mr. Rathmann says in his report to the Transportation Workers in 1912:

> "Up to the year 1900 scarcely any tramway concern granted free Sundays to their employes, but when our union began its activity it succeeded, often after difficult struggles, it is true, in compelling the employers to give a few free Sundays in the year."

Wages

We were able to obtain the wages paid to the motormen and conductors by 192 concerns, both municipal and privately owned companies, and on investigating the wages we could not see any great amount of difference between them. Mr. Rathmann in his report to the Transportation Workers says upon this subject:

> "If there is anything that strikes us particularly while looking over the returns on wages, it is certainly the length of the wage scale in most of the concerns. We find wage scales extending over 15, 20, and 30 years of service, and even more, before the maximum pay is reached. If we look a little closer at the figures, we find that the commencement wages are mostly comparatively small, but that the maximum wages show a higher amount. The importance of this measure upon the part of the employers is easily recognized. Higher maxi-

Digitized by Google

mum wages induce the servants to work for years for low wages. On the other hand, they represent for the employers a kind of a safety valve for the expenditures connected with the pay-bill. A perusal of the commencement wages confirms the above statement. In no town in Germany, even where they have the cheapest living conditions, is it possible to get along with a family on less than 105 marks a month, but we see from the returns 87 concerns pay their motormen, and 102 concerns pay their conductors, less than 100 marks a month. And it is even worse if we look a little closely at the individual concerns. We find that 80, 75, 70, and as low as 69 marks are being paid per month. What kind of an existence must the families of these badly-paid workers eke out? Here, perhaps, we have a solution of the problem why in the case of the tramway servants the percentage of cases of death is so much higher among the women than among the men, and why the average life of the wife is about ten years shorter than that of the man. A world of misery is still to be found in this field of labor."

In comparing the conditions of these 192 cities, we find that the average wage for motormen for the first ten years of service runs from 73 marks and 50 pfennigs up to 147 marks per month. Mr. Rathmann, in his estimate for the first five years of employment, shows that there are fifty-six concerns that pay from 73 to 90 marks, and one hundred and twenty-four that pay from 90 to 105 marks a month. To give you some idea of the wages paid by the different concerns, we are here scheduling a few of the concerns, giving both private and municipal.

Tramways in Dusseldorf (city operated):

Motormen commence at 120 marks a month. A mark is 24 cents—$28.80 a month in our money.

Conductors commence at 105 marks a month—$25.20 in our money.

The maximum reached by motormen after eighteen years of service is 180 marks a month; by conductors, after thirteen years of service, 150 marks a month.

On the Greater Berlin Tramway (privately operated):

Motormen commence at 110 marks, 70 pfennigs, per month, or $26.58, and reach a maximum of 161 marks, 60 pfennigs, or $38.79 per month, after twenty years of service.

Conductors commence at 94 marks, 50 pfennigs, or $22.68 per month, and reach 140 marks after twenty years of service.

Tramways in Munich (municipal):

Motormen commence at 110 marks per month. They reach 230 marks after thirty-one years in service. Conductors commence at 90 marks per month, and reach 210 marks after thirty-one years in service.

Hamburg Central Tramway (private):

Motormen commence at 136 marks and 87 pfennigs per month, and reach 146 marks after six years.

Conductors commence at 91 marks and 25 pfennigs per month, and reach 106 marks and 45 pfennigs after six years in the service.

Frankfort (municipal):

Motormen commence at 107 marks and 60 pfennigs per month, and reach 198 marks and 33 pfennigs after thirty years in the servce.

Conductors commence at 107 marks and 60 pfennigs per month, and reach 193 marks and 33 pfennigs after thirty years in the service.

Cologne (municipal):

Motormen commence at 119 marks per month, and reach 155 marks in eleven years.

Conductors commence at 104 marks and reach 140 marks in eleven years.

Digitized by Google

And in this order runs the wage of all of Germany. There is always a difference in the wages of the motormen and the conductors. The conductors usually get about $3 a month less than the motormen. This difference they are supposed to make up in tips they receive from the riding public—this confirms the declaration of the German trade unionists that tips are not given to the employe but to the employer.

So we repeat that the conditions surrounding the tramway workers of Germany are similar to those that existed among the street-car men of the United States some twenty years ago, before the efforts of the Amalgamated Association had revolutionized labor conditions on the electric railway systems of our country generally. All our investigation showed that whatever betterments were experienced by the tramway workers of Germany were the direct result of trade union effort.

The German tram workers have suffered from lack of unified effort. Various agencies have kept them divided into opposing groups. Employing concerns have attacked their movements and governmental authority has been anything but favorable to them. Yet wherever genuine trade union effort has found expression among the tram employes of Germany as in every country their conditions of labor have been improved.

France

Finishing our investigation in Berlin we proceeded to Paris, arriving there Sunday, July 5. Here we had the good fortune to meet Mr. J. W. Sullivan, of New York Typographical Union, who gave us the benefit of his long and varied experience, rendered us every assistance in prosecuting our investigation and acted as our interpreter.

We began our investigation at the headquarters of the Tramway Employes' Union in the *Bourse du Travail*, where we were furnished information by Secretary H. Guinchard of the Tram Union.

There is no municipal tram development in France. The transportation systems are owned and operated by private companies. In Paris there are some 24,000 men employed on the tramway, underground and omnibus systems; 10,000 on the trams or surface railways; 5,000 on the underground; and 9,000 in the omnibus service. Of these the tramway and underground men have responded least to organization. The omnibus employes have made the best showing in this respect. Those that are organized are affiliated to the Transportation Workers' Union, each system having its local union.

The systems of wage on the transportation lines of Paris differ. Some employes are paid by the month, some by the day, and others by the hour. In the train service there are five grades of pay. In the fifth class men receive 165 francs a month; fourth class, 175 francs a month; third class, 185 francs a month; second class, 195 francs a month; and first class, 200 francs a month. A franc equals 20 cents of United States money.

The entrance to these various classes is not fixed by time service, but depends upon vacancies in each, so that promotion from a lower to a higher class, with resultant increased pay, can come only when a vacancy occurs. The movement from low to high wage is thus dependent on men's leaving the service in the higher grades. Plainly put, under this system men in the advanced grades must die or leave the service for other cause before the men at the bottom can get a wage increase. The commencement wage for tram employes in Paris equals $33 in United States money per month, and the maximum wage equals $40 per month.

The workday on the Paris trams is ten hours and most of the runs are completed within twelve hours.

The law provides that tramway men shall be off one day in seven. The government benefit laws do not include the tram employes. Various benefit schemes are promoted by the companies to which the employes are obliged to contribute.

The present wage and working conditions on the tram systems of Paris were established through the efforts of the trade unions in 1910. In that year most of the company franchises expired. The unions took advantage of the situation and demanded conditions for the employes in the new franchise arrangement. The agitation resulted in the appointment of a Commission to establish new wage and working conditions. This Commission was composed of representatives of the employes' unions, the companies, and the municipal government. The decision of the Commission was a reduction in working hours from twelve to ten a day, and an average yearly wage increase to trainmen of 460 francs each, or $92 a year.

So that in Paris, as elsewhere, we found the practical benefits to the workers coming through the power exerted by their trade unions.

Digitized by Google

The workers of France generally are poorly organized. As a prominent trade unionist of Paris remarked to us, "They are all good union men at heart, but not in their pocketbooks." The French worker has not reached that stage in organization development where he realizes the necessity of paying dues. As a result the unions are without funds and unable to conduct a vigorous campaign. Movements spring up, the workers respond to the call for organization, and when the particular issue that aroused them to organized activity is disposed of by victory or defeat, they fall back in the same old rut and neglect to support their unions. For the French trade unionist believes that in some miraculous way which he can neither describe nor explain something is going to happen that will unite the workers in the general strike, and the millenium will be established.

In the headquarters of the organization of steam railroad employes of France, we found that the part of their movement in which they seemed most interested was the promotion of an orphan asylum. Illlustrated pamphlets and literature were devoted to this feature which seemed to them a crowning achievement. The fact, however, that there were 410,000 railroad employes in France eligible to membership in their organization, and only 28,000, or less than 7 per cent in the organization, gave us a vivid impression of the difference between the French and American ideal of trade union methods. Like most of the French unions, dues in the railroad organization are low, amounting to 15 cents a month. An additional 14 cents a month is contributed to the orphan asylum fund.

Switzerland

We left Paris Saturday, July 11, for Basle, Switzerland. Here we met Johann Siegenthaler, National President of the Swiss Tramway Employes' Union. He called a special meeting of the Basle union, and the members tendered us a reception, welcoming us to their country. In harmony with the spirit of this God-kissed country, whose snow-capped peaks and bracing climate inspire one with a feeling of freedom, the Basle Tramway Employes Union has a singing society of eighty men, all members, most of whom were at the meeting. If rhetoric was incapable of showing their appreciation of our visit, the singers made up with song. Basle is located in what is known as German Switzerland, and the German methods prevail at all meetings.

There are forty-one tram systems in Switzerland, eight of which are operated by municipalities and thirty-three by private concerns. The total of all tram employes in Switzerland is 3,553, including all classes.

The right of the workers to organize is guaranteed by law. A report of the Swiss Tramway Employes' Union states:

> "One rarely hears of the direct oppression of the organization, and employers are careful not to oppose, as this would be contrary to the constitution of the Swiss Confederacy."

Showing the results of the activity of the tramway employes' union, the report continues:

> "In the period from 1910 to 1912, there was a serious increase in prices, with the result that wage movements took place in almost all concerns, with good results for the men. The authorities in concerns owned by communities, as well as in private concerns, were compelled to recognize that extraordinary times demanded extraordinary measures. The wage increase resulting from those movements follows: Basle, 7 per cent; Berne, 15 per cent; Zurich, 8 per cent; Luzerne, 15 per cent; St. Gallen, 7 per cent; Shaffhausen, 10 per cent; Geneva, 5 per cent; Lausanne, 6 per cent; Winterthor, 8 per cent."

The laws of Switzerland also provide for insurance against sickness and accident. The managements are compelled to insure employes and pay all premiums. They are required to pay tram employes when sick or injured a sum equal to at least 80 per cent of the daily earnings. In case of permanent injury the yearly pension amounts to 75 per cent of wages.

Under the law the maximum consecutive hours of labor must not be over eleven. The unions have succeeded in reducing the workday to nine and ten hours. As the report of the union states:

> "With the help of their organization conditions are more favorable in all large concerns than is prescribed by the law. This circumstance has forced the tramway employes' union to press for a revision of the questionable laws and success seems certain."

Digitized by Google

On all the tram systems of Switzerland uniforms are furnished employes free.

We were informed that there were two national unions of tramway employes in Switzerland, one confined to the German section, and the other to the French section. The original union was instituted in 1905, and embraced the tram employes of both sections. In 1907, however, the members in the French localities withdrew and established their own union. The workers of the German and French sections differed on policy and form of organization, and a division was the result. In the German union there are 2,000 members, and in the French union some 900 members. Both are affiliated to the Swiss Trade Union Federation and also to the International Transport Workers' Federation.

The tram system of Basle is owned and operated by the municipality. The employes are well organized, with 685 members in their union, which is affiliated to the Transport Workers. The commencement wage for tramway men is 150 francs a month, equal to $30 of United States money; after ten years' service they receive 210 francs a month, or $42 in our money.

The workday is nine hours, completed in fourteen to fifteen hours.

Men entering the service work three nights a week for three months. After this period they are assigned to work Sundays. They are known as reserve men and when vacancies occur are placed in the regular service.

The last strike of tramway men in Basle occurred in 1905. The employes demanded better conditions through their union, and were refused by the municipal authorities. The strike lasted three days, when a settlement was effected through the city council, the employes gaining many concessions.

The organization in Basle conducts business much the same as amalgamated locals. Grievances are taken up by the union committed to the tram officials. If an adjustment can not be effected they may appeal to the city council and to the legislature.

At Berne, the capital of Switzerland, we met August Huggeler, General Secretary of the Swiss Trade Unions, who showed us every courtesy, acted as our interpreter and guide, and placed us in touch with much valuable information. Berne's tram system is municipally-owned and operated, and working conditions for employes are somewhat similar to Basle. The wage at Berne for conductors starts at 150 francs a month, or $30, and reaches 220 francs a month, or $44, in ten years. The beginning wage for motormen is 155 francs a month, or $31, and after ten years the maximum is 230 francs, or $46 a month. The workday is nine to ten hours, completed in fourteen to fifteen hours. The tram employes of Berne are organized and affiliated with the Transport Workers.

A federal law in Switzerland, which had its inception with the trade unions, requires that tramway employes be allowed fifty-two free days in a year, to include at least twelve Sundays, and there must be a holiday of eight consecutive days each year.

On the privately operated trams in Switzerland, the wage paid employes is a trifle less than on the municipal roads. At Geneva, for instance, the wage paid trainmen is 6 per cent less than the wage paid in Basle.

In sections of Switzerland the same contrast was noticeable as marks the difference between centralistic Germany and syndicalistic France. In the German cantons of Switzerland organization among the tram men seemed more thorough, systematic, and along practical lines. Their dues are comparatively high, benefits fairly good, and they guard jealously the improved conditions they have forced through their trade unions. In the French cantons, however, the trammen are poorly organized and there is a lack of interest. With this attitude in evidence it is but natural that the better conditions should obtain where practical trade union methods are resorted to and the men are active to protect their interests.

We were much impressed with the air of freedom everywhere apparent among the workers of Switzerland. They are a healthy, husky, thrifty lot, earnest, sincere, and hospitable, and their spirit of independence is admirable. Yet in the large cities of the oldest of present-day republics, with democratic methods and law-making in the hands of the people, there are many evidences of poverty. Hovels are the shelters of many of the workers, and the living standards are far below that to which the American worker is accustomed. The apartment building prevails in the cities of Switzerland as it does throughout the continent, with small rooms, poor accommodation, and surroundings wholly uninviting. When we asked a union metal worker of Switzerland if he owned his home, he laughed and answered, "No; the workers here do not own homes; they never make enough money to buy a home."

So in God's beauty spot, with the ice-capped peaks etched against the heavens, and with an environment that inspires courage, with the ballot free, and the people acting as

Digitized by Google

the court of last resort in .law-making, grim poverty holds sway and want grips the unfortunate. The only check has been the results brought by the trade unions, for wherever the conditions of the Swiss workers have been improved they have been accomplished through their unions.

Italy

We left Switzerland, Tuesday, July 21, for Italy, spending a day at Milan, and continuing on to Rome, where we again took up our work of investigation. At Rome we met Giuseppe Sardelli, President of the Tramway Employes' Union and a very active factor in the Italian movement. Gathering information here was rather tedious. We found it difficult to get interpreters who understood the terms used in our occupation. With President Sardelli, Secretary Canini, and a committee of the men sent by the union to escort us, we inspected all departments on one of the tram systems. Here, too, we were given a splendid reception at a meeting of the union, the wives of the members participating.

There are one steam and four electric tram systems in Rome. One of these systems, with 600 employes, has been operated by the municipality since 1911. We were informed that the city will assume operation of all the tram lines in 1920, when the franchises expire.

The commencement wage for tram employes is 3 lire 20 centimes per day, and after eighteen years' service, the maximum of 4 lire 70 centimes is reached. A lire equals 20 cents of United States money. The wage for beginners in Rome therefore is the equivalent of 64 cents a day in our money, and the maximum wage after eighteen years' service, 94 cents a day.

The workday on the trams is nine hours, completed in about thirteen hours.

The wage on the municipal road is 10 cents a day more than on the privately-owned roads, but other conditions are about the same. On the municipal system the employes are paid every two weeks, and on the private systems they are paid each week. Trainmen on all the roads have one free day every fifteen days.

Men entering the service are required to furnish school certificates and good references. The age runs from 18 to 35, and the height requirement is about five feet. The physical test is thorough.

We were informed that once discharged, old experienced men were never returned to the service.

The tramway employes of Rome are well organized, numbering about 4,000 members, and affiliated to the International Transportation Workers. The organization of the trammen is comparatively new, the National Tramwaymen's Union was established in May, 1913, at a Congress held in Rome. The tramwaymen of Italy are divided into various organizations and the object is to affiliate them with one national union.

Some four years ago the tramwaymen of Rome were successful in resisting an attempt to destroy their union through the discharge of their officers. A strike of short duration ensued, the union officers were restored to their positions and many of the working conditions were improved. Since then they have been making steady progress through their union.

In Milan the tram lines are owned by the municipality and operated by a private company. The wage and conditions are about the same as Rome. The employes are members of the Railwaymen's Union, which has no connection with the regular movement. They number 2,500, have syndicalistic tendencies and with the tramwaymen of Naples and Genoa have seceded from the regular Tramway Employes' Union.

In Italy there is much division among the workers as to the form and method of organization. This of course has retarded their progress. It has crept into the ranks of the tram employes as well as workers in other occupations. There is solid material among the tramwaymen of Rome, however, led by Guiseppe Sardelli, a sound trade unionist, and their move in establishing a national union of tramway employes affiliated to the bona fide trade union movement of Europe, is evidence that they have seen the light and that genuine trade union philosophy is gaining a foothold in their country.

The War

While engrossed with our work in Italy the terrible conflict that is now raging in Europe commenced. Having no knowledge of the language and unable to read the newspapers, we were not informed on the situation. The English newspapers we found at the hotels were usually a week old, so that our information was meagre. It was while we were in Naples on July 30 that our interest was aroused by the excitement of the people, who were purchasing newspapers generally.

Digitized by Google

We had a week's work planned at Munich, where we had arranged to meet Mr. Hans Fehlinger, and had intended to investigate the tram systems of Vienna. We went to Cook's office, where English is spoken, to purchase tickets via Munich and Vienna to London, and were informed that they could not route us that way. They said there was a slight interruption of service. On further inquiry we were informed that the situation was very serious and that transportation was subject to cancellation at any time. We then purchased tickets to London, taking the most direct route, back through Switzerland, over into France and on to Calais, across the channel to Dover and from there to London, where we could at least converse with people in our own language and read the newspapers.

We left Naples July 30 at 1.45 p. m. We made our connections at Rome and Milan and all went well until we found that our car was being switched around Switzerland, all the while losing time. About dusk the next evening our train crossed the French line, stopping at Belfort. For several hours we had noticed unusual military activity. Every station had its complement of soldiers and when we reached Belfort everybody was ordered off the train. Evidently many trains had been taken by the military authorities at this point, for the station was crowded with hundreds of stranded passengers. We had never studied the sign language and the quick motions and pounding on our window by the railway employes on the station platform was as unintelligible to us as their language. We did not understand either. We had determined if we were to leave that car and become part of the forlorn mob at the station it would be under compulsion; they would simply have to come in and put us off. We never favored military escort anyway and in this particular instance they looked about as good to us as ever. We were not molested and when the other passengers saw this they boarded the car again. Our car was then switched on a side track and the balance of the train taken for military transport.

Here we laid for hours which to us seemed weeks, for it is bad enough to be cooped in the stuffy compartment of a European railroad coach without water or comfort in normal times, but to make a long run in times like these was more trying than the box car route in our own country. Finally our car was attached to a train and we proceeded on our way, no one knew where, but we were going with stops at every station and hundreds of people clamoring to get on. Everybody along the route was excited, the train crew included. The car was crowded and we gave up our seats to a lady with three little children, one of whom was desperately sick, thereby adding to the serenity of the situation.

We squeezed into the corridor crush and inured to long standing by years of street car service we managed to exist through a trying night, and reached Paris about 8 o'clock Saturday morning, August 1, tired, dirty, and disgusted, for in the make-up of trains they seemed to have forgotten a diner and for twenty-four hours food, water, or thirst-quenching beverages were as scarce as German soldiers. At the railway station in Paris the baggage porters had either joined the army or quit the job, so we had to maneuver the best we could. The excitement had gripped the taxi force and a prospective passenger had to have good lung power and a fine knowledge of French to hail one of them. We demonstrated both, however, and were transferred to another station, where we got into the same kind of a jam of American cousins bent on the same purpose as ourselves. We caught our train to Calais, crossed the channel and arrived in London the same night, with motion and other languages, each worse than the other, far behind us, and none the worse for our interesting but trying experience.

London

With the war on, troops mobilizing, workers enlisting, industry slackening, employes being laid off, money tightening and business more or less at a standstill, we found after a few days' effort in London to continue our investigation, that little could be accomplished and we were forced practically to abandon it.

While in England we came in contact with James A. Seddon, Chairman of the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee; Charles S. Bowerman, Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee; Ben Tillett, General Secretary of the Dock Workers' Union; W. A. Appleton, Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions; Father Hopkins and Secretary Chambers of the Sailors' Union; James Sexton, Secretary of the Dockers' Union at Liverpool, and several others, all of whom treated us with the utmost courtesy. Brother Seddon was delegated to assist us in our investigation and gave us every possible help during our brief stay in England.

In London we met Mr. W. J. Riddell, President of the Tramway and Vehicle Workers' Union. He informed us that about 85 per cent of the tram employes of London were organized.

Digitized by Google

The London County Council owns and operates all the tram lines inside the area of the county of London. There are private companies operating outside this area.

Mr. Riddell informed us that the London County Council treats and makes agreements with the Tramway Union, and that similar agreements were in force with many of the private companies. The wage for motormen and conductors, of whom there are about 5,000 in London, runs from 5s to 6s 6d per day, equivalent to $1.20 and $1.56 in United States money. He said the wages were higher on the municipal lines which would naturally follow, for the private roads are operated outside the county area and in less congested districts. The workday is nine to ten hours, completed in fifteen hours, and the six-day week prevails.

In a conference with the manager of the London Municipal Tram System we were informed that when the electric motor bus was installed in London a large number of tram employes left the service to operate buses, and the reason assigned was that wages on the bus system were higher.

The motor bus system of London has cut into the receipts of the tramways to an alarming extent; so much, in fact, that the tram management has offered inducements in various ways to attract patronage.

There are some 1,700 tram cars in operation in London and about 3,000 motor buses. Both are double deckers. Where the lines compete the fare is about equal on bus and tram, but where there is no competition the bus fare is higher.

Last year the London trams carried approximately 523,000,000 passengers, while the motor buses carried 550,000,000 passengers. These figures, of course, represent cash passengers on the zone system, there being no transfers.

In his report to the London County Council this year, the manager of the municipal trams says:

> "During the year the competition between the Council's tramways and motor omnibuses has been very keen. However, the rearrangement and reduction of fares, including the institution of additional return fares, *and speeding up of the services*, has helped the tramways undertaking to recover to some extent its passenger traffic."

On the municipal trams of London an average speed of more than nine miles an hour has been attained, and this with double-decker cars which are comparatively slow to load and unload.

While the tram management is advocating speeding up, there is a movement to speed down on the motor buses. The increasing accidents in the streets of London caused by motor buses was the subject of an investigation recently by a Parliamentary Committee. It was found that the number of fatal accidents in the metropolitan police area had multiplied over threefold in eight years, and that the number of injured had doubled in the same period.

High speed in surface transportation not only increases the danger to pedestrians, vehicles, and passengers, but makes wrecks of trainmen. More speed, however, means less cars, less employes, less operating expense, increased labor for the men, and more monetary return for the owners. The desire to make a showing and increase receipts by this reckless method is resorted to apparently by the municipal manager as well as the private company. The most effective check to this evil has been the force of our trade unions.

During our visit in England at a conference of the trade union officials, it was decided that the British Trades Union Congress, which was scheduled to open September 7, be postponed indefinitely due to the war.

Glasgow

Notwithstanding the chaotic condition of affairs, and realizing the importance of Glasgow as a municipal utility center, we took advantage of the time we had before sailing to visit the Scotch metropolis and investigate as far as we could the municipal tram system. As there was no union of tram employes in Glasgow, we were somewhat handicapped to get information from that source. Through the courtesy of Mr. Seddon, however, who communicated with Glasgow trade unionists, we were met by H. Lyon, Secretary of the Scottish Horse and Motor Drivers' Association, and G. Carson, another trade union official. Both were ex-councilmen and well informed on Glasgow conditions. They escorted us to the offices of the Glasgow Corporation Tramways, where we were introduced to Mr. James Dalrymple, General Manager, who took us on an inspection tour of the

Digitized by Google

system, through the shops, car barns, and buildings, and furnished us with reports and much general information.

On the Glasgow system we found that the employes in the various mechanical departments, to the number of about 400, were members of their respective trade unions and that they were paid the prevailing union scale that had been established by their unions with the other private employers in the city. But when we came to the motormen and conductors, which number 3,012 men, we found no union at all. These employes were organized up to 1911 when they made demands for an increase of pay and shorter hours of labor. This was refused them and they went on strike. Their strike was fought as viciously by the municipality as it could be by any private employer. The General Manager was given absolute power by the city council to deal with the men in any manner that he saw fit. He succeeded in breaking the strike and over 400 of the men were victimized and never allowed to return to the service. A little later, the city council conceded that the men's contest for shorter hours and better pay was right and granted it.

In discussing this subject with the manager he said he was absolutely opposed to any union, and that he did not believe any man that worked for a municipality should vote or take any part in the political affairs of the municipality.

On the Glasgow municipal trams the trainmen work a six-day week of fifty-one hours. The scale of wages for motormen and conductors is graded and runs as follows:

		Per week	U. S. money
First year		27s	$6.48
Second year	1st 6 months	28s	6.72
	2nd 6 months	29s	6.96
Third year	1st 6 months	31s	7.44
	2nd 6 months	32s	7.68
Fourth year		33s	7.92
Fifth year		34s	8.16
Sixth year		34s	8.16
Seventh year		34s	8.16
Thereafter		35s	8.40

The wage of other crafts in Glasgow follows:

Carpenters, 21 cents per hour.
Printers, $9.50 per week.
Teamsters vary from $6.25 to $9.25 a week, the hours ranging from fifty-six to sixty-two and one-half.

Uniforms are furnished trainmen free, the corporation retaining ownership. When leaving the service these must be turned in. If an employe wears out more than the prescribed allowance he must pay for the extra garments.

On the Glasgow system we found a tendency towards paternalism and welfare features similar to that met with here among companies that use these methods to prevent organization, such as clubrooms, concert halls, and an employes' restaurant.

The power delegated the manager in the discipline of employes is absolute. He may discharge any employe, we were informed, whose wage is less than $1,750 a year, and in this, as in most matters, his decision is final.

One of the most rigid physical tests known to the business is required of applicants on this system, more exacting than for military service.

Glasgow and suburbs have more than a million population, with 194 miles of street car track. Cities with one-fourth the population in this country carry much more trackage. The fares on the Glasgow system vary from 1 cent to 14 cents, according to distance. The average ride for 1 cent is 1.15 miles and so on up to the 14-cent fare, when the average ride is 14.48 miles. Fares are collected on the zone system. When a passenger rides from one zone into another he pays an additional fare. Of a total of 336,654,624 cash fares realized by the Glasgow Corporation last year, 211,462,484, or 62.81 per cent, represented 1-cent fares. This is claimed to be proof that the public is enjoying cheap fares. This

Digitized by Google

is not correct, for the Glasgow, like all other European systems, municipal and private, does not issue transfers, and a passenger may ride on several lines to reach his destination, and have to pay an additional fare on each. On every line he is a cash passenger and helps swell the total class of fare he happens to pay. So that the so-called cheap fare of Glasgow, as of Europe generally, is not so cheap when the small distance it covers is considered, and certainly not cheap when compared with the buying power of the workers as reflected in the impossible wage they receive.

A Regret

We sailed from Liverpool August 18. The day following we viewed the coast of Ireland in the distance, the spot we had longingly looked to for a rest when our labors elsewhere were completed. For we were informed that Ireland had no municipal utilities, and here we had planned to rest, and to visit the scenes that our friends have oft pictured us, the home of our ancestors and the land that has inspired genius and made history, that we might come back with a share of the imperishable Blarney that so many of our good friends have been inflicting upon us these many years. But in this we were disappointed, and while passing the rock-bound coast of the Emerald Isle, we bade her a sad farewell, cheered, however, with the knowledge that before leaving London we succeeded in laying the final plans for her freedom, and ere we again set foot on Columbia's shores, our friends in the British Parliament would enact the legislation that would proclaim to the world that Home Rule for Ireland had been accomplished.

Conclusion

We began our investigation of conditions surrounding the tramway workers of Europe with an open mind. We were ready for impressions and determined to report facts as we found them. The war prevented us from going into the investigation as thoroughly as we had planned, yet the field that we covered and the access we had to information gave us a good understanding of conditions.

The tram systems of Europe are not to be compared with the street railway systems of the United States. Throughout continental Europe and the United Kingdom, in the most thickly populated centres, the street railway service is inferior to ours in many respects. In the continental cities the track mileage is small compared with the United States. This contributes to density of traffic and profitable operation. The same is true of the United Kingdom, whose total street railway trackage is about 3,600 miles as against 40,470 miles operated in the United States.

We found the same spirit of commercialism dominating the electric railway systems of Europe, private and municipal, as exists in this country. If any credit is to be given either, it belongs, in our opinion, on this side of the water, for the American system, to our minds, is not only cheaper to the public, all things considered, but the service is better with a great deal more of it. Cheap fares on the zone system prove dear fares to the worker if he has to ride any considerable distance or take intersecting lines, for each zone entered means an additional fare, and there are no transfers on European systems. Zone fares and inadequate wages force the workers of Europe to live close to the workshop, mill, and factory. It is rare to find a European worker who can afford to live in suburb or country, miles away from his work, as is frequently the case here. The rate of fare for long distance makes it prohibitive and the wage will not warrant the expenditure.

Thus the zone fare system contributes to congestion and compels the workers to live in the most uninviting districts. It retards suburban development and adds to the rents of the workers, who not only have to suffer the inconvenience of small living quarters, but are denied sunlight and sanitary surroundings as well.

And right here we desire to comment that with all the claim for legislative enactments helpful to the workers, municipal utility enterprise and co-operative development, we found the living standards of the workers of Europe, tram as well as others, so far below the average of the workers of America that no comparison is possible. The rapidity with which the workers of Europe were grasping the truth that their efforts must be concentrated in the economic field, through their trade unions, was the most hopeful sign that this condition would be altered.

None of the European systems has a night car service, such as we have in our big cities.

Digitized by Google

Nor have they an interurban electric service, that has contributed so much to the development of our rural districts, and brought the consumer and producer in close relationship.

Nor is there any comparison between the wage of the European tram employe and his brother in the United States. From the viewpoint of the purchasing power of a dollar it has been estimated by careful observers that the cost of living in various parts of the United States is 25 to 65 per cent higher than it is in various parts of Western Europe. The difference in the money wage of the street railway men of these countries is much greater. The highest wage paid any body of tramway workers in Europe is safely 50 per cent less than the rate paid in this country in the same occupation, and we found this to be the fact both on private and municipal systems.

Our investigation showed that wherever the tram workers of Europe enjoyed advanced wage and labor conditions their trade unions were responsible for them. Where the trade unions are active there the best results obtain, and whether dealing with a municipality or a private company the employes have found it necessary to maintain their unions to establish and protect their conditions.

Digitized by Google

UNION SOCIAL INSURANCE

Cost to internationals for past five years in payment of benefits.

Name of Organization.	For strikes.	For lockouts.	For unemployment.	For sickness.	For old age.	For disability.	For traveling.	For tool insurance.	For death.
aAsbestos Workers	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
aBakery and Confectionery Wkrs.									
Barbers' International Union	12,451.00			217,755.97		and disability			121,720.00
aBill Posters and Billers									
aBlacksmiths, Intl. Bro. of									
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Bldrs.	†416,095.46			locals	local business	local bus. total disa.	none	none	17,559.00
aBookbinders, Intl. Bro. of									
Boot and Shoe Workers	*50,377.45			363,864.38	none	17,425.00	none	none	71,775.00
Brewery Workmen, United	*117,951.00		some locals	some locals					some locals
Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta	Assessments *8,495.75	and donations							2,300.00
aBridge and Structural Iron Wkrs.									
Broom and Whisk Makers	Can't give	information		some locals					some locals
aBrushmakers' International									
Carpenters and Joiners, United	*385,211.60			locals		150,700.00			1,212,290.61
aCarriage, Wagon and Automobile									
Carvers, International Wood	16,980.84		Boston local	none	none	none	none	1,452.14	13,100.00
Cement Workers, Brotherhood of	none	3,574.20	none	none	none	none	none	none	many locals
Cigarmakers' International Union	*310,239.37		227,776.51	979,347.09	none	included in death ben.		none	1,259,145.24
Clerks, Retail				80,500.00 last 2 years					41,481.25
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers	*51,134.00		none	5,788.00	none	none	none	none	none
aCommercial Telegraphers									
aCompressed Air Workers									
Coopers' International Union	25,397.05								11,950.00
Cutting Die and Cutter Makers	4,300.00						1,000.00		3,300.00
aDiamond Workers									
Electrical Workers									47,650.00
aElevator Constructors									
Engineers, Steam and Operating	*22,418.94		none	none	none	none	none	none	locals pay
Firemen, Stationary	13,210.00	1,114.00							25,000.00
aFoundry Employes									
aFreight Handlers, Railroad									
aFur Workers' International Union									
aGarment Workers, United									
Garment Workers, Ladies	1,200,000.00								400.00
Glass Workers, Amalgamated	5,627.50		none	none	none	100.00	none	none	2,500.00
aGlass Bottle Blowers									
Glass Workers, American Flint	*281,810.07		none	locals	none	locals	9,132.22	none	locals

Digitized by Google

UNION SOCIAL INSURANCE—Continued

Cost to internationals for past five years in payment of benefits—continued.

Name of Organization.	For strikes.	For lockouts.	For unemployment.	For sickness.	For old age.	For disability.	For traveling.	For tool insurance.	For death.
Glove Workers, International	assess. 456.40				honorary ben. 41,290.00	loss of eye 31,500, 4 yrs.			
Granite Cutters	*334,914.74								132,315.77
aGrinders, Pocket Knife Blade									
Hatters of North America, United		732,708.46							175,373.36
Hodcarriers				locals					16,500.00
aHorseshoers, International									
Hotel and Restaurant Employes	97,172.01			266,101.86					224,387.62
aIron, Steel and Tin Workers									
aLace Operatives									
Lathers, Wood, Wire and Metal	none	none	none	some loc. pay	none	none	none	none	27,061.80
Laundry Workers	none	none							
Leather Workers on Horse Goods	*72,840.00			23,508.00					9,597.00
Lithographers	none	none	2 locals	20 locals				none	55,646.55
Longshoremen, International	about *7,000.00								
Machine Printers	6,000.00		usually paid by locals	by locals	none				3,000.00
Machinists	*1,459,073.29								256,903.00
aMaintenance of Way Employes									
aMarble Workers									
Meat Cutters	8,957.00								9,600.00
aMetal Polishers, Buffers									
aMetal Workers, Sheet									
aMine Workers, United									
aMiners, Western Federation of									
Molders' International	*1,305,534.80		131,877.00	748,050.05	none	52,678.00	none	none	263,394.00
Musicians, American Federation of	Nothing in by-l	aws providing	for sick or deat	h benefits as l	ocals regulate t	hese matters	for themse	lves.	
Painters, Decorators, etc						73,025.00			531,844.10
Papermakers, Brotherhood of	32,900.00								2,362.50
Patternmakers' League	*62,982.87			32,068.66				9,569.26	13,000.00
aPavers, Rammermen, etc									
Paving Cutters' Union	*33,497.27						6,532.18		10,300.00
Photo-Engravers' International	*80,675.08			24,415.04					9,660.00
aPiano and Organ Workers									
aPlasterers, Operative									
Plate Printers, Steel and Copper	828.00	592.00		29,786.10					6,374.50
Plumbers and Steam Fitters	*206,085,00			190,912.00					58,600.00
Post-office Clerks				††350, 1 yr.			Sick and d	eath ben.	by large l'c'ls
aPotters, Operative									
Powder, High Explosive Workers	none	none	none	none	none	none	abo. 1,500	none	none

Digitized by Google

UNION SOCIAL INSURANCE—Continued

Cost to internationals for past five years in payment of benefits—continued.

Name of Organization.	For strikes.	For lockouts.	For unemployment.	For sickness.	For old age.	For disability.	For traveling.	For tool insurance.	For death.
Print Cutters, National	8,000.00								5,728.00
aPrinting Pressmen									
aPulp, Sulphite and Paper Workers									
Quarry Workers, International	28,106.40	none							5,900.00
Railroad Signalmen	local unions	none	none	none	none	none	none		none
aRailroad Telegraphers									
Railway Carmen	160,504.32	none	none	locals	by locals	by locals	by locals	by locals	by locals
aRailway Clerks									
Railway Employes, Street and Elec.	*193,350.00			by local div.		11,300.00			308,250.00
aRoofers, Composition									
aSawsmiths' National									
aSeamen's Union, International									
aShingle Weavers									
aSlate and Tile Roofers									
Slate Workers, American Bro. of	3,124.00		none	none	none	none	297.82		1,035.00
aSpinners' International Union									
aStage Employes, Theatrical									
aSteel Plate Transferrers									
Stereotypers and Electrotypers	‡15,585.97				none	none	none	none	16,780.00
Stonecutters' Association	49,555.82		none	none	none	none	none	none	42,300.00
Stove Mounters	11,960.00								7,100.00
aSwitchmen's Union									
Tailors' Union, Journeymen	*146,273.35			112,145.78					57,516.44
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc	*70,650.00								
aTextile Workers, United									
aTile Layers, Ceramic, etc									
Tobacco Workers, International				31,440.00					5,900.00
aTravelers' Goods									
Tunnel and Subway Constructors	3,000.00			2,500.00			10,428.00		6,875.00
Typographical Union	*211,337.47				since Aug. 1, '08 709,299.00				438,296.54
aUpholsterers' International									
Weavers, Amal. Elastic Goring	none	none	965.20	none	none	none	none	none	1,100.00
aWeavers, American Wire									
aWhite Rats Actors									

Name of Organization.	Membership of Organization for Past Five Years. 1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	Total benefits for five years.	No. of members receiving benefits as stated.	Cost per member per month for each benefit paid.	Cost per member per year for each benefit paid.	Are benefits paid by international or local union?
aAsbestos Workers						$		$	$	
aBakery and Confectionery Wkrs.										
Barbers' International Union	26,114	27,991	29,752	31,056	34,224	339,475.97		15c and $2 on each initiation fee		international
aBill Posters and Billers										
aBlacksmiths, Intl. Bro. of										
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Bldrs.	13,369	20,949	18,382	16,086	16,334	433,654.46	14,543	$1 min. to 1913 $1.25 m. from '13		both
aBookbinders, Intl. Bro. of										
Boot and Shoe Workers						503,441.83				international
Brewery Workmen, United	41,112	45,497	47,142	47,324	53,021	117,951.00	16,850		1.00	intl. strike only
Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta						from treas. 2,300.00				international
aBridge and Structural Iron Wkrs.										
Broom and Whisk Makers										intl. strike ben.
aBrushmakers' International										
Carpenters and Joiners, United	168,911	200,712	194,084	195,499	218,794	1,748,102.21	10,524	12c.		sick ben. locals other ben. intl.
aCarriage, Wagon and Automobile										
Carvers, International Wood	1,170	1,150	1,200	1,000	1,150	31,532.98	396			international
Cement Workers, Brotherhood of	9,000	9,000	9,000	9,000	9,000					many locals pay death benefits
Cigarmakers' International Union	51,477	51,442	49,972	48,457	48,620	2,974,847.71			1.00	international
Clerks, Retail						121,981.25				international
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers	1,940	1,997	2,175	2,754	3,774	56,922.00	2,730		strike, $4.04 sick ben., 89c	strike ben. locals sick ben. intl.
aCommercial Telegraphers										
aCompressed Air Workers										
Coopers' International Union	4,292	4,375	4,778	4,551	4,500	37,347.05	2,382	35c per capita to intl.		international
Cutting Die and Cutter Makers	250	250	250	250	268		ab't 160			international
aDiamond Workers										
Electrical Workers	13,800	16,000	18,900	19,600	22,700		344		.524	international
aElevator Constructors										
Engineers, Steam and Operating	16,000	16,000	16,000	17,000	20,000	22,418.94	489			international
Firemen, Stationary	16,000	16,000	16,000	16,000	16,000		1,212			both
aFoundry Employes										
aFreight Handlers, Railroad										
aFur Workers' International Union										
aGarment Workers, United										
Garment Workers, Ladies	10,000	65,000	65,000 monthly	70,000 average	80,000		40,000			locals
Glass Workers, Amalgamated	809	919	900	1,126	1,275	8,227.50				international
aGlass Bottle Blowers										
Glass Workers, American Flint	8,120	8,901	9,251	8,743	9,767	281,810.07				international

Digitized by Google

UNION SOCIAL INSURANCE—Continued

Membership of Organization for Past Five Years.

Name of Organization.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	Total benefits for five years.	No. of members receiving benefits as stated.	Cost per member per month for each benefit paid.	Cost per member per year for each benefit paid.	Are benefits paid by international or local union?
Glove Workers, International	9,980	10,535	10,368	14,461	15,415	456.40	ab't 30		1913—40c	local unions
Granite Cutters	14,000	14,500	14,500	14,500	14,500	540,020.51		$1 for all purposes		international
aGrinders, Pocket Knife Blade									233.00	$international
Hatters of North America, United	9,572	9,666	9,201	8,579	8,378	908,081.82	7,032			
Hodcarriers	8,800	11,400	12,700	13,500	24,000	16,500.00	201		$1.80 per capita	international
aHorseshoers, International										intl. and local
Hotel and Restaurant Employes	35,553	39,527	44,758	49,139	56,031	680,614.74				
aIron, Steel and Tin Workers										
aLace Operatives										death ben. intl.
Lathers, Wood, Wire and Metal	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	6,000	27,061.80	288		1.04	sick ben. some locals
Laundry Workers	2,600	2,600	2,600	2,600	2,600				8.00	international
Leather Workers on Horse Goods	6,571	4,012	2,235	1,890	1,896	105,945.00	2,600		.23	death ben. intl.
Lithographers	1,441	1,783	2,261	2,497	2,682	55,646.55	115			international
Longshoremen, International	20,000	20,000	20,000	22,000	22,750	7,000.00	600			strike by intl.
Machine Printers	425		440		450	9,000.00	'12—30		15.00	other by locals
Machinists										international
aMaintenance of Way Employes										
aMarble Workers										by both
Meat Cutters	6,300	5,400	3,100	4,000	5,400	21,357.00				
aMetal Polishers, Buffers										
aMetal Workers, Sheet										
aMine Workers, United										
aMiners, Western Federation of										international
Molders' International	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	2,501,533.85				
Musicians, American Federation of									1.50	international
Painters, Decorators, etc	65,946	71,697	75,124	76,133	81,949	604,869.10				international
Papermakers, Brotherhood of	1,100				4,200	35,262.50			3.84⅓	international
Patternmakers' League	4,950	5,950	6,000	6,700	7,000	117,620.79				
aPavers, Rammermen, etc									$6 and levies	international
Paving Cutters' Union	2,500	2,700	3,000	3,300	3,500	50,329.45	103			international
Photo-Engravers' International	3,224	3,577	3,865	4,136	4,429	114,750.12				
aPiano and Organ Workers										
aPlasterers, Operative										
Plate Printers, Steel and Copper	1,251	1,251	1,251	1,264	1,296	37,580.60	s'k, 725 d'th, 31		for sick, $6.95 for death, $5	local unions
Plumbers and Steam Fitters	17,500	20,000	25,000	25,000	29,000	455,597.00			$6.24 incl. in dues $4 dues	international
Post-office Clerks							21			††national
aPotters, Operative										
Powder, High Explosive Workers	300	200	225	214	236					local unions

Digitized by Google

Name of Organization.	Membership of Organization for Past Five Years. 1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	Total benefits for five years.	No. of members receiving benefits as stated.	Cost per member per month for each benefit paid.	Cost per member per year for each benefit paid.	Are benefits paid by international or local union?
Print Cutters, National	438	438	438	438	438	13,728.00	400		included in $12 dues per yr.	national
a Printing Pressmen										
a Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Workers										
Quarry Workers, International	3,600	3,900	3,900	4,900	5,500	34,006.40	2,914		11.67	international
Railroad Signalmen		1,097	1,040	949	896	none	none	none		locals if any
a Railroad Telegraphers										
Railway Carmen	17,534	25,258	33,000	29,196	31,882	160,504.32				international
a Railway Clerks										
Railway Employes, Street and Elec.	35,000	38,000	40,000	43,000	54,000	512,900.00	38,263	23c.		international
a Roofers, Composition										
a Sawsmiths' National										
a Seamen's Union, International										
a Shingle Weavers										
a Slate and Tile Roofers										
Slate Workers, American Bro. of	2,000	1,300	1,000	420	325	4,456.82	60			locals and intl.
Spinners' International Union						100,000.00				both
a Stage Employes, Theatrical										
a Steel Plate Transferrers										
Stereotypers and Electrotypers	3,710	3,953	4,220	4,310	4,603	32,365.97	331			international
Stonecutters' Association	8,000	8,000	8,000	8,000	8,000	91,855.82	no data	no statistics	no statistics	international
Stove Mounters	1,000	900	1,100	1,100	1,150	19,060.00	260			international
a Switchmen's Union										
Tailors' Union, Journeymen	11,492	11,533	11,821	11,850	12,187	315,935.57				some locals pay
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc.	32,132	36,578	38,996	42,164	48,962	70,650.00			4.80	international
a Textile Workers, United										international
a Tile Layers, Ceramic, etc.										
Tobacco Workers, International	4,300	4,200	4,000	3,700	3,600	37,340.00	1,138		sick ben. $1.59 death ben. 30c	international
a Travelers' Goods										
Tunnel and Subway Constructors	400	1,530	1,700	1,812	1,877	23,802.72			9.80	international
Typographical Union	47,174	52,165	56,185	59,703	62,601	1,358,933.01	4,783		½ of 1% on earnings con. to fund	international
a Upholsterers' International										
Weavers, Amal. Elastic Goring	79	81	79	77	71	2,065.20	82		5.36	death ben. intl. unemployment locals
a Weavers, American Wire										
a White Rats Actors										

a Organization did not submit a report.
*This figure includes lockout benefits.
†This figure includes lockout and unemployment benefits.
‡This figure includes organizers' expenses during strikes.
°This figure includes lockout benefits and organizers' expenses during strikes.
††Sick benefit system of national union in operation only one year.
§In addition to death benefits paid by international, locals pay about one-half the amount paid by the international.

Digitized by Google

SECOND DAY—Tuesday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, November 10th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—McGuire, Cunnane, Gengenback, Gurney, Glass, Ring, Scott (David), McSorley, French, Redding, Miller, Watt, Hannah, Anderson (Chas.), Flaherty, Menge, Mushet, Clark (T. G.), Simmons, Eveland, Mills, Gavlak, Hanley, Funder Burk, Hall, Keep, Conlon, Lynn (Wm.), Young (E. H.), Lowe, Obergfell, Kelly (Thos.), Fahey, Butler, Glynn, Forker, Collmer, Scott (M.), Fahey, McAndrews, Givens.

Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Delegate Cannon, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

We, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business, beg leave to submit the following report:

We recommend the adoption of the following rules for the government of the convention:

Rule 1—The convention shall be called to order at 9.30 a. m. and remain in session until 12.30. Convene at 2 p. m. and remain in session until 5.30 p. m., except Saturday, on which day the session shall be from 9.30 a. m. to 12.30.

Rule 2—If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the chair, take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3—Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4—No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks except it be to call him to a point of order.

Rule 5—A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6—A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 7—Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote of the convention.

Rule 8—A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

Rule 9—At the request of five members, the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10—When a question is pending before the convention, no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11—Motions to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 12—A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13—That the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14—Any delegate failing to present his card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15—It shall require at least 30 members to move the previous question.

Rule 16—All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate.

Rule 17—No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak, if he or she so desires.

Rule 18—No resolutions shall be received after Thursday's session, November 12th, without unanimous consent of the convention.

Rule 19—When a roll-call vote has been taken, and all delegates or delegations present have had the opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 20—When a roll-call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 21—Roberts' Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Rule 22—The main body of the hall shall be reserved for delegates.

Digitized by Google

Order of Business.

1. Reading minutes of previous session, which will be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Report of Officers.
4. Report of Regular Committees.
5. Report of Special Committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS A. RICKERT,
JOHN M. TOBIN,
W. R. WALTERS,
JOS. D. CANNON,
JOHN SULLIVAN,
FRANK BUTTERWORTH,
HENRY KOCH,
W. B. GRAHAM,
S. POLAKOFF,
WM. G. LEONARD,
ALFONSO D'ANDREA,
P. F. RYAN,
G. J. SCHNEIDER,
EDWARD MENGE,
G. B. SIMMONS.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Flores: I move as an amendment to the committee's report that the morning session on the second Saturday continue until the business of the convention is completed. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan moved as an amendment that, inasmuch as there would be no reports from fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and no report from the International Federation of Trades Unionists, Section 18 be changed to provide that the time for introducing resolutions without unanimous consent of the convention expire Wednesday evening instead of Thursday. (Seconded.)

Delegate Cannon opposed the amendment, stating that delegates in some instances would not be ready to prepare their resolutions earlier than Thursday.

Both amendments were lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Schwarz, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, submitted the following supplemental report:

Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 10, 1914.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Gentlemen:

Your Committee on Credentials begs leave to report that it has examined the credentials of delegates from the following organizations and recommend that they be seated:

Asbestos Workers' International Association, Heat, Frost, General Insulators—Joseph A. Mullaney, 10 votes.

Crown, Cork and Seal Operatives' Union, No. 14,204—F. Belle Clarke, 4 votes.

The committee has examined the credentials of Mr. Charles Fry, of the International Association of Machinists, and recommends that he be seated.

The committee has also examined the credentials of Thomas Conway, of the International Seamen's Union of America, and recommends that he be seated.

Maintenance of Way Employes, International Brotherhood of—William Dorey, Henry Irwin, 65 votes.

United Mine Workers of America—John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, William Green, John H. Walker, Duncan McDonald, Adolph F. Germer, John Moore, 3345 votes.

Office Employes' Association, No. 12,755—Mary E. Galvin, 1 vote.

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS S. KEARNEY,
Chairman;
P. J. McGRATH,
LOUIS SCHWARZ,
Secretary;
Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Kearney: I move the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee. (Seconded and carried.)

Treasurer Lennon: I desire to call the attention of the delegates who are attending the convention for the first time to the fact that seats taken when they arrive are looked upon the same as reserved seats in a theater, or opera house, or elsewhere. It is for the convenience of the chair as well as the delegates that they retain the same seats throughout the convention.

Report of Auditing Committee.

Delegate Schwarz, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 9, 1914.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

We, the undersigned, having been duly appointed, as required by the constitution, to serve as the Auditing Committee to examine and report upon the receipts and expenditures of the American Federation of Labor for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1913, and ending September 30, 1914, have attended to that duty, and submit the following report for your consideration.

Digitized by Google

The total receipts from all sources during the fiscal year, from October 1, 1913, to September 30, 1914, inclusive, amounted to $263,166.97, as follows:

Receipts.

Per capita tax	$180,653.70
Supplies	8,967.19
Interest from banks	2,400.00
One-cent assessment for contempt and Hatters' cases	8,073.49
One-cent assessment to organize the women workers	14,675.91
Disbanded and suspended unions, and fees for charters not issued	818.07
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	3,221.75
"American Federationist"	28,040.26
Defense fund for local trade and federated labor unions	16,316.60
Total	$263,166.97
Balance on hand September 30, 1913	105,063.05
Grand total	$368,230.02

The total expenditures during the fiscal year, from October 1, 1913, to September 30, 1914, inclusive, amounted to $265,737.21, as follows:

Expenditures.

General	$195,333.82
"American Federationist"	33,507.21
Premiums (bond record)	1,898.55
One-cent assessment for contempt and Hatters' cases	14,752.39
One-cent assessment to organize the women workers	10,857.24
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions	9,388.00
Total	$265,737.21

Recapitulation.

Balance on hand September 30, 1913	$105,063.05
Total receipts during fiscal year	263,166.97
Total	$368,230.02
Total expenditures during fiscal year	265,737.21
Balance on hand September 30, 1914	$102,492.81
In General Fund	$10,639.39
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions	91,853.42
Total	$102,492.81

We find certificates of deposit, and bank deposits (certified by the cashiers of each bank) to correspond with the foregoing total balance of $102,492.81, on hand at the end of the fiscal year on September 30, 1914, as follows:

$100,492.81 deposited by Treasurer John B. Lennon in bank at Bloomington, Ill., and $2,000.00 deposited by Frank Morrison in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.

President Gompers has in his possession and properly executed, ten (10) certificates of deposit, four (4) of which are for $5,000.00 each, and six (6) are for $10,000.00 each. The committee have examined these certificates and find them to be correct.

The foregoing deposits are itemized as follows:

McLean County Bank, Bloomington, Ill., certificates of deposit drawing 3 per cent. interest		$80,000.00
McLean County Bank, Bloomington, Ill., in name of John B. Lennon, treasurer, subject to check		20,492.81
Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C., in name of Frank Morrison, secretary, subject to check	$11,810.69	
Less outstanding checks amounting to	9,810.69	
		2,000.00
Grand total balance on hand September 30, 1914		$102,492.81

Donations Received from Appeals Issued by Order of Executive Council, A. F. of L., for the Benefit of the Copper Miners on Strike at Calumet, Mich.

The Auditing Committee has also examined all the items of receipts and amounts forwarded to Secretary-Treasurer Ernest Mills, of the Western Federation of Miners, and find them to be correct as follows:

Total receipts from all sources from October 7, 1913, to August 3, 1914, inclusive	$55,173.82
Total expenditures from October 7, 1913, to August 3, 1914, inclusive	55,173.82

We have also checked up the financial report issued by Secretary Morrison under date of September 19, 1914, and find that it corresponds in every respect with the foregoing statement.

Your committee wishes to take this occasion to report that we have found the books of Secretary Morrison in perfect order and correct in every respect. The system employed in his office is modern and businesslike, and a credit to this great American labor movement. Every courtesy was extended to your committee by Secretary Morrison and his office force. Their services helped to facilitate the work of the committee, and were appreciated.

Respectfully submitted,
THOMAS S. KEARNEY,
Chairman.

P. J. McGRATH,
LOUIS A. SCHWARZ,
Secretary.

Delegate Kearney: I move you, Mr. Chairman, that the report of the committee be received and adopted. (Seconded and carried by unanimous vote.)

Reference of Subjects in Executive Council's Report.

"Introduction"—Committee on Resolutions.

Digitized by Google

That part of the secretary's report (page D) dealing with the condition of the Legal Defense Fund, referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.

"International War and Peace"—Committee on International Relations.

"International Federation of Trade Unions"—Committee on International Relations.

"British Trades Union Congress"—Committee on International Relations.

"Situation in Mexico"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Home Rule for Ireland—Irish Labor Movement"—Committee on International Relations.

"Movement in Cuba"—Committee on Organization.

"International Congress on Occupational Diseases"—Committee on Education.

"President Gompers in Porto Rico"—Committee on State Organizations.

"World Congress on Unemployment"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Conservation of Natural Resources"—Committee on Education.

"Labor Day—Labor Sunday"—Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

"Sunday Rest Movement"—Committee on Education.

"Mothers' Day"—Committee on State Organizations.

"National and International Unions"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"State Federations of Labor—City Central Bodies"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Directly Affiliated Local Unions"—Committee on Laws.

"Organization of Women Wage Earners"—Committee on Organization.

"Labor Forward Movement"—Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

"Organizers"—Committee on Organization.

"Co-operation in Related Industries"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Better Co-operation in Strikes and Lockouts"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Social Insurance, Resolutions 144 and 162"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Freed from Trust Law, Injunction and Contempt Abuses"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Massachusetts' Model Labor Law"—Committee on Executive Council's Report and Committee on State Organizations (meet and report jointly).

"Eight Hours"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Child Labor"—Committee on Education.

"Safety Appliance Inspectors"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Safety Appliances"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Bureau of Labor Safety"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Occupational Diseases"—Committeee on Resolutions.

"Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Wage Increase for Postal Employes"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Postoffice Clerks and Night Work"—Committee on Resolutions.

Amendment to Postal Savings Bank Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Teamsters in Postoffice Employ"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Parcel Post"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Automatic Stop Systems for Railroads"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Amendment to Hours of Service Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Piecework, Taylor System in Government Service"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Physical Examination of Government Employes"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Seamen's Legislation"" — Committee on Executive Councils Report.

"Immigration"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Convict Labor'—Committee on Resolutions.

"Government Construction of Railways in Alaska"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Public vs. Private Construction of Naval and Other Vessels"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Regulations for Loading Vessels, Protection of Longshoremen"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Panama Canal Rules and Regulations"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Marine Hospital at Seattle"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Hetch Hetchy Bill"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Old Age Pensions"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Unemployment and Vagrancy Laws"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Conciliation, Mediation, Arbitration"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Weekly Rest Day and Saturday Half-holiday"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Citizenship for Porto Rico"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Suffrage in the District of Columbia"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Employment of White Women in Asiatic Cafes and Stores"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Digitized by Google

"Government Ownership of Mount Vernon"—Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

"Industrial Education, Vocational and Trade Training"—Committee on Education.

"The Danbury Hatters' Case"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Printing Trades' Unions Litigation"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"The Contempt Case"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"The Law and Just Judges"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Legal Department A. F. of L."—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Popular Government"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Proposed Welfare Amendments to State Constitutions"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Municipal Ownership"—Committee on Resolutions.

"U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations."—Committee on Education.

"Organized Farmers and the Agricultural Credit Bill"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Seizure of Michigan Copper Lands"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"The Situation in the Mining Field"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Shingle Weavers—Change of Title"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Glass Bottle Blowers—Extension of Jurisdiction"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Railroad Telegraphers—Application for Extension of Jurisdiction"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Longshoremen—Application for Extension of Jurisdiction"—Committee on Adjustment.

"U. B. of Carpenters—Amalgamated Carpenters"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Amalgamation of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Cigar Makers—Stogie Makers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Brewery Workers—Coopers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Plate Printers—Printing Pressmen"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Stove Mounters—Sheet Metal Workers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Machinists—Elevator Constructors"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Blacksmiths—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Plasterers — Carpenters" — Committee on Building Trades.

"Firemen — Engineers" — Committee on Adjustment.

"Lithographers—Printing Pressmen, Photo Engravers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Jurisdiction Over Newspaper Solicitors"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Lithographers—Lithographic Press Feeders"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Hod Carriers—Cement Workers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Upholsterers—Carpet Mechanics"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Blacksmiths—Tunnel and Subway Constructors"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Tunnel and Subway Constructors—Compressed Air Workers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Electrical Workers—Theatrical Stage Employes"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Flint Glass Workers—Machinists"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Teamsters—Brewers—Bakers—Laundry Workers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Electrical Workers — Engineers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Carriage and Wagon Workers—Blacksmiths—Upholsterers—Machinists Metal Polishers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Electrical Workers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Brickmakers—Seceding Local Unions"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Unwarranted Extension of Jurisdiction and Title—Journeymen Tailors"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Carpenters—Sheet Metal Workers—Building Trades Department"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Bricklayers—Affiliated Building Trades"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"A. F. of L. Departments"—Committee on Law.

"Ladies' Garment Workers' Strike"—Committee on Organization.

"Printing Pressmen—Chicago Newspapers Publishers' Association"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"A. F. of L. Office Building"—Committee on A. F. of L. Office Building.

"A. F. of L. Exhibit—Panama Exposition"—Committee on Education.

"American Federationist"—Committee on Education.

"A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter"—Committee on Education.

"Labor Press"—Committee on Education.

"Lecture Bureau"—Committee on Organization.

"A. F. of L. Library"—Committee on Education.

"Free Text Books"—Committee on Education.

"Uniformity of Text Books"—Committee on State Organizations.

Digitized by Google

"Retirement of Vice-Presidents Mitchell and Huber"—Committee on Resolutions.

"President White's Declination to Serve as Vice-President"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Unfinished Business"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Conclusion"—Committee on Resolutions.

Appendix.

"Building Trades Department"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Metal Trades Department"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Union Label Trades Department"—Committee on Union Labels.

"Railroad Employes' Department"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Mining Department"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Canada"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Porto Rico"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Labor Conditions on European Municipally Owned Railroads"—Committee on Resolutions.

Vice-President O'Connell moved that after the introduction of resolutions the convention adjourn to 9.30 Wednesday morning, and those delegates having resolutions to introduce be permitted to present them to the President during the recess. (Seconded.)

President Gompers stated that representatives of the Carpenters and Sheet Metal Workers had submitted the names of members they wished to act on the special committee to consider the controversy between these two organizations, and stated if there were no objections he would incorporate in the minutes the names of the members of the committee to be appointed by the President.

President Gompers: The chair asks that the motion made by Delegate O'Connell be deferred for this purpose: The National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis has requested its Secretary, Dr. Hatfield, to appear before the convention of the American Federation of Labor. The matter was brought to the attention of the Executive Council, and the Executive Council recommended to the convention that Dr. Hatfield be heard. If there are no objections, that course will be pursued. I have the pleasure of presenting to you Dr. Charles J. Hatfield, the Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis.

Dr. Hatfield, in addressing the convention, said, in part: About a month ago our Executive Board passed a resolution instructing the Secretary to communicate with your Executive Council in regard to presenting the work planned in connection with labor unions and with the campaign against tuberculosis and its prevention to this convention. They very courteously wrote back that such time would be given at a convenient time.

The Association has been in existence for about ten years. It started a little less than ten years ago, when all the agencies dealing with this tremendous problem were at loose ends. Today there are 2250 special agencies in the United States alone in affiliation with the National Association; 1200 State and local anti-tuberculosis associations, representing about half a million members; 550 sanatoria and hospitals; 400 dispensaries, 1000 physicians in regular attendance at these dispensaries; 4000 nurses in attendance, and 250 open-air schools.

There has been a great deal of development in the general intelligence on this subject. The National Association does not take credit for all of this extension, but simply makes the statement that such a development has been made, which is phenomenal, of course, and that all these associations are in affiliation with the National Association making a very strong, well articulated instrument for this tremendous public work.

Dr. Hatfield described in detail the general plan of the work, and in speaking of it in connection with the labor organizations said: "What can be done by labor unions to help in co-operation in this work, in which we are both equally interested? Our Board of Directors appointed a committee on co-operation with labor unions.

"That committee drew up a plan of co-operation. Various things were suggested. The first suggestion was that the National Association prepare and have distributed throughout the labor press a monthly bulletin dealing first with tuberculosis, and also taking up the various public health questions in which the unions may be interested. The tuberculosis bulletins are to be prepared in our office; the others will be supplied by various health associations. The next is the arranging, as far as possible, by our National Association for taking care of any requests for special educational work that come in through labor union members. The third is to stimulate a closer co-operation between local unions in various towns and cities and the local tuberculosis associations. A great deal has been done where such co-operation has been effected.

"In Albany, New York, there is a very effective co-operation. The union men support a pavilion for their own patients. In Buffalo a different plan is in effect. In that place a branch association or a parallel association was formed with the tuberculosis associa-

Digitized by Google

tion, but manned and managed by union men. They take up some small fee, but it is devoted to whatever educational work they want to do, and also for the support of patients in the sanatoria or the relief of families at home. Almost the same thing has been done in Newark, New Jersey. A somewhat different plan has been in operation in Hartford and some of the towns nearby. In Hartford some years ago a plan was devised of an association whereby the great manufacturing centers should be organized, each one separately. The employes would give what they chose, and an equal amount would be given by the manufacturers. An association was formed between the various groups whereby the stronger ones helped out the weaker. There are various plans of co-operation; each locality may need a different form. Sometimes a labor union branch of a tuberculosis association is desirable; in other places it is not desirable to have such branch, but that close co-operation will be effected.

"Another thing the labor unions can do is to keep track of the underlying conditions that cause tubercuosis. There is no question but that when a man works eight hours a day under bad conditions, with bad sanitation, his resistance is tremendously lowered, even if the tuberculosis bacillus is not flying around in the air. There may be dust flying and careless consumptives about, and the matter must be attended to, because it affects not only the health of the men working there, but the public health. The local tuberculosis associations can have such reports sent in, and, acting through the public health officials, by degrees the proper enforcement of sanitary regulations can be brought about.

"We are all working for the same end. The germ of tuberculosis causes the disease, but there are a whole lot of underlying causes, and as we dig more deeply into the problem more attention is given to these underlying causes. Bad working conditions and bad conditions in the home are responsible for a large part of this disease. The germ of tuberculosis should not be held responsible for all the disease that cuts off one-third of the people who work between the ages of fifteen and forty-five. It is the immediate cause, but the ultimate causes must be looked for, the conditions of living, of housing, conditions of work, the food, the diet and the general sanitation of the home must be looked to. It is all a matter of public health, in which you men and women are interested, just as the group working on the health question, especially the tuberculosis associations, are interested."

For the special committee recommended to and approved by this convention for the purpose of bringing about an agreement between the U. B. of Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers, on behalf of the Carpenters the following names were submitted: James Kirby, P. H. McCarthy and John A. Metz. On behalf of the Sheet Metal Workers, John J. Hynes, Thomas Redding and Hugh Frayne. President Gompers appointed the following delegates: Matthew Woll, James J. Sweeney and William Green.

The following resolutions were submitted and referred to the committees designated:

Resolution No. 1—By the delegation of the Seamen's International Union.

WHEREAS, The seamen are still subjected to involuntary servitude, being compelled, in contravention of fundamental Christian ethics and American policy, to fulfill any contract to labor; and,

WHEREAS, This system, together with withholding from them not only all but even part of wages earned in ports of call, is driving from the sea its most efficient men; and,

WHEREAS, This condition, accentuated by the absence of any standard of efficiency in the men employed, is the direct cause of such manslaughter at sea as took place in the wrecks of the Titanic, Volturno, Monroe, Empress of Ireland and others, amounting to more than 5000 persons within the last five years in passenger vessels alone; and

WHEREAS, It is now admitted by shipowners, foreign and American, that our present treaties and the laws made to correspond with them are driving not only the American but all white men from the sea; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we urge upon Congress and the President the immediate enactment of S. 136 into law, to the end that this crying evil may be abolished and the pledges made to the people be redeemed; and, further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the leader of the Senate, Senator Kern, the chairman of the Senate Committee of Commerce, Senator Clarke and Senator La Follette.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth, of the Seamen's International Union:

WHEREAS, The registration laws have been so altered as to permit foreign vessels to come under the American flag and to sail for two years without inspection, and for seven years with officers not citizens of the United States; and,

WHEREAS, Those vessels so admitted thereby become able to sail with no inspection whatsoever, to the danger of human life and property; and,

WHEREAS, Those vessels have no rights other than those mentioned that they would not have enjoyed under any foreign flag; and,

Digitized by Google

WHEREAS, That part of our registration laws which prohibit foreign-built vessels from being engaged in the coastwise trade act as a deterrent on the building of American merchant marine; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge upon Congress to so change our registration laws that any vessel rated in the highest class of any responsible classification society may be registered as an American vessel to sail in any trade, provided that she be compelled to carry citizens of the United States as licensed officers; and further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Senate Committee on Commerce and the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Max Zuckerman, of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America:

WHEREAS, The millinery industry, consisting of ladies' cloth and straw hats, has by the force of a natural evolutionary development become a part of the cloth hatmaking industry, and was so acknowledged by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor as far back as 1903, when the jurisdiction over that trade was granted to the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America; and

WHEREAS, The United Hatters of North America claim jurisdiction over a small but important branch of that trade, in consequence of which the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, in order to avoid jurisdictional disputes and fights in the ranks, not only is kept back from systematic and complete organization work in that trade, but is also confronted with difficulties in times of strikes, when involuntarily one branch acts as a strike-breaking agency and assists the employers to break legitimate strikes; and,

WHEREAS, In addition to that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has granted a few Federal charters to organizations in that trade, thereby creating jurisdictional disputes and causing a state of chaos to prevail in that trade; and

WHEREAS, The thousands of workers in that trade cannot be organized and their conditions improved until the question of jurisdiction is settled so that all branches of the trade are united; therefore; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to call a conference of the representatives of the United Hatters of North America and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America at its first meeting after the adjournment of this convention, and to settle once and for all the question of jurisdiction over that branch in order to make possible the effective organization of the millinery trade.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate H. Rosenthal, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, An unfortunate conflict exists between four local unions formerly in affiliation with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, at New York City; and

WHEREAS, The Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity did dissociate the New York Job Pressfeeders' Union, No. 1; New York Franklin Union, No. 23, Inc.; New York Web Newspaper Printing Pressmen Union, No. 25, and the New York Printing Pressmen's Union, No. 51, these unions claiming a collective membership of 7000; and

WHEREAS, The Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity is of the opinion that the interests of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America and of the general labor movement can best be conserved by creating harmony between these four unions and the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adopt such measures as will, in its judgment, bring about this desired result, and reconnect these four unions with the recognized American labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate H. Rosenthal, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, In conformity to the laws of the American Federation of Labor, the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity, has at all times obeyed mandates to dissociate affiliated organizations; and

WHEREAS, By so complying the said Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity has been weakened and is threatened with disintegration; and

WHEREAS, The national and international unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor have not actively enforced Article XI, Section 2, which declares: "It shall be the duty of all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their local unions to join chartered Central Labor bodies, where such exist"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor calls upon the National and International Unions to direct all of their local unions at New York City to affiliate with the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity upon the adjournment of this convention.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Digitized by Google

Resolution No. 6—By Delegates Owen Miller, Geo. W. Bope, D. A. Carey, of the American Federation of Musicians:

Amend Section 5 of Article 11, Constitution, by inserting the words "or request" after the word "order" on the third line of Section 5 so that when amended it will read:

Sec. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order or request any organization affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, to strike, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such national or international organization have been consulted and agree to such action.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate H. P. Griffin, of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, It has been demonstrated by years of practical experience that a majority of the detective agencies of this country are in reality strike-breaking concerns, the bulk of their business being the furnishing of strike breakers, thugs and gunmen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the representatives of organized labor in convention assembled, pledge our several and united efforts for the enactment of legislation to cancel the license of any detective agency found supplying labor directly or indirectly to employers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates George F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp, Wm. Kemp, T. H. Norris, P. N. Triggs, John H. Baker, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The membership of many of the international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor includes men engaged in several and diverse industries, over each of which industries a different department has jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, This employment of their members in different industries makes it necessary for such organizations to affiliate with two or more departments in order fully to protect the interests of their members and to comply with the laws of the American Federation of Labor, which require an international union to affiliate with each department to which it is eligible; and

WHEREAS, The practice at present obtaining in the several departments of collecting tax upon the entire membership of each affiliated international union results in a duplication of taxation, the collection of tax upon members who derive no benefit from the affiliation of their international union with a department not having jurisdiction over the industry in which they are employed, and is a serious burden to organizations affiliated with two or more departments; therefore, to abolish this unsatisfactory condition, to relieve the organizations affected of an unnecessary burden, and to establish a more equitable and satisfactory basis for the collection of revenue, the following amendment to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor is offered:

Amend Article XV, Section 1, of general rules governing departments of the American Federation of Labor by adding after the word "business" in eighth line, the following:

"Provided, however, that where the revenue of a department is derived from a per capita tax levied upon the membership of its affiliated organizations, such tax shall be collected only upon the number of members of each affiliated international union employed in the industry over which such department has jurisdiction."

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 9—By Delegates Geo. F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp, Wm. Kemp, T. H. Norris, John H. Baker, P. N. Triggs, of the Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America has thirty-six local unions, in different parts of the United States and Canada, the membership of which consists exclusively of railway equipment painters, and has, in other locals, a large number of members employed in railway equipment painting; and

WHEREAS, To secure recognition of these unions by the various railroad companies and that they may be represented on scale or grievance committees, and so protect the interests of their members, it is essential that they be affiliated with the Federations of the shop trades upon the respective systems upon which their members are employed; and

WHEREAS, The 1914 convention of the Railway Employes' Department of the American Federation of Labor, held in Kansas City, declared the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers no longer in affiliation with the department, which action led to the exclusion of local unions of the Brotherhood from System Federations, to the serious injury of the interests of their members; and

WHEREAS, The said action was taken because of the failure of the Brotherhood to pay to the department a monthly per capita tax upon its entire membership from November, 1912, when the constitution of the department was reveised at its Rochester (N. Y.) convention; and

WHEREAS, The General Executive Board of the Brotherhood could not comply with the demands of the department without first securing the consent of the membership of the Brotherhood, given at the 1913 convention of the Brotherhood, providing the constitution of the department was amended so that the tax would be collected only upon that part of the membership of affiliated international unions engaged in the railroad industry, and which suggested change in the laws of the department has not been made; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Railway Department of the American Federation of Labor

Digitized by Google

be directed to reinstate the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America to membership and to instruct its affiliated System Federations to admit or to restore to membership the local unions of the said Brotherhood upon such conditions as shall be decided upon by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Wm. McPherson, of the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, In the United States and Canada there is estimated to be about 175,000 operatives in the carriage, wagon and automobile industry, who directly gain their support for themselves and families from this industry; and

WHEREAS, The organization of this vast army of workers has not progressed as it should have, and that by reason of this fact compensation to the worker and a fair share of the vast amount of wealth produced in this industry has been diverted into channels directly opposed to the workers in this industry; and

WHEREAS, In organized effort alone lies the hope of the worker to win and to keep all that is coming to him; and

WHEREAS, The realization of these hopes can be better secured under the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union, because it embraces every branch of the industry, consolidating the interest and guaranteeing protection to all workers, specializing none, but accepting every worker in the industry; and

WHEREAS, Efforts at segregation have proved a dismal failure; and

WHEREAS, The Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union of North America is the only organization that is in a position to place and does place carriages, wagons and automobiles on the market bearing a union label (which has been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor) and which guarantees the product to be union made from start to finish; and

WHEREAS, The increase in the membership of the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union for the past year, notwithstanding the exceptionally dull season, distinctly shows that the workers in the carriage, wagon and automobile industry favor the form of organization under which we are instituted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the right to organize the unorganized workers in the carriage, wagon and automobile industry be given to the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union of North America at this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, so that every worker, who gains his livelihood in this industry, may be brought into the ranks of organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate F. W. Wilson, of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee:

WHEREAS, The cardinal principle of the American Federation of Labor is that the workers should organize irrespective of their creed, color, nationality, sex, or politics; and

WHEREAS, Section 8 of Article III of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor says: "Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor"; and

WHEREAS, The right of fraternal representation from religious organizations at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor is not in the interests of the true spirit of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Fraternal delegates representing religious organizations have in the past and will in the future appeal to religious prejudices which will, unless checked, result in disrupting the ranks of organized labor, and ultimately eliminate the whole purpose of the American labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee that the delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention, which convenes at Philadelphia, November 9, 1914, is hereby instructed to oppose and vote against the seating of any of the fraternal delegates representing religious organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate H. Rosenthal, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, Six newspaper writers' unions are already working under a charter of the International Typographical Union, thereby proving that the newspaper writers working for wages are recognizing that it is to their interest as well as to the good of the labor movement to organize their craft, and that the newspaper writers are desirous of becoming part and parcel of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Labor editors are privileged to devote without restraint their abilities for the uplift of the working people and mankind, and have the mission to lead in a movement for improving the work and wage conditions of newspaper writers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is deemed the duty of every labor editor who is not of the craft by which the organ he works for is published to join a newspaper writers' union now or hereafter to be organized; and that it is also deemed a duty of every labor editor to lead or assist in organizing a newspaper writers' union in his locality if none exists.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate H. Rosenthal, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

Digitized by Google

WHEREAS, The Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button and Novelty Workers' Union No. 14,065, A. F. of L., of Greater New York and Vicinity, begs to call your attention to the fact that all badges, banners, buttons, regalias and novelties made by its members are manufactured under strictly union conditions and bear the labels of the different organizations whose members are employed in the making of this class of work; and

WHEREAS, Many of our unions when buying badges, banners, buttons, regalias and novelties have been imposed upon by manufacturers and agents who claimed that they are selling a strictly union-made article and product; and

WHEREAS, For the purpose of protecting the interests of those desiring to buy strictly union-made goods in the above line and for the protection of and for the promotion of the various union labels, we ask you to be sure and see that the label of the American Federation of Labor, which appears on all of our badges, is on all badges before they are accepted; also appearing with the tag and name of the manufacturer. Any firm entitled to use this label must have a contract with the American Federation of Labor to do so and no badge should be recognized as union-made unless the label is attached thereto; and

WHEREAS, We shall be very glad to furnish upon your request a complete list of names and addresses of all firms manufacturing union-made badges, buttons, banners, regalias and novelties and who have agreements with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Asking for the assistance and co-operation of organized labor in supporting us in our effort to build up and establish better conditions, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Philadelphia, Pa., adopt this resolution and that it be made part of the official record; and be it

RESOLVED, That all affiliated unions are urged to lend every possible moral support to this union.

Mrs. Dora Jacobs, Secretary, 1522 Third Avenue, New York City, will cheerfully furnish all requisite information.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Jas. F. Morris, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, A number of State Federations of Labor believe it necessary that a central bureau of information should be established to furnish news regarding the progress of labor measures pending before State Legislatures; and

WHEREAS, If the officers or legislative committees of the State Federations of Labor will furnish regular reports on this subject to the A. F. of L., the information thus obtained could be published weekly in the A. F. of L. News Letter; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to take this matter up with a view of formulating some plan whereby various State Federations of Labor may be kept informed as to the labor measures introduced in the various State Legislatures, the particular forces opposing such measures, the progress made in the committees, and the general status of the various labor bills at regular intervals.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate Jas. F. Morris, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, During the past year considerable effort was put forth to organize the employes of the Illinois State institutions controlled by the State Board of Administration of the State of Illinois; and

WHEREAS, This effort has met with great success, inasmuch as organizations have been established at Dunning, Elgin, Kankakee and Jacksonville, and we now have organizations under way at Peoria, Anna and Watertown; these organizations are known under the title of Hospital Nurses' and Attendants' Unions, and are chartered as local unions by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Since this agitation to organize State employes much progress has been made in the way of improved conditions, shorter hours of labor, and redress of grievances. The eight-hour day has been conceded by the Illinois State Board of Administration to the institutions at Peoria, Elgin, Dunning and Kankakee, and this agitation should be continued until every employe of State institutions is enjoying the eight-hour day; and

WHEREAS, These state employes are entitled to further consideration in the way of increased wages, one day off in seven, an annual vacation and better housing facilities for State employes and redress of grievances, which can only be secured by action of the State Legislatures in granting a sufficient appropriation, and the co-operation of the State Board of Administration and the Governor; and

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled congratulated the Hospital Nurses' and Attendants' Unions upon their splendid progress through their organized efforts, and advised the co-operation and assistance of the organized labor movement of Illinois to encourage and assist the State employes in all State institutions to organize and stand together to secure and maintain the proper standards of employment and living conditions which should exist among the workers in every occupation; and

Digitized by Google

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Federation of Labor instructed its officers and legislative committee to render every possible assistance to the end that proper legislative action shall be taken by the Illinois Legislature to secure for the employes of the State institutions one day rest in seven, reasonable compensation for labor performed, an annual vacation of at least two weeks, adequate housing facilities for employes and a practical tribunal for the redress of grievances and the protection of the employes; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that similar work be taken up in other States through the proper channels, such as State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and A. F. of L. organizers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate James F. Morris, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The following resolution, having been introduced at the 32d Annual Convention of the Illinos State Federation of Labor, and referred by that body to its delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention, is herewith laid before this convention, along with an excerpt from the proceedings of the Illinois State Federation of Labor showing action on same: "To the Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, Peoria, Illinois:

"WHEREAS, The lines are being closely drawn between capital and labor; the capitalists of the country have organized the National Manufacturers' Association and other large employers' organizations, very compact, cohesive bodies, having for their purpose the destruction of the trades union movement, and, realizing that in unity there is strength; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That, in order to combat these compact and powerful organizations of employers of labor, this convention indorses and adopts the plan of organization by industries instead of by crafts, which often divides the forces of labor, and that the officers of the State Federation be instructed to use every effort to influence and mold sentiment along these lines; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That the delegate from the Illinois Federation of Labor to the A. F. of L. be instructed to use his vote and influence for the industrial form of organization.

"Presented by the delegates from the Tri-City Federation of Labor, Moline, Rock Island and Davenport.

"Delegate Neer: The committee recommends non-concurrence. A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

"Delegate Carlson: The reason this resolution is put in here is because we have in the Tri-City District a number of large shops that employ from 5000 to 10,000 men, and it is impossible for us to organize them under the different card system. There is only one way to organize them, and that is into an industrial organization, with the assistance of the State Federation of Labor in doing so. We want the co-operation of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

"Delegate Nockels: Why instruct the delegate to the American Federation of Labor? Our delegate will have but one vote. Why not leave it with the international organizations to take up with our central bodies representing all kinds of organizations?

"Delegate Willis: I move as a substitute that the resolution be referred to the delegate of the American Federation of Labor. (Seconded and carried.)"

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate James F. Morris, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The following resolution, having been introduced at the 32d Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and referred without instruction to the delegate elected to attend the convention of the American Federation of Labor, is herewith referred to this convention.

"WHEREAS, The Building Trades Council is an organization established by the American Federation of Labor for the protection of building laborers; and,

"WHEREAS, Some branches of the American Federation of Labor are allying themselves with organizations that are not affiliated with the A. F. of L., at the same time withdrawing their support from the Building Trades Council; and,

"WHEREAS, We believe such action is not in accord with the purpose of the A. F. of L. when the Building Trades Councils were established; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the delegate from the Illinois State Federation of Labor to the American Federation of Labor convention be instructed to bring this matter before that convention, and secure in every way possible protection of the Building Trades Councils, by demanding that all organizations eligible to affiliation with the Building Trades Councils join those organizations, and that no alliance with outside crafts that has a tendency to weaken any organization established by the A. F. of L. shall be permitted."

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate P. M. Draper, of the Central Labor Council, Ottawa, Canada:

Amend Article V, Constitution, as follows:

Section 1. By substituting the word "nine" for the word "eight" in line 2,

Digitized by Google

and by adding after the word "Council," in the last line, the following: The Ninth Vice-President must be a member of a Canadian Local Union which, through its International Union, is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and such Ninth Vice-President must be a resident of Canada at the time of his election and during his incumbency of the office.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Alice S. Bean, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, No. 12,646, New York City:

WHEREAS, The tendency of office workers to emulate their brothers and sisters in factories and shops and seek better wages and conditions of employment by organization into trades unions is gaining in strength and momentum; and,

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to aid in the organization of all classes of wage earners; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledges itself to renewed efforts through its organizers, particularly in the larger cities not now organized, to organize unions of office workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommends to all trades union officials who employ office help in the cities already organized that they give active support and assistance to the said unions by the following means: (a) To assist in the organization of their own workers; (b) when employing new workers apply to the union for those already members, if any such are out of employment and competent for work required; (c) to periodically look for the union cards of their workers, so that they will assist the struggling unions in keeping their members' dues paid without unnecessary effort; (d) to enter into union shop agreements with the union where the union is in the habit of making formal agreements; (e) to give extra and job work done outside the office to union members where possible; and, therefore, be it finally

RESOLVED, That in the many philanthropic, civic and social and industrial reform or other associations working in harmony and often in connection with organized labor, wherever prominent union men are on managing committees of said associations, they be urged to make earnest and persistent efforts to unionize the offices of said associations.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate E. J. Aspengren, of the Rock Island, Ill., Tri-City Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The United States Government, in its arsenal and navy yards, has installed the piecework system in certain departments; and,

WHEREAS, This system is a menace to the worker in all trades and occupations through its vicious effects, viz.: reduction of wages, increase in production and the development of distrust and brutality among the workers to the extent that it is almost impossible to organize those employed under this system; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in regular session assembled, condemn the use of the piecework system on government work; and be it further

RESOLVED, That President Gompers and the Executive Council stand instructed to use every means at their command that legislation may be enacted that will forever exclude the piecework system from all government establishments.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 21—By Gas and Water Workers' Union, No. 9840, San Francisco, Cal.:

WHEREAS, Gas and Water Workers' Union, No. 9840, San Francisco, does hereby appeal to the convention of the A. F. of L. from the decision rendered by the Executive Council of A. F. of L., May 11 to 16, 1914, held at Washington, D. C., which reads: In the matter of Gas and Water Workers' Union, No. 9840, and Plumbers' Local, No. 442, San Francisco Gas and Water Workers' Union, No. 9840, shall apply to the International Association of Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters for charter for work done in laying of mains and running of services to gas meters other than high-pressure salt-water mains, which shall come under the jurisdiction of Plumbers No. 442, and in the meantime Gas and Water Workers' Union, No. 9840, and Plumbers' Union, No. 442, shall meet to determine their respective jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, A committee from our local and like committee from Plumbers' Union have met and have been unable to reach any agreement, on the ground that Plumbers' Local, No. 442, claims all pipe work now being done by members of our local; and

WHEREAS, Our members have no desire to claim jurisdiction over any work other than work at which our members are regularly employed, namely: laying and caulking of gas and water mains and running of services to meters; and

WHEREAS, We are compelled to protest against any union which may try to claim jurisdiction over any portion of the work our members are regularly employed at; and

WHEREAS, Charters have been issued to various unions throughout the country for the same class of work our members have been doing, and it seems no complaint has been made against them; therefore, be it

Digitized by Google

RESOLVED, We be accorded the same treatment as the other unions whose members are doing the same class of work as our members.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council.

Resolution No. 22—By the delegation from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 569, Hardwood Finishers, of Boston, Mass., was chartered by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America as the result of the amalgamation of the A. W. W. with the U. B. with the understanding that the granting of said charter was a temporary affair, lasting only until such time as arrangements could be made to transfer them to the organization to which they properly belonged—namely, the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, and

WHEREAS, We have repeatedly asked the Brotherhood of Painters within the past two years to accept these Hardwood Finishers from us, but up to the present time no definite action has been taken by the Brotherhood of Painters on this matter; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Painters be required to accept these men to membership in their organization and thereby carry into full force and effect the understanding reached at the time of amalgamation.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 23—By the delegation from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen claim jurisdiction over all carpenters, car builders, millmen and cabinetmakers employed in railroad car shops, and,

WHEREAS, When said organization was chartered by the American Federation of Labor on August 9, 1910, it was clearly and distinctly specified in a letter to President Ryan, of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen that: "In issuing the charter to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen it shall in no way infringe upon the jurisdiction of any existing National or International Union, nor the work that may belong to either," and,

WHEREAS, The claim of jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen is an infringement on the jurisdictional rights of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen be notified by the American Federation of Labor to refrain from encroaching and infringing on work that belongs to the carpenters and belonged to them before the carmen were organized and chartered.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 24—By the delegation from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

WHEREAS, War in all its horrors is now raging between the great nations of Europe, from which the wage-workers and their families suffer most; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American labor movement, through the American Federation of Labor, tender its good offices to bring about peace and harmony among the warring nations to the end that the sufferers may be relieved of the burdens placed upon them.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate E. Lewis Evans, of the Tobacco Workers' International Union; Louisville, Ky.:

WHEREAS, The label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union as indorsed by the American Federation of Labor represents that all tobaccos, snuff and cigarettes bearing it are manufactured under fair and sanitary conditions, and is the only means whereby the consumer can distinguish the union from the non-union product, and

WHEREAS, for the past eighteen years the Tobacco Workers' International Union has been appealing to the rank and file of organized labor for moral support in the purchasing of union labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes, thereby giving employment to union men and women working in the tobacco industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the city of Philadelphia, Pa., November 9, do hereby reindorse the blue label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, and pledge themselves to morally assist the Tobacco Workers' International Union by increasing their efforts to the end that the increased demand for union labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes will necessitate the employment of more union men and women in that industry; be it further

RESOLVED, That none other is worthy of our patronage in exchange for our good, hard, union-earned money, and that we acknowledge that when we purchase non-union products of any description we are employing non-union labor in preference to union labor, which is in direct opposition to the principles for which we stand.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Wm. F. Canavan, of the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union:

WHEREAS, In the City of St. Louis and vicinity, there exists an unorganized condition among the various crafts, both skilled and unskilled; and

WHEREAS, The conditions are most favorable at the present time to secure a thorough and complete organization of all the toilers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the proper officials of the American Federation of Labor inaugurate a Labor Forward

Digitized by Google

Movement on or about May 1, 1915, in the above-named city; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the various National and International Unions be called upon by the president and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to co-operate by sending organizers to work in conjunction with the American Federation of Labor organizers, and the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union, with the end in view of bringing about a thoroughly organized condition in and about the city of St. Louis.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 27—By the delegation from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

WHEREAS, On August 1, 1913, the United States Attorney General handed down an opinion on the Federal eight-hour law (Act June 19, 1912), applying to manufactured material used in connection with Federal building work; and

WHEREAS, Said opinion has opened the way for ten-hour shops and mills to practically monopolize all this work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Federal eight-hour law be amended so as to protect the union shops and mills in manufacturing materials under the eight-hour system.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates Edward Menge and Wm. Mushet of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters:

WHEREAS, The various National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have complete autonomy over their respective crafts; and

WHEREAS, Under this system of organization there has been no end to the number of disputes over the question of jurisdictional rights; and

WHEREAS, All such disputes could be prevented by having the workers of all crafts in an industry, under the jurisdiction of one organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of organization by industry, and take whatever steps that may be necessary to bring about such change.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Patrick F. Hanley of the American Brotherhood of Slate Workers:

WHEREAS, The American Brotherhood of Slate Workers had secured jurisdiction over all slate and jurisdiction having been granted by the A. F. of L., and

WHEREAS, The International Marble Workers' Association having secured jurisdiction for the setting of slate from the building trades department; and

WHEREAS, The said jurisdiction given by the Building Trades makes the Marble Workers a dual organization to the American Brotherhood of Slate Workers, and conditions are such that the members of the slate workers' organization are not allowed to set slate where the building trades are working; and

WHEREAS, Through such confliction Local No. 8 of the Slate Workers was refused a seat in the Building Trades of Newark; and

WHEREAS, They secured a seat in the Essex Trades Council in Newark; and

WHEREAS, Through the influence of the Building Trades, Local No. 8 was unseated in the Essex Trades Council on September 11, 1914, for not obeying the mandate of the findings of the Grievance Committee on August 21, 1914, to wit:

"To the Essex Trades Council.

"Your Grievance Committee is of the opinion that the Slate Workers must abide by the decision of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. handed down to this Council, to wit: That the structural setting of slate is in the jurisdiction of the Marble Workers;

"It is the further opinion of the committee that in the event of the continued refusal of the Slate Workers to abide by the above-named ruling, this Council can pursue no other course than to unseat their delegates.

"We also recommend that the whole matter be brought before the next convention of the A. F. of L. for final adjustment"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we appeal to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. against the action of the Essex Trades Council in unseating the delegates of Local No. 8 on a jurisdictional question; and be it further

RESOLVED, That no central body can unseat any organization on the question of a jurisdiction, when that organization has secured same from an A. F. of L. convention; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the working of the slate in any forms and setting of same in buildings is under the jurisdiction of the Slate Workers; and be it still further

RESOLVED, That at this, the Fifth Annual Convention of the Brotherhood of Slate Workers, we appeal and protest against the action of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in issuing such a decree against the Slate Workers; and be it still further

RESOLVED, That the convention will elect delegates to the Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. each year hereafter.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 30—By the delegation from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

Digitized by Google

WHEREAS, Constant and unceasing toil, coupled with long hours of work, robs the workers of their vitality, strength, energy and endurance, and thereby unfits them to perform valuable and productive labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor inaugurate a campaign for the establishment of a six-hour workday, same to be put into force and effect as soon as possible.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Edward M. Davies, of the Galvanized Sheet and Tube Workers, No. 14,691:

WHEREAS, Many thousands of skilled and unskilled workers are unorganized in the State of Ohio; and

WHEREAS, The territory covered by our organizers is too great to allow proper justice to be given to the work;

WHEREAS, It will require greater revenue to carry out a more complete organization campaign in each individual State; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in Section 1, Article X, read after "as follows": From international or national trade unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from local trade unions and Federal labor unions twenty cents per member per month.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Edward M. Davies, Galvanized Sheet and Tube Workers, No. 14,691:

WHEREAS, It is inevitable that an independent labor party must be formed that the workers can secure direct representation for the enactment of legislation in the interest of the working class; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention regards with considerable satisfaction the growing desire of organized labor for direct representation, national, State and municipal, and would urge upon the delegates to report to their respective unions the desirability of forming an independent labor party and to support financially and otherwise the recommendation of this convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegates Owen Miller, Geo. W. Bope and D. A. Carey, of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, By an act of Congress approved May 11, 1908, enlisted musicians in the army and navy of the United States of America are prohibited from entering into competition with civilian musicians; and

WHEREAS, The then Attorney General, Charles Bonaparte, decided that this act of Congress did not apply to the Marine Band, of Washington, D. C., because the Marine Corps, so he alleged, was not a part of the navy; and

WHEREAS, Since this decision the Marine Band, of Washington, D. C., the best-paid and provided-for enlisted band in the world, has continued to monopolize the music business of the of the civilian musicians of the District, and is continually interfering in the District o fColumbia to the detriment business of the musicians of the whole country by offering its services for expositions, State fairs, and other prominent functions, with a view of excluding the civilian musicians of the various States from such employment; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the fact that the Marine Band, or sections thereof, is frequently furnished free for social functions given by men prominent in the affairs of the nation, high political and social influence is always brought to bear to defeat any effort to confine this band to its legitimate duties as every other enlisted band is; and

WHEREAS, It is within the prerogatives of the President of the United States of America, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to issue an order restraining the Marine Band from entering the competitive field against civilian musicians in or out of the District of Columbia; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, respectfully requests His Excellency, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to issue the necessary order prohibiting the Marine Band, of Washington, D. C., from interfering with the professional engagements of the civilian musicians, either in or out of the District of Columbia, as intended by the law approved May 11, 1908, which was arbitrarily set aside by a questionable decision of the then Attorney General of the United States; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the Federation, in conjunction with an official of the American Federation of Musicians, endeavor to secure a personal interview with the President to lay this matter before him.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Michael Goldsmith, of the Ohio State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Much of the time lost by childish squabbles on the floor of central bodies, arising from the fact that sufficient jurisdiction has not been given to central bodies affiliated to the American Federation of Labor to affirm decisions already decreed by the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled or the Executive Council thereof; and

WHEREAS, Such indefiniteness has a tendency to embarrass the executive of the American Federation of Labor and all affiliated organizations by the continued appeals of locals asking for decisions on questions already adjudicated by the parent body, the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled,

Digitized by Google

give central bodies affiliated to the American Federation of Labor the power to carry out the final decisions on all jurisdictional disputes that come up between affiliated locals where a decision has already been rendered by the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled. The same to remain in effect until changed by the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 35—By the delegation from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

WHEREAS, Complaint has been lodged with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America that the Brewery Workers at St. Louis, Mo., are infringing on the jurisdictional rights of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America in doing carpenter work, repairing boxes, etc.; and,

WHEREAS, Said complaint was submitted to the Brewery Workers by correspondence, but no action was taken by that organization, not even the courtesy of a reply thereto; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Brewery Workers be notified by the A. F. of L. to refrain from doing work which does not belong to them and which can not be considered in any manner as theirs.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

The convention was adjourned at 11 a. m., to convene at 9.30 a. m., Wednesday, November 11th.

Digitized by Google

THIRD DAY—Wednesday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Wednesday, November 11th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees: McCarthy, Goellnitz, Rickert, Holpern, Rosenberg, Greener, Christman (E.), Scott (D.), Daly (T. M.), Moriarty, Watt, Cleary, Anderson, Clark (T. G.), Burns, McGrath (P. J.), Hurley, Gavlak, Short, Cooke (W. J.), Lynn, Obergfell, Miller, Kelly (Thos.), Kay, Boyle, Taylor, Saltus, Duddy, McAndrews, Rotramel, Scott (M.), Givens, Lyons.

Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Schwarz, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 11, 1914.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials begs leave to report that it has received a credential from the Elmira (N. Y.) Trades and Labor Assembly for J. J. Keppler, and recommends that he be seated with 1 vote.

THOMAS S. KEARNEY,
Chairman;
P. J. McGRATH,
LOUIS SCHWARZ,
Secretary,
Committee on Credentials.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegate seated.

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

Sacramento, Cal., Nov. 10, 1914.

Andrew J. Gallagher,
Hotel Walton, Phila., Pa.

To the American Federation of Labor: The State of California extends to you a cordial invitation to hold your convention of 1915 in the city of San Francisco. The Panama-Pacific International Exposition will then be in progress, and we feel we may assure you that there will be much of enjoyment and profit to be derived from it. California will feel it a high honor to have you as her guests, and we hope that you will decide to meet in the Exposition City.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON,
Governor.

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 10, 1914.

American Federation of Labor,
in convention assembled,
Phila., Pa.

I present to you the compliments of the city of San Francisco and earnestly invite you in behalf of her people to hold your national convention in San Francisco, the Exposition City, in 1915. The Panama-Pacific International Exposition will be the greatest ever held. The States of the Union, and practically every civilized nation of the world will be represented in magnificent exhibits. Our exposition palaces are the finest ever built for the purpose. San Francisco is preparing herself for a season of open-hearted hospitality, and offers every inducement for your entertainment and enjoyment. All San Francisco desires your presence.

JAMES ROLPH, JR.,
Mayor of San Francisco.

New York, Nov. 9, 1914.

Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

The United Hebrew Trades of New York send their greetings. We are still marching forward in the field of organizing Jewish working men and women. One hundred and eight unions affiliated with our central body now have a membership of 200,000. Long live the A. F. of L.! Long live organized labor!

B. WEINSTEIN.

Telegrams conveying fraternal greetings, good wishes and congratulations upon the work of the American Federation of Labor were received from the Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union of Philadelphia, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Morris Sigman, General Secretary-Treasurer; Buffalo District Council; South Bend (Indiana) Central Labor Union, E. E. Gardner, Charles E. Miller, Secretary.

A letter from the Keystone Branch, No. 157, National Association of Letter Carriers, was read, in which an invitation was extended to visit the official headquarters of the organization, 1501 Green Street.

A letter from the Curtis Publishing Company, Philadelphia, was read, in which an invitation was extended to the delegates, individually or collectively, to visit its plant.

Delegate Freel, Stereotypers: I move you that the invitation extended by the Curtis Publishing Company be accepted, and that such delegates take advantage of it as can do so. (Seconded and carried.)

Digitized by Google

Secretary Morrison read the following committee appointments:

Committee on Ways and Means—J. C. Skemp, C. W. Mills, H. P. Griffin, J. F. Morris, Wm. Karney, Geo. Rice, Chas. E. Hill, E. H. Foley, James Moriarty, H. G. Alexander, C. F. Foley, F. J. Sheehan, James F. Riley, Henry Irwin, J. B. McMunn.

Committee on Shorter Work Day—John Williams, A. O. Wharton, T. H. Morris, Tobias Hall, Ned Byrne, J. S. Strachan, Wm. Christman, Edward Gurney, W. J. Brennan, Elmer Rosenberg, J. F. Miller, J. J. Carrigan, Thos. O'Donnell, T. L. Gabert, J. V. Moreschi.

Committee on A. F. of L. Office Building—Geo. L. Berry, John Golden, Timothy Healy, W. D. Mahon, W. J. Adames, W. J. Cooke, J. J. Morris, Thos. F. Flaherty, Thomas Redding, A. J. Howlett, James A. Short, J. J. McDermott, James G. Hannahan, Wm. Kemp, J. H. Fricke.

Committee on International Relations—G. W. Perkins, James Duncan, C. L. Baine, D. J. Tobin, John H. Walker, B. A. Larger, James O'Connell, M. S. Hayes, J. P. Frey, T. F. Tracy, T. V. O'Connor, G. L. Berry, James Wilson, W. D. Mahon, Matthew Woll.

Secretary Morrison announced that on page 43 of Tuesday's proceedings would be found the special committee appointed for the purpose of bringing about an agreement between the U. B. Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers, as follows:

On behalf of the Carpenters, James Kirby, P. H. McCarthy, John A. Metz.

On behalf of the Sheet Metal Workers, John J. Hynes, Thomas Redding, Hugh Frayne.

Appointed by President Gompers, Matthew Woll, James J. Sweeney, William Green.

Report of Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

To the Officers and Members of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Mr. Chairman and Delegates—I have the honor to present to you my report as Fraternal Delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of the Dominion of Canada.

The Congress convened at St. Andrew's Curling Rink, St. Johns, New Brunswick, on Monday, September 21, 1914, at 10 o'clock a. m., James L. Sugrue, president of St. Johns Trades and Labor Council, presiding. Able addresses were delivered by Mayor James H. Frink, Commissioner F. L. Potts and Hon. J. E. Wilson, chairman of the Executive Council of the Legislature of New Brunswick, each of the gentlemen professing the greatest friendship for the cause of organized labor, after which the gavel was turned over to J. C. Watters, president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, who in a few brief remarks replied to the various addresses of welcome. He then introduced the delegate from the American Fderation of Labor to the representatives present.

The Committee on Credentials made its report, showing that delegates were present from each section of Canada, but owing to the business depression existing there and the consequent throwing out of employment of large numbers of workers, caused chiefly by the war now going on in Europe, the representation was not as large as at some former conventions. Various committees were then appointed by the chair. Greetings were sent by the Congress to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, holding their conventions at Indianapolis, Ind., and Peoria, Ill., respectively.

President Watters presented his report as parliamentary representative, dwelling upon the work accomplished and sought to be accomplished. He stated that of the ten bills introduced in the Parliament of Canada, affecting labor, three only were passed, as follows:

An act to regulate the manufacture, testing, storage and importation of explosives.

An act to regulate the manufacture and sale of dairy products, and to prohibit the manufacture or sale of butter substitutes.

An act to prohibit the manufacture, importation and sale of matches made with white phosphorous.

The remaining bills are all meritorious ones and undoubtedly will become laws in the near future. His report demonstrates that labor is alert to its interest, and the furtherance of measures calculated to benefit labor are in the hands of capable and conscientious men.

The Executive Council of the Congress presented a report which was replete with problems confronting the laboring people of Canada, among which were the following:

Technical Education and Industrial Training; Political Action; Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, and Old Age Pensions; Strike of the United Mine Workers on Vancouver Island; Labor Victories in Municipal Elections; Immigration; Minimum Wage Legislation.

On January 6, 1914, the Council met with the Premier and other members of the Cabinet and submitted for their consideration labor's desires on the following:

The carrying out of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Technical Education.

Opposed to suggested increase in cost of mailing labor papers.

Liberation of miners sent to prison in connection with the Vancouver Island strike.

Digitized by Google

Amendments to immigration act.
Fortnightly payment of wages to railway employes.
Length of sections on railways.
Amendments to industrial disputes investigation act.
Extension of fair wage clauses to provide a penalty for non-fulfillment in addition to the payment of the wages provided.
Eight-hour day.
Abolition of election deposit.
To make election day a public holiday.
To provide union label on all clothing made under Government contracts.
Registration of union labels.
Improved conditions for letter carriers in Canada.

On the terrible war now being waged in Europe the Council gave expression to the following sentiment:

"Of late years it seems to have been a race between the advocates of peace and common-sense methods in settling international controversies and the advocates of war with their lust for power and greed for profit in constantly preparing for it. The war lords of despotism broke the tape a little ahead in the race and plunged the world into a fearful war—the worst according to indications of any struggle in known history. When the history of this appalling conflict comes to be written, one feature of the gathering storm before the terrible crash, which will shine as long as the world lasts, was the common opposition to this war among the working classes of the different countries. The labor movement all over the world stands almost alone, the one stout advocate of common sense and peaceful methods of settling these disputes. There cannot be any doubt that this force, a product of the unity of interest of the workers the world over, will gather an impetus from the lessons of this struggle, which will make it for the first time in history the dominating force in the world. Institutions which have been on trial for years utterly failed to stem the return to barbaric methods in settling disputes."

The report of the Executive Committee of the various provinces was read, showing the work accomplished by labor's representatives during the year. A perusal of the report will demonstrate to the workers of the United States that their co-workers in the Dominion of Canada are determined to alleviate the conditions prevailing in their midst. The securing of the passage of a workmen's compensation law worthy of the name in the Province of Ontario is especially to be commended. It was secured after much opposition on the part of the employing interests. The workers of that province are to be congratulated upon the successful outcome of their efforts.

The report of Secretary-Treasurer P. M. Draper showed the gradual increase in membership from the year 1901, when there were only 8381 members, to the present time, which shows a membership of 80,094, a truly remarkable showing, when the conditions prevailing in Canada are taken into consideration. The report shows a slight decrease in membership of a few hundred, as compared with the year 1913, which was the banner year. The finances of the Congress, however, have increased, and, notwithstanding the heavy drain upon the treasury, caused by the increased activity manifested in behalf of labor's interest, show a good working balance over that of the year 1913.

Minister of Labor Hon. W. T. Crothers was present, and delivered an address, which was well received. Subsequently he was called upon to defend the action of his department in connection with the Vancouver Island miners' strike. His efforts to do so did not meet with the approval of the delegates.

Brother Frank Farrington, of the United Mine Workers of America, delivered an address severely criticizing and arraigning the Minister of Labor for his actions and those of his assistants during the period of the strike of the coal miners on Vancouver Island, condemning him for his partiality towards the coal operators and his speech before the Canadian Parliament, in which he said that the trouble on Vancouver Island was caused by foreign agitators in the employ of the coal operators of the State of Washington. The Congress was in full sympathy with the remarks of Brother Farrington and adopted the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, The convention has heard the Vancouver Island strike situation presented by Brothers Robert Foster, President of the Vancouver Island miners, and Frank Farrington, representing the United Mine Workers of America, and have heard the Minister of Labor, Crothers, defend the position of his department in connection therewith; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the members of the Labor Congress of Canada, as represented by its delegates assembled in the St. John's convention, approve in the strongest terms the efforts of the Vancouver Island miners to improve their conditions of employment, first by mediation and then by striking; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That we commend the Vancouver Island miners for having affiliated with the United Mine Workers of America, and urge them to continue their affiliation therewith; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That we condemn the Minister of Labor for having failed to perform his duty and failed to use impartially the great power of his office to bring about an equitable settlement of the Vancouver Island miners' strike."

Canada has its own immigration problem, and the workers of the country are confronted with conditions that do not prevail in the United States. The Canadian Government offers bonuses in money and land grants to agencies and societies for the procuring of immigrants to that country. In the working out of the proposition the laboring people have discovered that some of the societies receiving bonuses do not adhere strictly to the truth concerning conditions. As a result, a large number of immigrants are

Digitized by Google

continually arriving in that country to swell the vast amount of unemployed, or, in a great many instances, to take the places of the workers when industrial disputes occur. From the investigation made by labor representatives, it was plainly shown that some of those societies were more concerned with receiving the bonuses allowed by the government, rather than procuring for the immigrant secured through their alluring advertisements employment in order that he and his dependents might exist. The Congress is alert to the conditions confronting them, and they realize that the immigration problem is one which requires their best thought and most earnest attention. They will undoubtedly be able to solve the proposition to the satisfaction and for the general benefit of the workers of Canada.

Instances of the violation of the Fair Wage Law were cited, especially upon the construction of the Welland Canal, where it was shown that a couple of skilled men laid out the work, and inferior mechanics or laborers performed the balance of the work and received pay far lower than the Fair Wage Law required, all of this being detrimental to the best interest of the men employed in the carpenter industry. The representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America are there and looking after the interest of the workers, and undoubtedly the conditions spoken of will be rectified.

I observed a very strong and enthusiastic sentiment manifested through discussion and action of the delegates on behalf of the union label. Resolutions were also passed in favor of the reduction of the sentence of Joe Angelo, who had been sentenced to four years' imprisonment for his connection with the strike of the coal miners in British Columbia; also against the employment of Asiatics in mines.

Sixty-seven resolutions were introduced and received the attention of the Congress. The resolutions dealt with every condition confronting the laboring people. Most of them were the subject of earnest discussion.

Five hundred dollars was donated by the Congress to the widows and orphans of the victims of the Hill Crest mining disaster, at Hill Crest, Alberta, B. C.

Miss Leonora O'Reilly, of New York, representing the Woman's Trade Union League, attended the Congress and delivered an eloquent and instructive address containing much information, which was enthusiastically received by the delegates.

Joseph Cross, who was to represent the British Trades Union Congress, was unable to be present.

The officers elected for the ensuing year were: President, J. E. Watters; Vice-President, Fred Bancroft; Secretary-Treasurer, P. M. Draper.

Alderman R. A. Riggs, of Winnipeg, Manitoba, was elected as fraternal delegate to the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Owing to the unfortunate conditions existing in Europe, Alphonse Verville, the delegate elected at the twenty-ninth convention to attend the British Trades Union Congress, did not attend. His election was continued by the Congress, and he was the unanimous choice of the delegates to attend the next meeting in Great Britain.

Vancouver, British Columbia, was selected as the next meeting place of the Congress.

I wish to personally extend my deepest appreciation and most sincere thanks to the officers and members of the Congress for the many courtesies extended me during my visit; also the beautiful token presented to me as a manifestation of their good will. It was a source of gratification to me, as your representative, to note the loyalty displayed by the delegates to international unionism. A very effective demonstration of that loyalty was manifested when the Minister of Labor tried to create a sentiment in the minds of the Canadian workingmen against their brothers in the United States. They promptly and firmly, in his presence, disapproved his actions. I found them sincere and progressive, honest and vigorous, broadminded and tolerant, with an intelligent grasp upon conditions confronting them, with the manhood to fairly, impartially and honestly endeavor to solve each and every problem presented to them. With such representatives of international unionism on the other side of the boundary line, I am supremely confident that true loyalty to international brotherhood will be maintained.

M. M. DONOGHUE,
Fraternal Delegate to the Thirtieth Convention, Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union: I move that the report be received and made part of the records of this convention. (Seconded and carried.)

Second Vice-President O'Connell in the chair.

Address of Fraternal Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Fraternal Delegate Rigg: Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor—I want to express to you the deep sense of honor with which I regard the privilege of my attendance at this convention as a representative of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress. Although divided from you by a boundary line, which on the other side of it we invariably refer to as the "imaginary line," the Canadian trade union movement is cognizant of an indissoluble association with this American Federation of Labor; and every delegate elected to fraternally represent that congress in the conventions of this great body esteems it a great privilege and a high honor to be selected for such a position. When President Gompers attached to my coat yesterday morning the badge of this convention I felt as though I had been privileged to receive a great and honorable

Digitized by Google

distinction—proud to wear it, proud to be privileged to meet you in this convention.

This convention is an important gathering, charged with the responsible duty of protecting and promoting the interests of the great mass of the organized wage earners of this North American continent. I come to you today as the bearer of a gift which, from the point of view of the great possibilities that are wrapped up in the trade union movement of this continent I deem a great deal more precious than a gift of frankincense and myrrh. I come to you bearing the gift of the brotherly spirit of the entire trade union movement of the Dominion of Canada. North of latitude 49 degrees, the trade union movement has no feeling that the geographical lines of demarcation can seperate it from the bond of fellowship and brotherhood with the trade-union organizations south of that line.

Perhaps it is necessary for me to say something with regard to the reason for the existence of an organization north of that line, which is separate from and independent of the American Federation of Labor. I should feel that I had failed absolutely in the performance of my mission here to-day if I did not succeed in impressing upon your minds, those of you who may not be familiar with the reasons of the existence of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, that the reason I am here in an ambassadorial capacity is not due to any weakness of the bond that binds the trade unionists of Canada with the trade unionists of the United States. The badge that I wear, the membership that I carry, is that of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, an international organization that I have in the past had the pleasure of representing in a full delegate capacity.

And what is true in my own case is true concerning every member affiliated with the Trades and Labor Congress, with the exception of just a few organizations of wage earners for whom there exists no international organization. I think you all see that the Trades and Labor Congress is not organized as a rival institution to this great American Federation of Labor. As trade unionists organized along industrial lines, we are a component, integral part of this body, and that institution is so highly valued and prized by the trade unionists of the Dominion of Canada that we are jealous that nothing shall come between us to separate the Canadian trade-unionist movement from the trade-union movement of this entire North American continent. This is an inheritance, this association, of which we are proud and which we will maintain with all our zeal.

The Canadian Trades and Labor Congress exists solely by virtue of that accident of fate which caused Canada to be governed separately from the rest of this North American continent. In this city of Philadelphia one cannot help being made aware of that tragic result of 1776, whereby through the folly, through the autocracy, through the injustice which the British Government of that day sought to impose upon the colonists of this country, impositions which could not be borne by self-respecting men and women, the break came, and a separate nation was established on this continent. While that has been the cause of separating the United States from Canada, there are many causes, there are many results, rather, which to-day make us feel and understand that, so far as the establishment on this continent of another nation is concerned, the results, so far as the great ambitions and purposes of working class freedom are concerned, have never been impaired thereby; but that the declarations which are embodied in your Constitution have made for the promotion of a spirit of democracy, to such a degree that it has been a valuable contribution to the development and upbuilding of democratic institutions throughout the world.

The condition of affairs that separates Canada along governmental lines from the United States makes it imperative that there shall exist an organization north of that imaginary boundary line of a strictly Canadian character, an organization whose function is to protect the wage earners along legislative lines. This is the sole reason for the existence of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, which is the legislative mouthpiece of the workers of that country. Matters that affect the jurisdiction of trade unions or the control of trade unions along industrial lines do not come within the province of our congress. This is the place where all these matters legitimately belong, and where, so far as the Congress of Canada is concerned, they will be permitted to belong. We have no desire whatever to invade the scope of the operations of the American Federation of Labor.

The Dominion Trades and Labor Congress is pledged very specifically to the recognition of a principle which is, and has been for the past few years, at least, embodied in the constitution of the American Federation of Labor; that principle which was enunciated by Chairman O'Connell on Monday morning has been the principle that, in spite of the bigness of this North American continent, it is much too small to harbor the existence of two separate organizations for trade-union purposes in the one craft. And the very strictest adherence is practiced by the Congress of Canada to this vital principle, that there shall not be more than one organization for the one craft.

The practice of the Congress during the last few years has abundantly evidenced, I think, the sincerity of that organization with regard to this matter. Some two years ago, when this Federation very definitely and specifically and finally disposed of the

Digitized by Google

long-standing struggle which had been taking place between the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, the Trades and Labor Congress very quickly decided what its attitude would be. When the Amalgamated Carpenters had been expelled from the Federation they were just as promptly expelled from the Trades and Labor Congress. Immediately upon action having been taken by this Federation the Executive Council of the Trades and Labor Congress returned the per capita tax of the Amalgamated Carpenters when it was next offered; and that action was unanimously approved by the delegates at the succeeding convention, with the result that the Amalgamated Carpenters, who were very largely represented in the Dominion of Canada, recognized the necessity of throwing down the weapons of their warfare and linking themselves with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

In another and more recent instance, that of the Electrical Workers, the same action was automatically taken by the Trades and Labor Congress; and it was one of the proud moments of our convention in St. Johns, N. B., that, so far as the Canadian District Council of the Reid-Murphy Electrical Workers were concerned, in a referendum vote then being taken the sentiment was going overwhelmingly in favor of uniting with the organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. And since the holding of our convention in St. John, N. B., in September of this year, that great work of unity has also been consummated and another strike of years has been ended.

This attitude of loyalty to internationalism, while adhered to most closely by the Congress, is still a practice which is most repugnant to the great mass of the employers of Canada. With much warring of words, with much flying of flags, and with a great deal of fervent patriotic pleading the employers of the Dominion of Canada tell us that it is unpatriotic and un-Canadian for us to send our good Canadian money south of the line to the headquarters of organizations located in the United States. They tell us it is a serious breach of the principle of self-respect for us not to have our own Canadian trade unions organized and controlled solely along national lines. In the last convention of the Congress, as you have just heard in the report of your fraternal delegate, the spirit of internationalism received just about the most severe test it could possibly have received, and came out unanimously triumphant so far as the expression of the mind of the Congress is concerned.

We had in that convention Bro. Frank Farrington, of the United Mine Workers of America, and the Hon. Mr. Crothers, Minister of Labor, a position that carries with it a cabinet portfolio. During the last session of the Canadian House of Commons discussions took place relative to the barbaric and czar-like attitude of the government toward the striking coal miners on Vancouver Island; and the same minister of the British Crown in making his defense in connection with that strike, explaining the lethargy and the indifference of his department to the welfare of the miners who were in that great struggle, referred to Bro. Frank Farrington as a foreign agitator. And again, after he had been accused of this deed, in his defense before the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, he carried with him the "Journal of the United Mine Workers of America," and, turning over the pages, he called the representatives of trade unionism in the Dominion of Canada to witness that this same Frank Farrington had, while he was in charge of the United Mine Workers' strike on Vancouver Island, repeatedly made reports to his international headquarters, which were addressed to the United Mine Workers of the United States, if you please. He said the term "America," being limited so far as its application is concerned, in the mind of the Minister of Labor and in the minds of multitudes more, as applicable only to the United States. As far as the workers of this continent are concerned it has no limitations, the great mass of the wage earners of this North American Continent are indissolubly joined together, and when we talk of the United Mine Workers of America we mean the United Mine Workers of the North American Continent. If any doubt now exists in the mind of the Minister of Labor with regard to the standing of the Canadian trade union movement on this matter in the future it will be solely due to his utter incapacity to receive any mental impression whatever.

The Congress of Canada stands four-square for the principle of international trade unionism, and the sophistries, the subtle, deceptive influences which employers of labor and ruling bodies bring to bear upon us is an endeavor to separate us in order that they may fleece and exploit us more effectively. We have noticed that so far as the patriotic Canadian employer is concerned, his patriotism evaporates when it comes to a matter of a strike. Then he himself is very eager and very glad to fall back upon an appeal to those organizations of strike-breaking thugs which are recruited in this country for the purpose of beating into subjection the workers of the United States and Canada when they seek to promote their own interests.

But a new spirit of patriotism has been awakened in the minds and has stirred in the hearts of the trade-union movement of this century, a spirit of patriotism based upon the fact of the common interests of the wage earners of the world. And while we regret exceedingly that that spirit has not been sufficiently developed yet to have averted that murderous carnage that is taking place on the fields of Europe, we are sure of one thing, and that is that the spirit of brotherhood which has been generated on this continent by virtue of the practice of international trade unionism is such as to make it a safe prediction that the workers of the United States

Digitized by Google

and the workers of Canada will never consent, either by secret diplomacy or by any other means, to fly at each others' throats or spill each others' blood.

For more than one hundred years peace has existed between Canada and the United States. Four thousand miles of frontier are unguarded by any fort, and, so far as the democracy represented by our trade-union movement is concerned, there will never be a fort erected on that frontier line to menace and jeopardize those peaceful relations which exist to-day. I am not here to talk to you about the European war; I respect too much those obligations which are imposed upon me as the guest of the American Federation of Labor, and as one who temporarily finds himself in a neutral country, because Canada, as a component part of the British Empire is to-day in a state of war.

I am not going to discuss the war in any of its phases, but I do want to say just this word—and I think you will pardon me for the saying of it, I think I ought to say it—that coming from Canada and knowing that there are present in this convention two well-known representatives of the British Trade Union Congress, I think I speak that which the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress would have me speak, and that I also voice the sentiment of our British brothers when I say that it is the fervent hope and desire of our hearts that this bloody conflict should be brought to a speedy termination and those international relations fostered by our movement again be established and promoted.

There has been a very remarkable movement in recent years owing to the sympathetic relations existing between the Congress and this Federation. Some forty-six international organizations have affiliated their entire Canadian membership with the Congress and pay their per capita tax from headquarters. This has been done because of the recognition of the principle that the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada seeks to preserve and advance the interests of the wage earners of Canada along legislative lines, which it would be practicably impossible for the American Federation of Labor to do.

One of the great problems with which the workers of Canada are confronted is that of immigration. For years the Government has fostered every means of attracting labor to Canada, with a complete and fatal disregard of the ultimate consequence. Immigration agencies operating on the bonus principle have carried on a vigorous trade. Employers' organizations have taken advantage of the situation and have most grossly misrepresented conditions that exist in that country; and, because of that great benevolent heart of theirs which seeks to attract the oppressed of Europe and give them a larger and freer life in Canada—that is the language of the Candian employers when they are seeking to deluge the country with surplus labor—these workers have been imported into Canada with an utter disregard of what is likely to take place.

So far as the Trades and Labor Congress is concerned we have no objection to leaving our doors open to the toilers of Europe so long as they seek to come in along natural lines; but we have set our face like flint against the unscrupulous method adopted to artificially foster and promote immigration to Canada. This reckless policy of immigration, coupled with the merciless exploitation of those same workers when they reach Canada, and the mad spirit of land speculation has precipitated a condition of affairs industrially and commercially in Canada which makes sober-minded men and women afraid for what may happen in the near future. And this condition has been considerably intensified as a result of the war. To-day we have throughout Canada a great mass of the unemployed for whom there are no bright prospects for this winter and for whose welfare every man and woman who is at all touched with the sentiment of human sympathy is deeply concerned. There is going to be a great deal of suffering in the Dominion of Canada among the wage-earning class during this coming winter. In normal times during past years Canada has not exhibited those extreme symptoms of social disease which are so very manifest in the older and more thoroughly developed industrial nations.

Fraternal Delegate Rigg gave a brief review of the history and development of Canada in the past one hundred years, the increase in her population and in her manufacturing and agricultural development, and continued:

Canada's future development, it is easily seen from what I have told you, in spite of her rich agricultural resources, will be very largely along industrial lines, and it is extremely important that at the present stage an ample and an enduring foundation should be provided and maintained in connection with our trade union organizations. Now is the time, while our industries are young, while our wage-earning population is comparatively small, to cultivate in the minds of the workers those great principles which underlie and are vital to the welfare of the labor movement.

Recently I received a letter signed by three international organizers, Brother Potts, of the Carpenters; Brother Hunter, of the Painters, and Brother McClellan, of the Machinists, in regard to the industrial condition in the maritime provinces in Eastern Canada. The call there is for international organizers to establish firmly the foundations of our trade union organizations, and at the same time to uproot and destroy forever an organization which has for a number of years had a disturbing and irritating effect upon the trade union movement of Canada. This Canadian Federation of Labor, as it is called, is cursed with the benediction of certain Canadian employers and seeks to rival your organization so far as Canada is concerned, can be very easily uprooted and destroyed in the maritime provinces if only the necessary attention is paid to that locality.

Digitized by Google

Fraternal Delegate Rigg spoke in an interesting manner of the general conditions of the labor movement, of the spirit and ideals and hopes and ambitions of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. He referred to the legislative matters in which the Congress was deeply interested, both in the Dominion Parliament and in the Provincial Parliaments, and at the attitude of the Government toward labor measures.

In concluding Fraternal Delegate Rigg said: We talk a great deal today about the progress that we have achieved in recent years; we tell of the wonderful accomplishments of genius; we speak of the tremendous power which has been exercised by humankind in the wrestle with Mother Nature until she has yielded her great secret. We are fond of speaking about how we have harnessed the forces of Nature and made them the obedient servants of man. But I want for a few brief minutes to call your attention to another aspect of the situation. What about this wonderful progress we are making and have made in the past few years from the point of view of the unemployed. Unemployment is rampant and its effects upon our humanity are of a most disastrous and degrading character. I am told that in this country 1 per cent. of the people own more wealth than the remaining 99 per cent. An ex-member of the Crown in the Dominion of Canada made the statement two years ago in the Dominion House that twenty-three men controlled the finances of Canada. With our great machinery for wealth production to-day, with our huge units of capital, with our specialization of labor, we have invented a wealth producing system which puts to shame all the fabulous activities of ancient genii. And this has produced a crisis in our social system which has given us a multi-millionaire at one end of the scale, to whom wealth flows whether he sleeps or dissipates it, and the toiler who toils from early childhood until he falls into the grave, keeping company with poverty all the way, at the other end of the scale. What shall we say of the progress of our day from the point of view of the sweated toilers, of the child slave or of the white slave, that modern product of which Victor Hugo speaks as bartering away a soul for a bit of bread.

These are the problems which challenge us, they demand our attention, they will insist upon forcing themselves before us for solution. And we are the men and women to face these problems, to find that solution. The great spirit and ambition and ideal of our labor movement must be to create a newer world wherein dwelleth righteousness; that no child shall cry for bread; that no mind shall be stunted by ignorance; that no maiden shall sell herself in order that she may secure food for her body; that mothers shall be protected from the incessant care and worry and heartbreak incidental to the life of the poor; where manhood shall be vigorous, healthy, intelligent, noble—these are the ideals for our labor movement in this twentieth century. The great ambition that must permeate us is that oppression of every species shall be dethroned and the good of the common people shall be conserved.

I have endeavored to indicate to you the relation of our Congress to this Federation of Labor, to tell you something of its activities, to show to you the spirit that inspires it. And now I want to say that the twentieth century belongs to the labor movement; that it calls to you and to me, not merely that we shall be trade unionists and wear our buttons and maintain those outward forms of association in our movement which consist of keeping our names on the register, attending meetings and all that kind of thing. These are but the forms of the spirit of our unionism. The true spirit demands from us that we shall go forth to meet the pressing problems that confront us to-day, and instead of merely giving of our money we shall give of ourselves; that we shall hear this appeal of the great mass of the community for enlightenment and emancipation, for salvation, if you please, and that we shall dedicate to this movement more and more as the spirit attaches itself to us our life, our time and our energy, our life blood, if you will, in order that there may be a dawn of a day in the not very distant future when there shall be given to every man, woman and child an opportunity to realize a full-orbed life, rounded and entire; where there shall be opened to the members of the working class those avenues which enrich and ennoble human life; that art and science and literature and music may be more diversified in the experience and the possession of the working class; that a new day shall dawn where burdens shall be lifted, where hope and comfort and joy and happiness shall take the place of sorrow and ignorance and crime.

Again I say to you that I am proud to bring to you today the fraternal greetings of the trades unionists north of parallel 49 degrees latitude, and to assure you, if such assurance should be necessary, that, so far as the future is concerned, we will see to it as in us best may be that nothing shall come to separate us from our cherished association and affiliation with the international trade union movement of this North American continent.

President Gompers: The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor extended an invitation to Dr. Tolman, a director of the American Museum of Safety, to address the convention. He has given many, many years to a study of the subject of occupational diseases. I am going to ask Delegate Iglesias to escort the gentleman to the platform.

Digitized by Google

William H. Tolman, Ph. D., Director of the American Museum of Safety, was introduced by the Chairman.

Dr. Tolman: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: A year ago last Washington's Birthday a very distinguished gentleman came into my office. I always guess to myself what profession is represented by men I come in touch with in that way, and I guessed he was a representative of the navy, and so it turned out to be. He said he was the captain of the Philadelphia Navy Yard, and he had been ordered by the Secretary of the Navy to do everything he could in his yard for the prevention of accidents and occupational diseases. He said he did not know where to go to get the necessary information on the subject; that he had commanded war vessels in different parts of the country, but had no knowledge of how to take care of that problem. We said we would be glad to help him. He inspected the American Museum of Safety and made a request for a presentation of the subject at the Navy Yard in Philadelphia. That was complied with, and was followed by an illustrated presentation of this subject in the other yards; also at the Naval Academy in Annapolis. He asked us later to make a report on the subject of occupational diseases. He said when men were painting the inner bottoms of ships and working in other very confined spaces the dust and lead were very obnoxious, and he wanted to know how to protect the health and lives of the men. We said we would be glad to make a report on occupational diseases. That was done in another volume of about 150 pages, fully illustrated, giving the very best experience of this country and abroad, because we made these studies in some five or six different countries. That was also very satisfactory, and led to the inspection of the Watertown arsenal.

The United States Government turned to the American Museum of Safety as the only organization in this country which could make those inspections and those recommendations for it. We were pleased to receive the praise of the department in that we had made good. There are now twenty-six museums of safety in the world. Each museum is a collection of various devices for preventing accidents and promoting health. The prevention of accidents is only about 30 per cent. of the work; the other 70 per cent. must be devoted to promoting health. We are now paying far more attention to this problem of occupational diseases. I was planning to read extracts from this report, but I think it will be hardly necessary. This volume is at the disposal of the Federation any time they care to consult it. We now know that 50 per cent. of the accidents are preventable.

The Massachusetts Industrial Accidents Board is paying about $10,000 every day by way of compensation; then they judge that another $10,000 is lost to the community. Cutting that in two means a great deal for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. This social waste which is going on through neglect of accidents and health is one very large factor in the increased cost of living, because some one has to pay for this waste, some one has to make up the deficit. That, of course, falls to the taxpayers, your departments of charity and health, and, to a certain extent, to the police. Decreasing accidents and promoting health will help to lower the high cost of living.

The chairman of the Industrial Accidents Board of Massachusetts wrote me the other day of a case that will undoubtedly be fought through the Supreme Court of that Commonwealth. The widow of a deceased employe asked for compensation. Her husband has died of tuberculosis which was contrated, or seriously aggravated, by his occupation. The claim was that it had seriously shortened his life. We have compensation for occupational diseases. In the case of tuberculosis the employment, environment and mode of life must be considered. The chairman of this Arbitration Committee wrote me:

"I noticed on one of my visits to the American Museum of Safety that you had models of sections of lungs, showing the effect of occupations upon workers' lungs. One that I particularly recall is that of a granite worker's lung, showing how the employment creates a condition which is likely to develop into tuberculosis, or which is likely to lighten up a latent case of tuberculosis, thus materially shortening the life of the worker. You also had a section there of the normal lung. If you could loan these specimens to the committee, and I could also have them as exhibits before the full board of the Industrial Accidents Board on review, it would very materially assist us in arriving at a proper determination of this case."

If the Museum of Safety would place this at the disposal of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, it would assist in establishing a type of case that may call for compensation. It is estimated that one-third of the human family die of tuberculosis. You see the little Museum of Safety in New York now is able to render assistance to Massachusetts. That will be of far-reaching importance to them, and that service can be done for other communities.

The Museum is composed of three great sections. It has to do with accident prevention, health promotion and mutuality, especially for promoting better relations between capital and labor. We talk about these terms very glibly, but they are necessary, one to the other, like the two wings of a bird; without both wings it is impossible for it to go forward.

This American Museum of Safety can help, and will be very glad to help, in every possible way this great movement represented here. As that homely philosopher, Josh Billings, said, it is very much better to know a few things that are so than many things that are not so. There are cases where you want to make a suggestion to the employer and where you want conditions changed. Unless you know the exact conditions, you are greatly handicapped. I am sure when the Canadian delegate went before his Parliament he had his facts, he knew. We are able to give you the facts and figures

Digitized by Google

which will enable you to have concrete facts when you go before any legislative body or when it is necessary for you to strive for the betterment of existing conditions in your work.

We hear a great deal of co-operation and mutuality. The Museeum of Safety can do much for you. Now, I think I hear you asking what you can do for the Museum. We do not want your money, but we want your help in other ways. Last week we went before the Board of Apportionment and Estimate in New York and asked for $250,000 to carry on this work in the State. They had an excellent reason for refusing the request for that enormous sum of money—the state of their finances was such it would not permit it. We are going to take that matter to the Legislature, and you can help us by your support and influence. We have been very much encouraged to have the support and endorsement of the Central Federated Union of New York City. That is a source of great satisfaction to us.

I do not feel justified in taking more of your time in a detailed discussion which would be worthy of the subject, but I feel in this opportunity of meeting you in this way I want to touch upon the outlines of the subject, leaving you, who are the practical workers, to fill out the heads of this discourse. I want to pledge you, President Gompers, the support of this Museum of Safety. Anything we can do to help this great movement, which touches so closely all of us, we will do, and you will give us the greatest pleasure if you will provide the opportunity to render this kind of service as you may need it.

President Gompers announced that Col. Bryant, Commissioner of the Department of Labor of New Jersey, had been invited to deliver an illustrated address to the convention, and would do so at 4 o'clock.

Secretary Morrison read the following communiaction:

Philadelphia, Nov. 10, 1914.

American Federation of Labor, Horticultural Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Sirs: May I send my thanks for the epoch-making good your organization is accomplishing in seeking to substitute arbitration for wars? As an employer of union labor and an advocate of international peace, I feel that there is no means so potent of bringing about this end as the absolute determination of labor throughout the world to back up the movement to a man. If labor refused to go to war, we would have no wars, and nothing fosters the spirit of war so much as armaments. Success to you, therefore, and may your organization be looked upon in future generations as the organization which more than any other put an end to the mad desire of men to slaughter their brothers. Very truly yours,

GEORGE H. BORST.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I move that the communication be accepted and made part of the records of this convention.

President Gompers: If there are no objections, that course will be pursued.

The secretary read a telegram extending fraternal greetings, good wishes and congratulations of the United Garment Workers of America, signed by Henry Waxman, General Treasurer.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 9, 1914.

President Gompers, President American Federation of Labor:

The working agreeemnt between the Coopers and Brewery Workers, which is being voted on by the Coopers, through the referendum vote, is surely lost. Our members will not vote away the driving by hand of loose cooperage or the making of hoops.

W. R. DEAL,
International Secretary-Treasurer.

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 10, 1914.

The American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.

RESOLVED, That we, the officers and delegates of the Eight-hour League, representatives of the various unions of the city and county of San Francisco, California, respectfully petition your honorable body to appeal to the various political parties to have inserted in their platforms a universal eight-hour law, as unionism teaches and obligates its members to improve the conditions of the toilers for humanity's sake. At the California election, held November 3, 1914, more than 250,000 voters have answered the call for unionism by casting their ballots for the universal eight-hour law. Considering the strong opposition against this measure, it was a magnificent vote, and only a temporary defeat. Hoping your honorable body will recognize the necessity of concerted action, we beg to remain, fraternally yours,

HUGO ERNST,
President.
M. P. CHRISTENSEN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Delegate Gallagher, San Francisco, stated that the subject-matter contained in the telegram was worthy of the attention of some committee. The speaker described briefly the campaign for the eight-hour day that had been conducted in California, and moved that the telegram be referred to a committee.

President Gompers referred the telgram to the Committee on Resolutions.

President Gompers stated that three telegrams had been received from Washington, Montana and Idaho, dealing with a subject that had not as yet been pre-

Digitized by Google

sented to the chairman, and they would be held until the original subject they purported to endorse had been presented.

Hosiery Workers' Local Union, No. 696, Philadelphia, extended a cordial invitation to the delegates to attend the sixth annual ball of that organization, to be held at Quartette Hall, Germantown Avenue, on Friday evening, November 13th.

The following resolutions were submitted to the chairman and referred to the various committees:

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Maurice De Young, of the Brooklyn, N. Y., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Many local unions of National and International Unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, are not affiliated with the central bodies of their respective cities; and are, therefore, not carrying their share of the burden of maintaining powerful and efficient Central Labor Unions of the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Philadelphia convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs its Executive Council to earnestly request the next convention of each affiliated national or international union to amend its constitution so as to provide: That its local unions must affiliate with the central bodies of the A. F. of L. in their respective localities (where no such provision in their constitution already exists), and that said national or international unions shall voluntarily delegate to the American Federation of Labor full power and authority to pass necessary laws and adopt suitable means to enforce the above provision against their local unions.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate George M. Henderson, of the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It is our belief that the labor press has done much to clarify public thought and impart correct impressions of the purposes and policies of the workers; and

WHEREAS, The men who give their time to these papers are performing a work very necessary to the success of the organized labor movement; and

WHEREAS, We believe the use of the registered seals of the American Federation of Labor or of any of its departments printed in these publications is a temptation to those employed in the solicitation of advertisements to turn aside from honest business methods for the handful of silver; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention condemn the use of these seals by privately owned labor papers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all State bodies and city central bodies be notified of this action, and that the departments of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to notify councils in the various cities to take up any seals now being printed in privately owned labor papers, and to hold these seals for use only on stationery or printing officially issued by them.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, of the Workingmen's State Federation of Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, The suggestion of President Gompers to secure the appointment of a commission to make a congressional investigation into the affairs and conditions of the island of Porto Rico was accepted with great satisfaction by all the people of the island; and

WHEREAS, This investigation may do much to improve the deplorable industrial conditions as well as for the perfection of a democratic government, and for the justice and betterment of the wage earners of the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention of the A. F. of L. assembled that the president of the A. F. of L. be earnestly recommended to request the President of the United States or the Congress, or both, to appoint a commission as soon as possible with authority to investigate the deplorable industrial conditions as well as the general governmental affairs of the island, especially in the questions affecting education, health and sanitation; economic and living conditions of the working masses of Porto Rico, land and financial resources, and to ascertain if it is true that the federal, as well as the organic law, has been continually violated by the big corporations which exploit the people of the island.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth, of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, On behalf of the organized farmers, Congressman Casey, of Pennsylvania, has introduced a bill in Congress (H. R. 17,855), providing for the establishment of an industrial alcohol commission and an appropriation to demonstrate the practical value of farm denatured alcohol distilling and guide the development of the industry in its early stages; and

WHEREAS, The development of farm denatured alcohol distilling, if as effective as its advocates claim, and as scientific investigation and the experience of European countries would indicate, would curtail if not destroy the monopoly of the liquid fuel supply by the Oil Trust, of the meat supply

Digitized by Google

by the packers, and of alcohol as a solvent in many industries by the industrial alcohol and wood alcohol trusts; and

WHEREAS, The evidence submitted to Congress is conclusive that fully 1000 supposed employes of the Agricultural Department are paid from the Rockefeller Educational Fund of the Rockefeller Foundation; and

WHEREAS, The Rockefeller Foundation, with its various educational funds, is evidently the means by which the entire educational system of the nation, including the educational and demonstration work of the States and federal government, are to be dominated by the Rockefeller interests; and

WHEREAS, The John D. Rockefeller Endowment of the Rockefeller Foundation, the interest on which supplies the various Rockefeller educational funds, is invested in the stocks and bonds of corporations, notably those controlled by the Rockefeller interests, conspicuous among which is the Colorado Industrial Company; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual session assembled, indorses the Casey Bill, H. R. 17,855, or legislation of similar import, acceptable to the organized farmers, supporting the Casey Bill, for the establishment of an industrial alcohol commission and an appropriation by Congress to demonstrate conclusively the practicability of farm alcohol distilling; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That all organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L. be, and hereby are, urged to assist in making these resolutions effective.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher, of the San Francisco Labor Council:

Mr. John A. O'Connell, Secretary, San Francisco Labor Council, San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sir and Brother: The Newspaper Solicitors' Union has for the past six years been like a football, kicked all over a ten-acre lot—and at the same time not kicked exactly over the fence surrounding said lot. The treatment received has measured exactly with the progress of the union—that is, the opposition within the labor movement as well as lack of co-operation, has prohibited the progress of the union. In fact the conditions for solicitors are far worse today than six years ago.

Therefore it is time that this union be given official information as to its exact status from every standpoint. For the purpose of ascertaining this knowledge the Newspaper Solicitors' Union submits the following for this Council's delegate to the Philadelphia American Federation of Labor Convention to place before that body and receive the convention's reply thereto:

1. What is the status of Newspaper Solicitors' Union, No. 12,766, as an affiliated union of the A. F. of L.?

2. The Publishers' Association of San Francisco has for six years refused to deal with or recognize the Newspaper Solicitors' Union. Resolution No. 29, Atlanta convention of the A. F. of L., in 1911, demanded that the Publishers' Association of San Francisco deal with and recognize the Newspaper Solicitors' Union. Written requests by the A. F. of L. to the Publishers' Association relative to this demand have received no consideration. What is the A. F. of L. going to do to bring about compliance with these demands?

3. The Allied Printing Trades unions, some of them singly, or through their affiliations, have at all times opposed and retarded any action of the Newspaper Solicitors' Union tending to coerce the Publishers' Association into recognizing the union. These unions have never assisted or co-operated with the Newspaper Solicitors' Union for the purpose of assisting this union, working in the same industry with them, to gain union recognition and conditions. What is the A. F. of L. going to do to stop this opposition and to gain the co-operation of these unions to assist the Newspaper Soliciters' Union in unionizing the newspapers of the Pulbishers' Association of San Francisco?

4. The directly chartered unions of the A. F. of L. pay a large percentage of the operating expenses of the A. F. of L. and receive practically no support in return from the A. F. of L. What is the A. F. of L. going to do to correct this existing condition?

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

Newspaper Solicitors' Union, No. 12,766.

(Signed) WILLIAM T. BONSOR, President.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegates Benj. Schlesinger, Sol. Polakoff, Elmer Rosenberg, H. Kleiman, J. Holpern, Alfred LaPorta, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The task of organizing the workers engaged in the needle trades is attended by extraordinary difficulties on account of the seasonable character of the work and other unfavorable conditions of employment, and yet in the face of all these difficulties the organization in the needle industry has of recent years made extraordinary progress;

WHEREAS, It is the desire of the American Federation of Labor to encourage the growth, insure the stability and aid in the success of this industry;

WHEREAS, A division has occurred among the members of the United Garment Workers of America when closer alliance should prevail in order to protect and promote the interests of the

Digitized by Google

workers by uniting and strengthening the organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee of five from among the delegates to this convention with instructions to investigate the matter above referred to, and endeavor to bring about unity and a thorough organization of all who properly come under the jurisdiction of the United Garment Workers of America; and the committee is further instructed to investigate and to report as to the feasibility of establishing a department of the A. F. of L. in the needle industries, the committee to report to the Executive Council at the earliest possible time.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 42—By Henry J. Lohse, of the Essex Trades Council, Newark, N. J.:

WHEREAS, There are about thirty thousand organized workers in the City of Newark, N. J., and its vicinity within a radius of five miles; and

WHEREAS, In this territory there are about fifty thousand unorganized workers, with an equal number scattered throughout the State, who are eligible to membership in the various national organizations; and

WHEREAS, This vast body of unorganized workers, or at least 50 per cent. of them, could be enrolled as members of the organized labor movement by an energetic campaign, which can only be carried on by having an organizer devote his time and skill exclusively to this locality; and

WHEREAS, The Essex Trades Council has instructed its delegate to this convention to urge the Federation to take up the work of organizing the unorganized workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to assign an organizer to the State of New Jersey, with headquarters in Newark, for a period of one year, for the purpose of assisting the various trades unions in bringing about the complete organization of the unorganized workers.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate John J. Pfeiffer and W. E. Bryan, of the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods:

The following resolution is primarily intended to aid the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods in their difficult struggle to increase their membership, having suffered a material decrease by reason of a general strike during the year 1910, and to also gain the universal eight-hour day. Manufacturers, in reprisal, demanded of mechanics in the trade that they cease to be members or refrain from becoming members as a condition of retaining or getting employment; and

WHEREAS, The above-named organization is confronted with the National Saddlery Manufacturers' Association, engaged in an effort to disrupt the union of the workers; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Leather Workers can only successfully compete with existing conditions through a strong organization among the mechanics in the trade; and

WHEREAS, The members of labor unions are not the purchasers of our product; but the employers with whom you deal, or are in conflict with, are the direct customers; therefore, only your influence can be brought to bear in assisting us in our most difficult undertaking; and

WHEREAS, The purpose of the movement is for the strong to assist the weak, we come to you at this time asking your co-operation and assistance, confident in our minds that you will gladly extend to us your best efforts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, It being in harmony with the purposes of the labor movement and within the scope of our efforts, all members of organized labor are hereby requested to demand that all goods delivered at your house, or transported by horse-drawn vehicles be done under union conditions, the horse equipment bearing the label of the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to transmit a copy of this resolution to all affiliated State Federations, city central bodies, national and international unions, requesting the proper officers of said organizations to likewise transmit copies of the resolution to their affiliated unions recommending its adoption, and report the action thereon to the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate James O'Connell:

WHEREAS, The Resolution Committee, at the Seattle Convention, reported on Resolution No. 50, page 327 of the proceedings, as follows::

Secretary Golden: Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor report to the next convention all the facts in connection with the subject-matter contained in this resolution should any organization fail to comply with its provisions. Your committee further recommends that all organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor refrain from accepting advertising matter calculated to promote the sale of products of the York Manufacturing Company until such time as this company recog-

Digitized by Google

nizes the lawful right of its employes to become members of their respective trade unions; and,

WHEREAS, The question of jurisdiction over the installation and erection of this work, and the apparent disregard for the action taken by the Seattle Convention on the said resolution have been the dominant causes for our failure to bring about the organization of the York Manufacturing Company's plant; and,

WHEREAS, The organizing of this and other plants engaged in the manufacture of ice and refrigerator machinery is of so much importance to the Metal Trades and the movement in general; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, declares that in the event of the failure on the part of those international organizations claiming jurisdiction over the erection and installation of this work to agree on a neutral policy during the life of this campaign of organization in this industry, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor cause to have issued a circular letter to all Central Bodies, Building and Metal Trades Councils, setting forth that every man carrying a union card, regardless of the organization he may be a member of, or what their jurisdiction claims might be, must refrain from taking any part in the installation of the products of the York Manufacturing Company until such time as they are advised to the contrary.

Referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate James O'Connell:

WHEREAS, A great many positions requiring skilled labor on the Panama Canal are now held by aliens, our contention is that the first duty of the American government is the welfare of its own citizens, and that, therefore, all such positions should at all times be filled by American citizens only; and,

WHEREAS, Some of the positions now held by aliens are as follows: planing-mill machine operators, bench carpenters, roundhouse carpenters, car inspectors, Panama Railroad, boiler-shop machine operators on punch and shears, rolls, drill presses, pneumanic hammers and air motors, blacksmiths in shops at Balboa, Christobal, P. R. R.; blacksmiths and sheet metal workers on field work; and,

WHEREAS, The present manner of apportioning the work, resulting in many cases in hiring men in the United States and having them journey to the Isthmus for a short period of employment, and then laying them off on account of "lack of work," causes a financial loss to those accepting employment on the canal; and,

WHEREAS, As all appointees to the service are required to furnish satisfactory recommendation as to their ability, are in many cases put to considerable expense on account of the great distance to the point of embarkation; are put to other expenses incident to the expectation of a sojourn in a tropical country, and are compelled to sever their previous vocational connections, they should be guaranteed at least six months' employment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we protest against all rental propositions, present and prospective, as this means an indirect reduction in wages and salaries; and, moreover, as regards the construction force, we consider rental charges as a breach of the agreement reached to continue the present scale of wages and salaries until April 1, 1916; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use every means at its command in order to maintain the conditions of employment for all employes on the Canal Zone existing prior to April 1, 1914.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate John F. English, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, By an act of Congress approved May 11, 1908, enlisted musicians in the Army and Navy of the United States of America are prohibited from entering into competition with civilian musicians; and,

WHEREAS, The then Attorney General, Charles Bonaparte, decided that this act of Congress did not apply to the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., because the Marine Corps, so he alleged, was not a part of the navy; and,

WHEREAS, Since this decision, the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., the best paid and provided for enlisted band in the world, has continued to monopolize the music business of the District of Columbia, to the detriment of the civilian musicians of the District, and is continually interfering in the business of the musicians of the whole country by offering its services for expositions, state fairs and other prominent functions, with a view of excluding the civilian musicians of the various states from such employment; and,

WHEREAS, Owing to the fact that the Marine Band, or sections thereof, is frequently furnished free for social functions given by men prominent in the affairs of the nation, high political and social influence is always brought to bear to defeat any effort to confine this band to its legitimate duties, as every other enlisted band is; and,

WHEREAS, It is within the prerogatives of the President of the United States of America, as Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, to issue an order restraining the Marine Band from entering the competitive field against the civilian musicians in or out of the District of Columbia; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we respectfully request his Excellency Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, as Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, to issue the necessary order prohibiting the Marine Band, of Washington, D. C., from interfering with the professional engagements of the civilian musicians either in or out of the District

Digitized by Google

of Columbia, as intended by the law approved May 11, 1908, which was arbitrarily set aside by a questionable decision of the then Attorney General of the United States; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution, signed by the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, with its seal attached, be forwarded to the President of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate John F. English, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The conditions existing at the L. S. Starrett Tool Manufacturing Company, of Athol, Mass., have recently become such that the Central Labor Union of Athol has issued the following statement: "To whom it may concern: In answer to many inquiries received the Athol Central Labor Union desires to state that the L. S. Starrett Company, of Athol, Mass., gave up the use of the Machinists' union label three years ago. At the present time the company is only working four days per week. Recently the company has introduced piece work and has expressed its intention of extending the same to other departments. The president of the local Machinists' Union has been discharged, after working for the company for seven years, and it is very evident that the policy of the company is to operate its plant under non-union conditions." In view of the above statement; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention does its utmost to make known to the mechanics of this country and other countries the unfair attitude of the L. S. Starrett Company, in order that unscrupulous dealers may not attempt to sell its products as union-made goods; and be it further

RESOLVED, That our delegate to the next convention of the A. F. of L. be instructed to bring this matter to the notice of the convention.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegates S. E. Heberling, F. J. Sheehan and J. B. Connors, of the Switchmen's Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The policy of the American Federation of Labor is to protect affiliated unions against the encroachments of non-affiliated unions, as set forth by the constitution governing the A. F. of L. wherein it forbids the seating of delegates representing non-affiliated unions in state and central bodies which are hostile to any affiliated organization; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention assembled instruct the Executive Council to enforce a strict observance of the constitution and notify all state organizations and central labor unions that delegates from non-affiliated organizations are ineligible as delegates to said bodies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegates Ed. F. McGovern, Peter Cook, Joseph McDermott, Chas. Smith, of the Operative Plasterers' International Association:

WHEREAS, At a convention of the Operative Plasterers' International Association, held in the city of Washington, D. C., from September 28th to October 7th, inclusive, the conditions existing in the Panama Canal zone were brought to the attention of the delegates; and

WHEREAS, Section 5 of the manual of information, "Panama Canal Service," provides as follows: "All persons employed in the Panama Canal service who receive $75 a month, or 40 cents an hour, must be citizens of the United States or of the Republic of Panama, and such citizens will be given preference for employment in all grades;" and

WHEREAS, The facts as they have been authentically demonstrated to us are that in hiring in the canal zone the practice prevails that so-called plasterers, natives of the West Indies, are given preference over practical journeymen plasterers, natives and citizens of the United States, that these aliens, so-called plasterers, are paid a wage ranging from 20 cents to 30 cents per hour, while the wages of the American plasterers are 75 cents per hour. We feel that this discrimination works a hardship on our skilled American mechanic, and that it is an unwarranted injustice to the citizens of the United States; and

WHEREAS, It may be true that there is an apparent saving of money, but it is not a real saving that preference in the employment of aliens, so-called plasterers, is but an incentive to teach these men the trade at the expense of the people of our country, and to supplant the American skilled mechanic; and

WHEREAS, In addition to this supplanting of American citizen-mechanics the policy, if continued, will drive American citizen-workmen from the Canal zone, and have it inhabited by aliens; and

WHEREAS, In the budget, which the Canal Commission has submitted to Congress, asking for an appropriation of $64,800, is based upon an estimate of 100 plasterers at a wage ranging from 20 cents to 30 cents per hour; and

WHEREAS, If that appropriation were made upon the basis of payment to plasterers, it simply means the employment of aliens, so-called plasterers, exclusively, and the discharge of the American citizen skilled plasterers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and is hereby instructed to protest to the Governor of the Canal zone against this unwarranted un-

Digitized by Google

American practice being continued; and be it further

RESOLVED, That they use such means as they deem best to bring about the termination of the evil complained of at the earliest possible date.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Francis L. Dujay, of the Schenectady (N. Y.) Trades Assembly:

WHEREAS, There are many employers of labor in the State of New York who have, since the passage of the Workmen's Compensation Law in that State been submitting their employes to a more or less severe form of physical examination, and giving as a cause and excuse for that action the excessive burden placed on them by reason of the enactment of the said law; and

WHEREAS, The intent and purpose of the promoters and enacters of the said law was to place the burden and the whole of it on the employers of labor and the employers of labor alone; and

WHEREAS, This scheme of physical examination is detrimental in the extreme to labor, in that it provides a means by which the employers may eliminate from employment all workers whom they might deem it to their interest to eliminate; and

WHEREAS, It is usually to the interest of the employer to remove from their employment the active members of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, If the said scheme of examination is permitted to continue, the active members of organized labor will eventually be weeded out of employment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as insisting on our affiliated national and international unions refusing to permit their membership to stand for any kind of physical examination as a consequence of the said compensation law or any other compensation law; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention also go on record as demanding that the Legislature of the said State of New York amend the said law to the end that no physical examination shall be permissible as a result of the said law, or as a qualification for employment.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate G. W. Perkins, of the Cigarmakers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Tuberculosis, an unnecessary, preventable and curable disease, annually destroys about 200,000 human lives and causes the continuous illness of at least 600,000 people, the great proportion of whom are working men and women; and

WHEREAS, Among the chief contributory causes to the unnecessary annual slaughter of so many of our fellows by this scourge are malnutrition (due to low wages), long hours of illy-paid toil, insanitary factories and working conditions, overcrowded, poorly ventilated, insanitary housing conditions, carelessness, indifference and ignorance; and

WHEREAS, The trade-union movement is doing its full duty by contributing through its existence and activities, the means by which nearly all of the foregoing contributory causes may be eradicated. Still, back of our efforts, as trade unionists, lies the splendid possibility of a public conscience, aroused to a full realization of its obligations and responsibilities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, re-declares its purpose to be even more helpful in the prevention and spread of tuberculosis, and that we endorse the publicity and educational activities of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, and that our officers be and they are hereby requested to render such assistance and helpfulness as may not be inconsistent with their official obligations in promulgating the campaign of publicity and education of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That we suggest to all officers of national and international unions a like action upon this humane, necessary and worthy activity.

Referred to the Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate G. W. Perkins, of the Cigarmakers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Many non-union manufacturers and captains of big industries constantly declare and in glowing affirmations say: "There is plenty of room at the top; save your money and become capitalists," and then directly charge that trade unions are a hindrance and a subversion of the achievement of such elevation; and

WHEREAS, It is a self-evident fact that if we could all get to the top there would be no top as it is now known, and we declare that all such platitudes have no social value; that they are not fundamentally correct; that they are valueless and really meaningless; and that they are a snare and a delusion, calculated to catch the unwary and to deceive the non-unionist, in the hope of thereby forestalling and checking the growth, development and increased usefulness of the trade-union movement; and

WHEREAS, The trade-union movement is the only means in the economic field whereby the wage earners, the workers, as a whole, can maintain and advance wages, shorten hours of labor, improve factory, mine and other working conditions, and otherwise

Digitized by Google

safeguard the interests of all wage earners; and

WHEREAS, The trade-union movement does nothing to prevent the natural advancement to positions of power and eminence of any of its members, it nevertheless holds that as an economic truism the elevation, advancement, and well-being of the great mass of workers is paramount to the advancement of a few. It seeks to impress the real fundamental truths upon the minds and in the hearts of all workers, to the end that they may have a growing knowledge of the power and usefulness that lies behind united effort, and to now and for all time elevate the economic, social and political well-being of all working men and women; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates in the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., that we denounce as false the oft-repeated assertion of non-union manufacturers and the captains of big industries, as stated in the foregoing, and that we re-declare our former declaration and assertion, that in the trade-union movement lies the only true hope, solution and means by which the wage earners, the workers, can successfully work out upon the economic field their own destinies, and in compliance with trade-union philosophy, which is grounded upon experience, up-to-date, definite, and correct political economy; and

RESOLVED, That we declare against so-called caste in the labor field, and denounce the false assertion that there is plenty of room at the top as a subterfuge set up to mislead, befog and dissuade wage earners from joining trade unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the primary purpose of the trade-union movement to elevate and advance the economic, social and political well-being of the working class as a whole, and in the accomplishment of this we are conscious of the fact that we are working for the real best interests of humankind as a whole, and the advancement of true civilization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate John F. English, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The lastmakers of Lynn, Salem and Beverly, Mass., have been organized into local unions working under a charter issued by the A. F. of L. and known as Federal Labor Union No. 14,375; and

WHEREAS, The lastmaking industry is in a deplorable condition as far as organization is concerned; and

WHEREAS, The lastmakers of the country are oppressed by the contract system, long hours of labor and poor working conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled request the Executive Council to use all honorable means to affect a complete organization of the lastmakers in the United States and Canada to the end that an international union of the craft may be brought about.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Thomas Conway, International Seamen's Union:

WHEREAS, The United States Steamboat Inspection Service, a bureau of the Department of Commerce, is required by law to provide for safeguards to life and property in the navigation of steam vessels, and

WHEREAS, Organizations of the maritime workers, particularly the International Seamen's Union of America, have found that the Steamboat Inspection Service has failed in its duty to the public under previous national administrations, and that it has not been improved since the inauguration of the present administration, and

WHEREAS, A number of the marine disasters which have occurred recently could have been prevented, or the losses minimized, if the United States Steamboat Inspection Service had performed its full duty under the law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this thirty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Hon. Wm. C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, is hereby requested to cause an investigation to be made of the said Steamboat Inspection Service with a view of making such changes in the methods of that bureau, as to make it serviceable to the general public.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Thos. F. Flaherty, National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, Upon the plea of economy, the Postoffice Department has requested Congress to revoke the present law which insures postal employes a day of rest weekly; and

WHEREAS, The House Post Roads Committee, in part compliance with the department's recommendation, has reported out as a section of the Moon Bill (12,473) a provision which permits Sunday work to be rebated within thirty days instead of the present six-day rebate limit, thus making possible continuous work without relaxation of a day's rest for thirty days; and

WHEREAS, Release from toil one day in seven has always been organized labor's tenet, and this attempt of the Postal Department to deprive employes of an assured day of rest is deserving of the condemnation of the organized labor movement; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled instruct the Executive Council to assist in every way possible the officers of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in combating this or any attempt to alter, amend or revoke the present satis-

Digitized by Google

factory law which insures all postal employes a weekly day of rest.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resoluton No. 56—By Delegate J. E. Giles, of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association, No. 11,773, of Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The need of organization among office workers is as great as in any other trade, barring none of our 110 international organizations, and many of the office workers are coming to a realization of the fact that no other road will bring them to better wages and conditions than by the way of organization; and

WHEREAS, There are many thousands of men and women in the United States eligible to join an office workers' union, viz.: Stenographers, typewriters, bookkeepers and assistants, which offers an extremely fertile field for organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized to forward a letter to volunteer and paid organizers of the A. F. of L. requesting them to organize the above class of workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Thos. F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, The principle of old-age retirement for superannuated civil service employes is now generally recognized in every country in the world; and

WHEREAS, The compensation of the Government employes in the United States is insufficient to permit of adequate savings against old age; and

WHEREAS, The retirement of the aged Government employes of this country is desirable from a humane as well as a business standpoint; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the movement among the organizations of Government civil service employes to secure the enactment of a satisfactory retirement law for superannuated Federal workers; and be it further

Resolved, That the Legislative Committee be instructed to confer with affiliated bodies of Federal civil service employes to aid in the passage of a suitable retirement measure.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate William P. O'Donnell, Elevator Operators' and Porters' Union, No. 14215, Boston, Mass.:

WHEREAS, In all the larger cities of the United States and Canada there is a great number of elevator operators and janitors employed; and

WHEREAS, Only a very small percentage of these are organized, with the result that the conditions under which they are compelled to labor are most severe; that hours of labor are exceedingly long and the wages shamefully small; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Conucil be directed to instruct all organizers of the American Federation of Labor to pay particular attention to the organizing of the elevator operators, porters and janitors in their respective locations.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, A bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman David Lewis, of Maryland, provides for the reclassification of salaries of postal clerks and letter carriers, increasing the maximum to $1400 per annum in first-class postoffices and to $1300 in second-class postoffices; and

WHEREAS, The salaries of postal employes have not been increased proportionately with the higher cost of living, nor do they receive a wage commensurate with the important, exacting duties they are required to perform; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse the Lewis bill and instruct our Legislative Committee to co-operate with the officers of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks to secure this wage increase for the postal employes.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

The chairman stated that no reports of committees were ready for presentation, and suggested that a recess be taken to 4 p. m., at which time an illustrated lecture would be delivered by Colonel Bryant.

At 12.30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 4 p. m. of the same day.

Digitized by Google

THIRD DAY—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 4 o'clock p. m., Wednesday, Nov. 11th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Mullaney, Fischer, Shanessy, Kramer, Franklin, McGowen, Graham, McGuire, Sullivan (M.), Proebstle, Zepp, Sullivan (J.), Kugler, Rader, McClory, Boyer, Duffy, Metz, Gengenback, Goellnitz, Perkins, Tracy, Hill, McNulty, Cullen, Singer, Comerford, Hannahan, Moser, Glass, Healy, Shamp, Rickert, Larger, Schwarz, Altman, Schlesinger, Holpern, Polakoff, La Porta, Ring, Lawlor, Greene, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Scott (D.), McSorley, Gehring, French, Johnston, Frey, Price, Hart, Call, Daly, Valentine, Hedrick, Skemp, Watt, Bergstrom, Rau, Kearney, Clark (T. G.), Hurley, Pryor, Griffen, Gavlak, Hanley, Short, Brais, Lennon, Tobin, Hughes, Gillespie, Neer, Morris (J. J.), Williams, Hatch, Cooke, McMahon, Jones, Morris (J. P.), Horton, English, James, Graves, Conlon, Stewart, Greener, Lynn, McEachern, Young, Keppler, Obergfell, Kelly (T.), Bittner, Fahey (C. P.), Marcusy, Mueller, Sauber, Kay, Draper, Laylor, Bradley, Butler, Glynn, Canavan, Newberry, Kelly (E. H.), Hannon, Saltus, Voll, Duddy, Fahey (M.), McAndrews, Rotramel, Davies, Givens, Lyons, Bohm, Kline, Dezettel, Sherman.

In introducing Col. Lewis T. Bryant, Commissioner of Labor of the State of New Jersey, to the delegates, President Gompers addressed the convention as follows:

Two years ago, when we held our convention at Rochester, New York, Colonel Bryant delivered an address, and it was illustrated by screen and motion pictures. At the conclusion of the address the convention, by unanimous vote, expressed its appreciation and gratitude. We were all much enlightened and interested. I feel confident that I have the right to anticipate that you will feel equally so before the conclusion of this address. I have the honor and pleasure of presenting to you Colonel Bryant, Commissioner of Labor of the State of New Jersey.

In addressing the convention, Colonel Bryant spoke, in part, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Delegates to this Convention, and, I trust I may say, Friends: It gives me distinct pleasure to have this opportunity of addressing this annual meeting of the American Federation of Labor, especially as I had this privilege two years ago at Rochester, when I endeavored to point out certain betterments of factory regulations which were at that time in a more or less formative condition. At that time I endeavored to show, in theory, the regulations and preventive requirements to further safeguard the life and limb and health of the factory workers. I now say that I am particularly pleased, after two years of practical demonstration of these requirements, to appear before you today and to show you the tangible results, the practical workings of what was, at that time, more or less a theory.

Many students of the subject classify the relative importance of safeguarding the life, limb and health of the workers in accordance with what would seem to be the most striking significance following the order of prevention of fire hazards, the safeguarding of dangerous machinery, and, lastly, the elimination of industrial diseases. Experience, however, would certainly appear to demonstrate that the relative dangers arising from these various subjects would warrant the reverse classication, placing the risk of industrial diseases and general insanitary conditions as the most prevalent and important problems confronting the worker of this country.

It is quite possible for one to be employed in a veritable fire trap for centuries without incurring any danger or inconvenience, and the worker may, by exercising great care, follow his employment surrounded by dangerous machinery without injury; but the very nature of the industrial disease hazards makes it absolutely impossible for the worker to be subjected to insanitary or unhealthful conditions without being contaminated to a greater or lesser degree. As compared to any progressive nation in this world, the United States has given little or no thought to the matter of industrial disease, and until very recently the hazards which are well understood and recognized in such industrial countries as England, Germany, France, Austria and Belgium, have been classied as "The Risks of the Trade," and it has been presumed that any one undertaking certain types of employment must of necessity be subjected to injuries to health which might be incident thereto.

If it were possible to secure the complete statistics of men, women and children in this country who have had their health impaired and lives materially shortened by employment under conditions which were preventable by the exercise of intelligence and comparatively small cost, the totals would be far more appalling than the losses during the present European war. It has been calculated that out of our normal industrial army of probably 36,000,000 workers, there are about 3,000,000 incapacitated for full service, and it is further calculated that, of this 3,000,000, one-third are from absolutely preventable causes, and about one-third more through causes probably controllable.

It is, therefore, apparent that this is a problem of equal interest to the employer

Digitized by Google

and the employe, or it is to the interest of this country to recognize the fact that it is quite as important for them to keep their men in the same state of high efficiency as their machinery; and, further, that there is a very decided difficulty in the work performed by a man who is simply negatively well and the man who is enjoying the fullest degree of health. In this day we read much of the efficiency expert, and I know of no field which presents greater opportunities for his efforts than that of scientically surrounding workers with conditions calculated to keep them in a condition fit to perform their best service.

When considering the great problem of industrial disease, I do not for one moment intend to underestimate the importance of protecting the workers from the hazards of unguarded machinery or other dangerous conditions, nor would I for a moment belittle the importance of full protection from the fire hazard. The importance of safeguarding the worker may best be gathered from the statement that for every fifteen seconds of a twenty-four-hour day some workman is injured, and for every sixteen minutes of a twenty-four-hour day some member of the industrial army is killed. These figures are the more lamentable when authorities generally concede that at least 40 per cent. of these accidents are within the preventable class. The total loss in this country from the fire hazard is appalling and worthy of the greatest consideration.

This country has been recently alarmed from the partial loss of returns from its present cotton crop, and yet the fire loss in this country and Canada, plus the cost of maintaining the fire departments of these two countries, represent a total equal to twice our annual cotton crop. If all the houses destroyed in these two countries in one year were placed on both sides of a continuous avenue, it would reach from New York to Chicago, and for each one thousand feet of the way you would find some one injured, and for each three-quarters of a mile some one killed.

The recent fires in the cities of Newark, New York and Binghamton illustrate the necessity of taking every reasonable precaution for the protection of factory workers. I am always impressed when in the presence of a gathering of this character, by the wonderful opportunities you have for improving the working conditions for such a vast army of employes. I am not going to say one word to belittle your efforts in the matter of securing higher wages or shorter hours, but I do insist that the conditions under which these hours are employed and those wages earned is, in the ultimate analysis, of far greater importance. In the Book which none of us read as often as we might, it is stated that "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" It does seem to me that this Biblical injunction could be re-written in a manner which would warrant its incorporation on the emblems of the union movement, "What doth it profit a man if he gain the highest wage and lose his own health?"

It does seem to me that in addition to having the opportunity to perform this work, you ladies and gentlemen who are recognized leaders of the union movement in this country have a decided obligation resting upon you to educate the members of your union as to the importance of employment under healthful conditions and to promote a spirit of co-operation between the workers and the employers with this end in view. The old question of apparent risk has been abolished in all progressive workingmen's compensation legislation, and yet I am afraid that the minds of the average worker still retains the exceptance of the risk adherent to the trade.

This whole matter of protecting the worker from industrial disease is surrounded by some people with an air of mystery, but when all the technicalities are removed it is summed up in the proper removal of dust, noxious fumes and excessive heat and in both the possession and use of adequate washing facilities. It is, of course, assumed that proper light and air are furnished. Statistics compiled by one of the polishers and buffers within the State show that for the nine years between 1904 and 1913, the number of deaths from tuberculosis has been decreased from the ratio of 50 per 1000 to 4 per 1000.

You union men know that if you would make an analysis of the various trades, you will find tangible evidence of industrial disease. It is a well-known fact that the printers maintain a large home in Colorado; that the printing pressmen maintain a similar home in Tennessee, and that the potters are about to provide a sanitarium for their afflicted workmen. If you will visit the factories where buffing and polishing is performed without adequate exhaust apparatus, you will find men who are paying the penalty for following this occupation. In our own State we have a case of a hatter afflicted with mercurial shakes to such an extent that it is necessary for him to wheel a baby coach before him on his way to work. Do you not think it would be more reasonable and proper for the union of which he was a member to have insisted upon working conditions which would have prevented this affliction rather than simply to be content when a decreased day and an increased wage had been secured?

I have said that in my opinion the trade unions have a wonderful opportunity, and I believe that this opportunity should be undertaken in a systematic manner. It would seem to me entirely practical for you to take up an educational campaign among your members and acquaint them with the hazards of their several occupations and the best methods for correcting improper conditions. If you could secure the services of instructors who would go from State to State illustrat-

Digitized by Google

ing the dangers incident to certain occupations and the accepted methods for overcoming them, much good could be accomplished. Unfortunately, manufacturers in some of the progressive States of this country are placed at a practical disadvantage against their competitors in other States by reason of the fact that they are required to expend considerable sums of money in promoting the safety and health of their operators. The same condition exists along these lines as is prevalent in the matter of child labor, and the same necessity exists for uniform regulations throughout the various States.

Another assistance which could be rendered by the trade-union movement is in the collection of industrial statistics. This country is especially deficient in the matter of industrial statistics and if the various unions would compile statistics showing the sickness and deaths among their members, the information obtainable would be more serviceable than any industrial statistics at present obtainable. They would also demonstrate the necessity for further protection to workers in the various industries.

The address of Colonel Bryant was interspersed by stereopticon views, which were explained to the delegates by the speaker, followed by moving pictures of fire prevention and fire-fighting methods instituted at different industrial establishments in the State of New Jersey, together with views of fire drills, etc.

At the conclusion of Colonel Bryant's address, the usual committee announcements were made and President Gompers introduced Chairman Feeney, of the local committee on arrangements, who informed the delegates that pursuant to the suggestion of President Gompers on the first day of the convention, the committee on arrangements had decided to suggest to the convention the holding of memorial services for the late P. J. McGuire, in the convention hall, on Sunday, November 15th, from 2 to 4 o'clock p. m.

A delegate suggested that the memorial services be extended to include the late George Chance, and President Gompers requested the chairman of the committee to take notice.

President Gompers: The chair is in receipt of a statement that Mr. Jeff. Davis, International President of the Itinerant Workers' Union, commonly known as the "Hoboes" of America, is present, and desires the privilege of addressing the convention. President Gompers further stated that if there were no objections, the request would be complied with.

No objections appearing, President Davis was escorted to the platform and explained to the delegates at considerable length the objects of the organization, its scope and membership and what it hoped to accomplish. He appealed to the delegates for assistance in their respective localities in repealing what is commonly known as the Vagrant Laws, stating that the enforcement of such laws tended to make legalized scabs of the unemployed and itinerant workers of the country.

At the conclusion of President Davis' remarks, President Gompers announced that the hour of adjournment had passed, and that the convention stood adjourned until Thursday morning, November 12th, at 9.30 o'clock.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate G. M. Henderson, of the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor, and Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The State of Maryland is a fertile field for the work of organization of men and women workers; and

WHEREAS, It is the purpose of the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor to inaugurate a labor forward movement during the spring the spring of 1915, in the city of Baltimore, Md.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to co-operate with the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor in an endeavor to make this movement a success, that an experienced organizer of the American Federation of Labor be placed in full charge and that international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be urged to send in representatives in order to press this movement to a successful conclusion.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Henry Nolda, of the Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The question of housing facilities in the cities of this country has, owing to the congested population become a problem of obtaining comfortable sanitary houses for the working people at a reasonable rental, and has reached an acute stage, so as to demand that necessary measures must be taken through our various state and city governments to correct this fast-approaching evil; and

WHEREAS, This problem has been solved in other countries through government aid, in the form of government loans, under proper safeguards to enable the working people to build houses of their own and government-owned houses which are rented at a reasonable figure; and

WHEREAS, The health of the whole community is best conserved through the proper sanitary living of its people, which can only be brought about through sanitary dwellings; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the Thirty-fourth Convention of the American

Digitized by Google

Federation of Labor record itself as being in favor of the passage of laws that will bring about a system of government loans of money for municipal and private ownership of sanitary houses, and that we request the United States Government at Washington to pass such legislation as will serve as a model to the various cities of this country.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate Henry Nolda, of the Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, Legislation has been enacted by several of our States commonly known as Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Act; and

WHEREAS, The City of Washington, District of Columbia, is governed by the House and Senate of the United States, whose duty it is to pass laws affecting the interests of its citizens; and

WHEREAS, The City of Washington is without this humane and much-needed law at the present time; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed through the Executive Council to lend their aid toward the passage of legislation that will bring about a model employers' liability and workman compensation law for the working people of the District of Columbia.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate James H. Hatch, of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Upholsterers and mattress makers employed on furniture and mattresses, railway car upholstering and automobile upholstering are required to use for filling materials containing a great amount of dust, which is extremely injurious to the health of those employed in the industry, and is largely the cause of a considerable portion of the members of the craft being affected with tuberculosis; and

WHEREAS, If this material was picked in a separate room from that which is used as a workshop, the picking room to have installed a blower and all of the work consisting of picking to be performed by persons employed for that purpose and who are not employed as upholsterers or mattress makers. The unhealthy conditions prevailing on account of the great amount of dust raised in the workrooms when the picking is done in the workshop would be avoided, and because of this fact it would reduce the amount of sickness and early deaths caused because of the present unsanitary arrangement existing in many of the upholstery workshops; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor instruct all State and Central Bodies affiliated to use their influence in order to have laws passed in different States requiring that workrooms in which upholsterers and mattress makers are employed on furniture, mattresses, railway cars and automobiles shall have the filling material picked under conditions as provided in this resolution.

Referred to Commitee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate James H. Hatch, of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Mattresses are manufactured from all kinds and classes of material irrespective of the source from which they are obtained or without regard for the health of either those employed in the manufacturing of mattresses or people who purchase them for their use, and

WHEREAS, The working people especially usually purchase the cheaper grade of mattresses, which contains a filling known as shoddy. The material from which it is made consists of discarded clothing and rags picked up everywhere, including the public dumps. Other filling used is hair taken from mattresses which have been thrown out, very likely because of the fact that they had been used by people affected with contagious diseases. When they reach the public dumps they are taken possession of by the dump trimmers, who sell this old hair to unscrupulous manufacturers, who make it up into mattresses and sell them as new material, whereas as a matter of fact if the public was aware of the source from which much of the material used in the filling of mattresses was obtained, it would under no circumstances purchase a mattress made up from old or second-hand material or shoddy; and

WHEREAS, New York State and the State of California have adopted laws which prevent the use of some of the materials complained of, and require that mattresses filled with shoddy shall be so labeled in order to at least warn the public in advance what material is used in the filling of mattresses of this character; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor instruct all State and Central Bodies to use their influence to have laws passed in each State prohibiting materials that are injurious to the health of the people from being used for the fillings of mattresses.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate Earl G. Galloway, of the Granite City, Ill., Tri-City Central Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The American Steel Foundries resumed operation April 20th under the open-shop policy, and reduced the wages from 3 to 12 cents an hour. This action of the company was at once brought before the Central Trades Council. There was a committee appointed by the different trades involved in the reduction in wages to meet with the company, to try and adjust matters. The committee went before the company, the company would

Digitized by Google

not meet with the committee, and told the chairman they had no grievance with their men, and if the men felt mistreated to come in as individuals and they would talk with them; and

WHEREAS, The committee reported back and called a special meeting to take definite action. The different trades met and voted to take joint action against the company; and

WHEREAS, A strike was called against the American Steel Foundries and left in the hands of the joint committee of the trades to settle, asking for the former wages to be restored; and

WHEREAS, Pickets were placed on the picket line to induce men not to work under a living wage. The company shipped in strike breakers and gunmen to take the place of the strikers which were composed of machinists, electricians, cranemen, blacksmiths, pattern filers, patternmakers and pipe fitters. They harbored these thugs in the plant; and

WHEREAS, We asked the molders to come out and not work with such animals as those. Thev immediately called a special meeting of the local of molders and by unanimous vote voted to come out, and they sent their vote and wishes to the National Executive Board of the molders' organization, but the Board did not act for some time, but later sent their vice-president, Mr. Wilkerson, to investigate the situation; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Wilkerson held a meeting of the molders. I received a letter from Mr. Wilkerson, signed by the committee. If the trades would put up a bond so as to satisfy them that they mean business, then the moulders would refrain from working with scabs and gunmen. We claim that such action is detrimental to organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The company and their friend, Hon. Judge J. Otis Humphrey, issued an injunction against the Tri-City Central Trade and Labor Council and all of its affiliated bodies and members, but still the molders went on working with the gunmen;

Therefore, delegates of this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, we contend that trade autonomy is detrimental to the labor movement; and therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Section 2, of Article II, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be changed to read: The establishment of national and international trades unions, based upon strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies, except when the majority of trades affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, working for a firm or corporation having a just grievance with the company or corporation, the rest of the trades must co-operate with their fellow-workers and brothers.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Louis Goazion, of the Monongahela Valley Trades Council:

WHEREAS, Prominent officials of labor organizations use their influence to help elect to public office men whose record has been condemned by the officers of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we favor starting a strictly Union Labor Party under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate Henry Nolda, of the Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The splendid growth and the high standing of the American Federation of Labor in this country has been brought about largely through the intelligent leadership of the President, Samuel Gompers, and the indefatigable work on the part of its Secretary, Frank Morrison; and

WHEREAS, The salaries paid these officials in comparison with salaries paid to officials occupying positions of far less importance and responsibility in our industrial establishments is much too small; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That on and after January 1, 1915, the salary of the President of the A. F. of L. be made $7500 per year, and that of the Secretary of the A. F. of L. be made $5000 per year.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate William McPherson, of the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Manufacturers' Association, the Mine Owners' Association and other organizations opposed to organized labor and all that organized labor stands for, have and maintain in their employ an army of spies and gunmen; and,

WHEREAS, The spies are used in the large industrial and manufacturing centres to prevent, discourage and disrupt labor organizations; and,

WHEREAS, In recent industrial struggles, such as have taken place in West Virginia, Michigan and Colorado, armed thugs, criminals and gunmen have been used and are being used to crush organized labor; and,

WHEREAS, These armies of spies and gunmen, operating in the guise of detective agencies, do all in their power to promote and prolong industrial strife, in order that they may furnish an excuse for their existence and enrich themselves; and,

WHEREAS, These so-called detective agencies have grown in size and number until they constitute a nuisance that is a

Digitized by Google

stench in the nostrils of all honest men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., through its national, international, state and central bodies, conduct an energetic campaign, to the end that laws may be enacted by both the nation and the States limiting the activities of all detective agencies to the tracing of crime and criinals and barring them out of all lawful organizations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the A. F. of L. appoint a committee of five, whose duty it shall be to study and investigate the methods and tactics used by detective and strike-breaking agencies and devise a definite program of action which can be carried out by all labor organizations in such a manner as to counteract effectively the efforts of spies and gunmen to tear down the structure of unionism; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all national, international, state and central bodies render all assistance possible to this committee; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this committee render a report to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. not later than August 1, 1915, and that copies of said report be transmitted to all national, international, state and central bodies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate Thos. F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, Many clerks are compelled to work nights in the postoffices at high tension and under conditions that impair their mental and physical well-being; and,

WHEREAS, The Postoffice Department grants no recognition either by a wage or a time differential to the clerks working nights; and,

WHEREAS, The British postal service has long recognized a seven-hour tour for night workers, and our government, in its printing office in Washington, grants night workers a 20 per cent. wage differential; and,

WHEREAS, There is pending before Congress the Palmer-Lewis bills, which seek to grant a time differential of fifteen minutes in every hour worked by postal employes between 6 p. m. and 6 a. m., and which will operate to minimize night work by confining it to the distribution and dispatch of important mail; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, indorse the Palmer-Lewis bills and instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the officers of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in urging the enactment of this legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate David S. Jones, of the Michigan State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It has been fully demonstrated by experience that the United Cigar Stores are selling at their stores all the different brands of cigars and tobacco made by the American Cigar and Tobacco Trust in their non-union cigar and tobacco factories, and are known as the enemies and oppressors of the union shop, and union labor, and will not allow the working men and women in their employ to become members of the Cigar Makers' International Union and the Tobacco Workers' International Organization; membership of these labor unions standing for the education of the child in our school and not as a wage slave for John D. Rockefeller and other idle millionaires—owners of the American Cigar and Tobacco Trust. Those international organizations are trying very hard to deliver the little children from the cruel jaws of the inhuman monster. We stand for organization and justice, and for only grown men and women to be employed in all cigar and tobacco factories; and

WHEREAS, The local unions of cigarmakers and tobacco workers of the great State of Michigan desire to call the attention of organized labor to the fact that there are many of the United Cigar Stores in the cities and towns of this State that are owned by the American Cigar and Tobacco Trust; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention, stand with the union cigar and tobacco manufacturers, who allow men and women to join their local unions, and we promise to help the cause of the cigarmakers' and tobacco workers' unions by always demanding cigars and tobacco bearing the union label; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at its Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, go on record in declaring the American Cigar and Tobacco Trust and United Cigar Stores unfair to the labor movement, and that the delegates in sustaining and indorsing the action of the cigarmakers and tobacco workers are acting in the best interests of union labor; and that friends of labor should remain away from the United Cigar Stores and that trade unionists should advocate the purchase of union-made cigars and tobacco by organized labor unions. Safety First—Always Safety—Union Labels.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate David S. Jones, of the Michigan State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The American Cigar and Tobacco Trust and the money-mad owners of Detroit cheap non-union cigar traps are making a fortune through dividends piled up by children's hands and the half-grown girl labor. "The only animal alive that lives upon its young" (Child Labor). These poor children are victims of circumstances—many of these children are all but pennilless and work their little fingers to the bone in order to make millions for the owners of De-

Digitized by Google

troit cheap non-union cigar factories; and

WHEREAS, Detroit has the cheapest non-union child-labor cigar traps in the United States, a down-trodden class of cigar workers, powerless, underpaid, overworked, who have nothing to say as to what they should receive in wages, hours or shop conditions. The money-mad owners support these bad non-union conditions that lead to low wages. A foreman working for the San Telmo non-union cigar factory made the statement that a married woman working in the San Telmo cigar trap for about two years worked Saturday but did not come to work Monday and became the mother of a new-born babe Tuesday. When these half-grown girls are through with their day's work they are forced to give one cigar with each hundred they make. Girls roll from 700 to 800 per day or more. Cigar girls rolling 4000 cigars in one week under this system are forced to give 40 cigars to the firm without pay. In view of the fact that there are 52 weeks which she works during the year, the victim makes 2080 cigars for her money-mad masters, and has the privilege of working another year in order to keep the wolf from the door. This foreman admitted he was a slave driver, and that he received orders and a lecture every night from the man higher up in office "Speed up —speed up" the girl, and to make it his business to locate homes where young girls were living and to get them to come to work in the San Telmo non-union cigar trap in order that he might snatch the girl from school and her home; and

WHEREAS, The Detroit "News-Tribune," Sunday, September 7, 1913, published an article showing little "Lost Sister" making cigars for 42 cents and 52 cents a week, and making cigars all summer, earning $4.50—the tragedy of child labor—making at most 52 cents a week. Little Frances Angleweig, an employe of the San Telmo Cigar factory, has excited much sympathy by her appeal to the county truant officer for working papers that will allow her to work instead of going to school this fall. There are eight small children at the little home at 78 Andrews Avenue, Detroit, Mich., and the father, a day-laborer, has worked hard to keep them fed and clothed. The mite that the 14-year-old girl has been able to earn, although it totals only $4.50 for the whole summer, has helped a little in the struggle, and she wants to continue. Summer working papers were given her at the end of the school year, when she went to work in the cigar factory; she and other inexperienced girls were given 15 cents a hundred for making cigars. The truant officer refused the working papers to allow little "lost sister" to go back to the cigar factory; and

WHEREAS, In order that the labor movement and all real men and women in America may better understand the shameful labor conditions in Detroit's cheap non-union cigar traps, we will try and figure it out for the purpose of turning on the light of publicity. Will real men and women stand for these bad non-union conditions? This means female labor practically for nothing; about 6000 or 7000 girl victims of this system work in Detroit non-union cigar factories. One hundred cigar girls, working under this system for one year, make free 200,000 cigars; two hundred cigar girls make free 400,000; five hundred cigar girls make free 2,000,000; six thousand cigar girls make free 12,000,000. All these cigar girls are fined, if they do not get enough cigars out of their tobacco, from 25 cents to $3.00 per week, and they get fined, because they cannot beat this system of their aristocratic masters. Most all are young girls packing cigars in these non-union cigar factories, and are required to remain standing constantly, standing on their feet all day to pack cigars. The best of physicians make the statement that cigar packing is work for men only. The little children take the place of men in those cigar traps; and

WHEREAS, Albert C. Bunting, on February 16, 1914, representing these aristocratic owners of Detroit cheap non-union cigar factories, made this statement before the minimum wage commission of Michigan—cigar girls who have gone wrong were the biggest wage earners in non-union cigar factories. There is no connection between low wages and vice, but there is between high wages and vice. Albert C. Bunting made the statement that ten big cigar factories produce 250,000,000 non-union cigars in one year. He said to pay better wages would have a tendency to force the ten non-union cigar factories to leave Detroit and seek locations in cities outside of Detroit. It was the contention of the Minimum-Wage Commission that low wages produce vice; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor are united in support of and to try to organize and help to rescue these poor, helpless cigar girls from the worst kind of labor conditions; we must not give up the fight—we must go on fighting for human rights—the right of the working woman to belong to labor unions; we stand for equal pay for equal services for men and women; we protest against the shameful, bad, non-union labor conditions in Detroit cheap, non-union cigar traps. and we, the delegates, condemn the practice and treatment of cigar girls by the owners of Detroit cheap, non-union cigar traps. We find they are the enemies and oppressors of cigar girls. All fair-minded union men and women should come to their rescue and register their complaints and to call on the cigar dealers and explain to them the situation in Detroit, and recommend that this resolution be given attention by the affiliated organizations.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate Thomas Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postoffice clerks.

Digitized by Google

WHEREAS, The slogan of "safety first" has been adopted by many employers of labor and by the government in some of its industrial plants; and,

WHEREAS, The health of the people of this nation, and especially the postal clerks, is menaced by the filthy, dust and germ laden mail equipment used in the transmission of the mails, and because of the unsanitary conditions of many of the workrooms in the large postoffices; and,

WHEREAS, Tuberculosis is prevalent in the service largely on account of these conditions, thus constituting a danger to every one using the mails; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in its efforts to have mail equipment properly disinfected and cleansed and to improve the sanitary conditions of the overcrowded postoffice workrooms.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate David S. Jones, of the Michigan Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Label promoters and agitation committees, known as Label Boards, are of a great benefit to the union manufacturers and the different label trades, as it means more steady work in union factories, and more members in the various unions, and in view of the fact that it is the duty of all real men and women to be true to their obligation as trade unionists to purchase only union-made goods, and to keep hustling for all union labels and working cards that are recognized by the American Federation of Labor, and to nerve up every union member to have the desired ambition to stand first, last and all the time for the principles of trades unionism, and if the 2,500,000 organized workers would consistently demand union labeled products for the good money they pay out, the present number would soon reach 5,000,000, and no harm would be done; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at its Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, request all affiliated organizations throughout the United States to thoroughly explain to their membership the power of the union label, and to stand for the proper union education of all real trades unionists as to their duties in demanding union label goods.

Safety first—Always your safeguard—Union Label—Live and let live.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

The convention adjourned at 6.20 p. m.

Digitized by Google

FOURTH DAY—Thursday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Thursday, November 12th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kramer, Sovey, Goellnitz, Hill, Nealy, Rickert, Larger, Schlesinger, Polakoff, Rosenberg (E)., Frey, Price, Daly (T. M.), Moriarty, Watt, Hannah, Anderson, Clark (T. G.), Hurley, Williams, Cooke (W. J.), Smith (J. T.), Paulsen, Conlon, Greener, Lynn, Young, Obergfell (J.), Kelly (T.), Bittner, Fahey (C. P.), Mueller, Boyle (W. J.), McGrath (P. J.), Laylor, Bradley, Butler, Newberry, Kelly (E. H.), Hannon, Forker, Duddy, Rotramel, Givens, Lyons, Budenz, Dezettel, Sherman.

Report of the Credentials Committee.

Delegate Schwarz, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 12, 1914.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials begs leave to report that it has received a communication from President T. M. Daly and Secretary Chas. R. Atherton, of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union, requesting that John J. Flynn be seated as delegate from their organization in place of Thomas L. Rumsey, who is unable to attend the convention, and we recommend that John J. Flynn be seated.

Credentials have been presented from the Norwich, N. Y., Central Labor Union for its delegate, J. J. McEntee, and we recommend that he be seated with one vote.

Request has also been made that Miss Mary Dreier be seated, in place of Mrs. Raymond Robins, as alternate delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League, and we recommend that Miss Dreier be seated.

We have received credentials for Albert Walck, as delegate from the Central Labor Union of Hazleton, Pa., and we recommend that he be seated with one vote. Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS S. KEARNEY,
Chairman;
P. J. McGRATH,
LOUIS A. SCHWARZ,
Secretary,
Committe on Credentials.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegate seated.

Delegate Perkins: Delegate Tracy, of the Cigarmakers' delegation, has been called from the convention, owing to the serious illness of his wife, and we ask that he be excused from further attendance.

The request of Delegate Perkins was granted.

President Gompers: The Union Label Products Trading Association has asked that an opportunity be afforded to Mr. George Stein, vice-president, to address the convention. The Executive Council, having the request under consideration, decided to recommend that Mr. Stein be given the opportunity for five minutes.

Mr. Stein, in explaining the purpose of the association he represented, said, in part: Our association is attempting to find the natural market for union label products. We feel that some way should be devised whereby the immense power of the American labor movement can be concentrated on the purchase of union label goods. We are organized under the laws of the State of New York as a business association. Up to this time we have depended entirely upon retail storekeepers for the distribution of union label goods. Retail storekeepers will put in a line of union-made goods when sufficient pressure is exerted by the organized people in the communities where they want these goods. You all know it is extremely difficult to find the things you want in a large city; and when you do at last find a store that keeps union goods you will find them mixed up with a miscellaneous lot of prison-made, sweat-shop, child-labor goods, and if it hasn't what you want you are usually induced to take something else because of the trouble of finding what you want. We want to make it convenient for every union man to get the union label products he wants.

On the 12th of September we opened a salesroom in New York, and the results up to the present time are very encouraging. You ought to take this home to your local unions and your internationals and tell them that at least one little group of men has found a way to market union label goods so that great benefit will accrue to the labor movement. We are receiving orders every day from union men and others all over the country, as a result of the distribution of a mail order catalog. It is only a modest sixteen-page folder, but I believe the second edition will surprise even you who are not so easily surprised. This catalog will allow you to purchase the best union goods obtainable, and at prices no higher than you pay for non-label goods. I want to thank President Gompers for the encouraging letter he wrote us when this proposition was first submitted to him, and I want to thank Vice-President Mitchell for the letter he wrote, and to thank all others who have encouraged us.

Digitized by Google

President Gompers introduced to the convention Hon. Frank P. Walsh, Chairman of the Industrial Relations Commission.

Mr. Walsh: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Sensible as I am of the fact that the very great compliment implied by this invitation to appear before you today is due to the small part I happen to be playing in a work which I, at least, believe to be very significant to the masses of mankind, not only in this country but in the world; but as I look about this audience, seeing the familiar faces of so many that I have met in this work, and so many that I have had the great privilege of co-operating with in the past, I hope I may be forgiven for believing that there is at least an atom of the personal in the invitation, and thank you from the bottom of my heart therefor.

The institution known as modern industry has an earth-grip in strength unequaled by any other social organization known to the world. Its strength, primarily, consists in the fact that it, of all other bodies, has first-hand access to chemistry and physics, the moving forces of the world, because there is involved the personal fortune of every individual connected with it; not only affecting his board and clothes, but all of the aspirations of his heart, his hopes for freedom, his desire for the mental, moral and social expansion of himself and the children who are to succeed him. And if my work upon this commission has taught me but one thing in regard to the labor movement—aye, I might make it more personal and say, if my contact with your distinguished President and those members selected by your organizations as two of my colleagues upon this commission—it is to give no narrow meaning to that phrase, first declared, so far as my knowledge goes, by the Knights of Labor, and I notice very lately expressed to you by your distinguished chairman, that the injury of one is the concern of all, means, if it means anything, that an injury to the humblest and weakest of God's creatures is the concern of all mankind.

The work we are called upon to do, technically speaking, is to make a study of labor in the principal industries of the United States; to study the growth and maintenance of organizations of wage earners and employes; to study the systems of collective bargaining now known to the world; to understand, if we possibly can, by investigation, the effect that labor and employers' organizations have upon the public welfare and the rights and powers of the public to deal therewith; and finally, to ascertain, if possible, the causes of industrial dissatisfaction and make recommendations to the Congress of the United States referring thereto.

I might say, my friends, that the first annual report of this commission is now in the hands of the clerk of the House of Representatives, to be released, I hope, upon the first day of the meeting of Congress. In that report you will get the first suggestion of the scope of the work of this commission. You will get, not definite findings, but a free statement of the issues of the contentions between capital and labor, and a tentative finding of some of the great underlying and fundamental ideas from which this great question must be approached, if not settled. In the very heart of that report you will find the question of collective bargaining. If I understand correctly the history of my time it is that idea that has gathered you here to-day. If I were asked to give an interpretation of collective bargaining I would paraphrase one given by a great student of economics and say that collective bargaining is that machine devised by studious and self-sacrificing men that might make it impossible for the well-fed to drive hard bargains with hungry men.

The significance of the work which we are doing, my friends, I hope will appear patent from that report. When we began the work I made but one pledge, so far as my heart, soul and brain could carry it out, and that was that in this investigation nothing should be held sacred but the truth; and in the recommendations that I hope God will give me the strength to have part in formulating nothing will be cared for except justice.

We have heard the complaint of the employers of this land, voiced by something like 300 men, of everything perhaps open to criticism in the genesis, maintenance and operation of the modern labor union. For the first time in this country we have permitted, in a public way, to have voice given to every complaint and every protest made by labor against the formation of employers' organizations and the carrying on of modern industry. We have endeavored to hold the balance even, and while listening to the criticisms of labor unions we have also given voice to the disinherited of God's creatures, the exploited man; we have allowed to give utterance to the expression of protest of the exploited woman, and we have endeavored to make articulate the sob of the exploited child in the maelstrom of modern industry.

Of the contribution which you and your fellows have made to this great work I would be less than frank if I did not give some voice to my appreciation of it this morning. If I were called upon to-day to say what suggestions have been made to give driving force to those questions in industry and economics that vex the nations I should have in frankness to draw away from the expressions of the members of your organization, away from those great fundamental suggestions made which came from the gentleman I see sitting upon this platform this morning, and for significance I would point to the utterance in a very few lines given forth by the president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, who protested against what he dramatically, forcefully, and I believe truthfully called the double

Digitized by Google

standard of morality in modern industry.

The idea that the workman is to be considered a good and moral citizen if he accepts a fair day's wage for a fair day's work—interpreted to mean that he should work at least eight hours, or until he is tired out, for a wage that is sufficient to supply the necessities and none of the luxuries of life—for that he is called moral. In the same industry another human being with the same desires, the same aspiration and the same human nature, deriving everything of his from that same industry, who is called moral and upright, aye, and even great, if he has succeeded in getting all he could out of that industry without any work and without any application—that was one of the striking thoughts given to this commission by a member of your organization, and it was spread broadcast through this land.

If I were asked for another one I would like to picture to you, if I had the power of description, that great woman who appeared before the commission in Los Angeles, Mrs. Noel, who sat in the presence of the commission in a crowded hall and heard one of the great captains of industry of the United States testify that he contributed thousands of dollars to the support of an institution out there, organized frankly for the purpose of fighting organized labor; that he had never attended a meeting of his organization for three years; that he did not know off-hand its aims and purposes; that he operated an industry employing 3500 men, women and children, and had always treated his employes fairly. He admitted his organization was for the purpose of upholding the open shop. He did not know the number of labor organizations in Los Angeles.

Upon close examination by Mr. John B. Lennon and Mr. James O'Connell, of your organization, assisted by Mr. Austin B. Garretson, the other representative of labor, many of the contentions of Mrs. Noel were upheld. She said: "You gentlemen are going about seeking the causes of industrial unrest. Have you not seen it in the statement of the last witness? He has a machine that is operated by him that has to do with the life and health of 3500 human beings. He said he treated his employes right, and yet he admitted he did not know the cost of keeping an unprotected woman in decency and comfort in Los Angeles. He contributes thousands of dollars to the upkeep of an organization and does not know its aims and purposes and has not attended a meeting for three years. He says it is formed to fight organized labor, of which he knows nothing. He has shown you he has no knowledge of his own industry, of the machinery which he is setting in motion to fight organizations of labor and no knowledge of the personnel or motives of the organizations of labor. In other words, he has shown he is absolutely ignorant of social economics; and so I say that a great cause of industrial unrest would be removed if the government could establish a board, such as states and local communities have formed to examine engineers and examine men before they go into those great industries, which means so much to human welfare and human life, without being properly equipped."

She made another suggestion that in this day of investigating committees, inquiring into the cost of room rent for young women, inquiring into the cost of luncheons, the cost of medical attendance, some investigating body ought to be organized to investigate the standard of living of those men at the head of these great industries, to find out whether or not their manner of living is not so violently in contrast to the manner of living of their employes that it is a distinct cause of industrial unrest.

Many of the questions we have to meet are fundamental questions. I say, however, there is no question which we will be called upon to pass upon in which you do not have a most important stake. Not only for the two million and more of your members, not only for perhaps the ten million more directly under your influence as members of your family, and the countless millions now and in time to come that are depending upon the effort you are making here to-day and in other parts of this country; but we will undertake while passing upon these merely technical things to bring out, if we can, those fundamental questions of unequal distribution of wealth, or perhaps improper handling of national resources that has such a strong bearing upon those questions you are dealing with locally.

All over the Pacific coast we heard from the employers the cry that men were massing in the great cities; we heard the cry of "Get back to the land," and when the forces of labor were put on there was a counter cry—"Get back the land." A representative of your organization called attention to the fact that in one state upon our western border, with a population of less than one million, four groups owned 38,000,000 acres of the most fertile land God's sun ever shown upon, and were holding it away from the beneficial use of mankind. Another member of your organization in San Francisco pointed out the fact so vital to our nation—because it reaches down into the life of the family—that in one of the great counties of California there was a school district of 110 square miles that had in it forty-seven school children, and another of 102 square miles that had in it a school population of forty children; one of the most fertile valleys in the whole world, containing 89,000 acres of land, in which there were but nineteen children, or one to every 4661 acres of land, and one school district of 189 square miles that did not have one child in it—all of this land held in

Digitized by Google

great tracts away from the beneficial uses of mankind.

The insistent cry of labor is for its democratization, if I may so express it, that no man will be satisfied, no man of intelligence ever, until he is given the full product of his own toil. That sentiment, my friends, was expressed by your distinguished president at our first meeting in New York; it has been voiced by every intelligent leader of labor thought from the Atlantic seaboard and up and down the Pacific coast. One finding I can say this commission will make, after an investigation covering the wide territory I have mentioned, after hearing from almost 300 employers representing all of the great industries practically of the United States, in point of numbers representing an employing capacity greater than any body of men ever brought together before in the history of this country, we found but five men who would disagree with the underlying principle of collective bargaining, and we will so report.

And, my friends, what is democratization of industry? As I understand, it is simply this: That every man who toils shall have a compelling voice in the conditions under which he gives his work, a voice as to compensation, as to hours, and as to conditions; and when I say that every man must have the product of his own toil if justice is to be established I mean every man who labors with his hands, with the muscles of his body, with his brain, every man who plans, every man who constructs, every architect, every draftsman and artificer.

Now, my friends, let me make this one suggestion, that I may be excused for hoping will animate your minds, because I am not here to give you advice. I have always believed that all the Government can do is to unshackle industry, that all law can do is to establish justice between man and man. Your destiny depends upon yourself and you must work it out.

Vice-President O'Connell announced a meeting of the Adjustment Committee, stating that the committee would go into session at once, and asked that all who desired to be heard on questions that had been referred to the committee give notice of that desire so they could be notified when to appear.

Vice-President Duncan: I move that this most excellent address we have heard this morning be published in full in the proceedings of to-day.

President Gompers stated that the address would be published.

Miss Anna Fitzgerald, president of the Women's International Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary, was introduced by President Gompers.

Miss Fitzgerald: Mr. President and Delegates to the Convention—I have only a few words to say to you this morning, as I realize the work I am especially engaged in is only a small part of the work I am especially engaged in is only a this organization is doing. But however small it may seem I believe it is of vital interest to all of us.

Many of you know that the work we are engaged in is interesting and educating the women, and the men, I might say, to demand more generally the union label. I was somewhat impressed in visiting the exhibit of union label goods down stairs at the noticeable absence of women's wearing apparel. It is no fault of the management, but because the demand has not been great enough. Many of you will realize what this would mean to the other organizations who are makers of women's wearing apparel if we could interest the women in the homes, the women who spend the money, to the necessity of buying only union-made goods, only receiving the goods delivered by union teamsters, and only patronizing markets where the Meat Cutters' card is displayed. And so we might go on all along the line.

While I have been engaged in this work for many years, I feel we are going dreadfully slow; but when I attend this convention and see the years and years of effort it has made and the many things it hopes to accomplish in the near future, it gives me new hope for the organization I am interested in. We have been successful in strengthening and organizing many trade unions simply by our demand for the products of union labor.

I hope the men who from time to time have passed resolutions in this convention and have pledged their moral support to our organization will not longer defer an active interest in this work. It is a work you cannot afford to overlook; it is a work that means more to you than many of us seem to realize. And in coming here this morning I feel it is only just to remind you again that the women are still working, gaining ground every day. In our last convention here a resolution was passed that means a great deal to our organization, although it did not pass as it was introduced. It was asking organized labor whether the women who are interested in this particular line of work should be urged to affiliate with the national organization. If the independent organizations would affiliate we would be able to do more effective work. We realize that the independent organizations in our line that have been started but are not affiliated with the central bodies and the national body may not work as strictly along trade-union lines as we would like to have them.

We hope in the next four or five years we will see great changes in our work. We believe we are going to increase the demand for the label to such an extent that the women, too, may go out and buy union-made goods. It seems inconsistent for me or for any other woman interested in this movement to be compelled to go to stores and buy goods that are made in penitentiaries or in sweat shops.

I hope this convention will not only continue the assistance it has rendered

Digitized by Google

our organization, but give us a more active support in this way. I believe every central body ought to take this matter up and interest its members in it. It is a great cause, it is one we cannot afford to go so slow on. When we realize that 80 or 90 per cent. of your money is spent by women it ought to be enough to convince us that the spender of that money should be organized and the purchasing power directed in a channel that will build up the organizations rather than make the sweatshops flourish.

We have helped increase the sale of union-mdae products. Our Union Label Trades Department reports an increase in almost every organization during the past year. Don't think from this our organization is going to take the credit for that increase; we realize we have only a small part, but we are doing the best we can in this line, and we believe with your hearty co-operation and support a great work can be done.

Miss Mary Dreier, representing the Women's Trade Union League, was introduced by President Gompers.

Miss Dreier: Mr. Chairman and Brothers—This is my first opportunity to have the privilege of speaking to the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, and I consider it a great honor. I bring greetings from the National Women's Trade Union League, and I want to tell you here that we are going to have our convention on June 7 in New York City, and we will be very happy to have all of you come and visit us then and see what the trade union women of America are going to do and have done.

The condition of unemployment brings into bold outline the effect of unorganized women in the trades in industry. This is demonstrated by the fact that for the first time women are going into the banking business as clerks, taking the places of men for half the wage. That is not the only business, however, where this will happen. When women are employed in such varied ocupations as chimney stack painters, bricklayers—you would not believe it, but they are—carpenters, in foundries, engineering and many other trades, it is necessary for us to think whether or not they will not in great numbers come into our trades if they get the chance. There is only one woman who will not do it, and that is the organized woman. The organized women alone of all the women, amid the hundreds of thousands of women seeking new avenues of opportunity in industry because of the low wages in their own trades, will hold out and refuse to take the places of men for lower wages. They are the only ones who recognize the fact that they must stand with the men for equal pay for equal work, and under no consideration will they underbid them.

But out of the great many women who labor the organized working women are comparatively few. There are thousands of strong, able, capable women working for low wages who are glad of the opportunity to push in, not because they want to take your wages, but because the conditions of industry, the economic pressure is so heavy upon them they are trying to find an outlet. Your trade unions have recognized this and are taking women into your trades, as all your strong unions have done. The American Federation of Labor has recognized this and is working more busily than ever before in organizing women. The National Women's Trade Union League has not been idle. Through its local leagues it has tried to help organize working women throughout the country. They have organized, with the assistance of the international unions, or if there were no such unions they have organized women and turned them over to the American Federation of Labor or to the international unions as quickly as possible. And when the opportunity was not presented for organizing women they have gone on the streets and elsewhere and agitated organization into trades unions.

It is impossible to give a detailed account of the work of the Women's National Trade Union League, but there are one or two points I want to bring to your attention. Through the gift of money from your Executive Council the National Women's Trade Union League has been able to start a school for organizers. There girls who have shown leadership and organizing ability in their trade have been freed for the purpose of giving their ability to other working women and helping them organize. We have had three students. One of them is going to continue under the president of the New York Women's Trade Union, Miss Melinda Scott, to perfect herself in organizing work. Miss Louise Mittelstadt, as organizer for the Women's Trade Union League of Kansas City, is doing yeoman service, and I am glad to announce that Miss Emma Steghagen, a member of the Boot and Shoe Workers' organization, has been made director of the school.

The National Women's Trade Union League has compiled a pamphlet which I hope every one of you has received. It contains some facts regarding the unorganized working women of the country—hard, cold facts which will hit you between the eyes as they have hit me. Fifty-nine per cent. of 20,075 home workers earn less than $100 a year; 78 per cent. of the 20,075 home workers earn less than $150 a year, and only 4 per cent. earn $300 a year. In the textile trades, the report shows, women get $4 and $5 and $6 per week on the average, and we are glad that the American Federation of Labor is turning its attention to that terribly exploited industry.

The Factory Investigating Commission of New York reports that out of 15,000 women and girls, 8,000 get less than $6.50 a week. Now what does this $6 buy? We have here an expenditure considered typical: One-half of a furnished room, $1.50; seven breakfasts, consisting of rolls and coffee, 70 cents; seven dinners, at 20 cents each, $1.40; seven luncheons, coffee and sandwiches, 70 cents; carfare, 60 cents; clothes, $52 a year, $1

Digitized by Google

for fifty-two weeks leaves a margin of $5.20.

But the women do not work 52 weeks. They are in seasonal trades, and if they work 40 weeks they are lucky. I would like to ask you how they do it? And there are thousands and thousands of women receiving less than $6.00—$2.00, $3.00, $4.00 and $5.00 a week. I want you to get a picture of what this means—50,000 women in four or five industries get less than the adequate wage. Canton, Ohio, has 50,000 inhabitants; Springfield, Ill., has 51,000 inhabitants. Take that city and put every man, woman and child at work for nine hours a day and over for such a low wage and you will get some idea of only a small part of the women who have to face that situation. What would you men do, what would America do, if they recognized the fact that a great big city like Springfield could not possibly hold the women who are getting such low wages, working hard every day? The Government has not done anything—we hope the Government will do something, Mr. Walsh. The only ones who have done anything are the trades unions, and it is a mighty difficult task and a mighty important one.

One reason of the difficulty is because women have the individualistic point of view, they have never had to act collectively, and what we need to get for them is a new mind, a new understanding of what it means to act collectively. Our official organ is "Life and Labor." It is the very thing we need and you men want in your homes to make your women, your wives and your daughters, understand the trade union movement. One of your labor men said to our representative: "Since I have had 'Life and Labor' in my home my wife understands more about trade unionism; she knows what we are driving at." If I were a betting man I would bet that half the men in this convention whose daughters are working are doing so at such low wages they have to be supported by you men. It is not because you are not strong trade unionists, it is because the girls do not understand. One way to make them understand is to give this monthly account of work among the trade unions into their hands. Your wives, who have the purchasing power of your homes, will be the ones to direct that power to the purchase of union-made goods, as Miss Fitzgerald has said. "Life and Labor" gives the understanding of industrial democracy. As Mr. Walsh has said, that is one thing we are striving for, one thing you men are struggling for; but you cannot get it alone, you need the women, you need your wives, your daughters, you need every woman in industry for only as a united body, men and women, can we achieve industrial democracy.

Rev. Samuel Zane Batten, representing the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ of America, was introduced by President Gompers, and delivered the following address on "The Emancipation of Labor":

Mr. President and Brother Men: It is an honor which I fully appreciate in being seated as a fraternal delegate from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and in being permitted to sit in the councils of the American Federation of Labor. The great religious bodies which I have the honor to represent are deeply interested in the questions which you are considering, and these bodies have more than once recorded in no uncertain way their sympathy with the great aims which you are seeking. In the few minutes that I shall claim your attention I want to consider with you "The Emancipation of Labor," what it means and what it involves, and how we can promote this great cause.

There has always been a labor movement for the reason that the man who was down has struggled to rise and to be free. And there will always be a labor movement till the last man stands squarely on his feet, with a fair opportunity in life, enjoying the fruits of his labor and living as a brother in a fellowship of brothers. And I want to say that in this labor movement every man must be interested who loves his fellows and believes in a better social order.

First of all, what do we mean by the emancipation of labor? As I understand it the emancipation of labor means the emancipation of the man himself and the emancipation of his labor. It means the emancipation of the man from ignorance, from narrowness, from prejudice and from selfishness. We must be free in mind before we ever can be free in State or industry. Liberty is a state of mind and of heart, it is a gospel, a faith, a chivalry, an enthusiasm. The first and greatest contribution we can make to this great cause is to free our minds of prejudice, to saturate our souls with the spirit of brotherhood, to set our faces like flint against the things that separate men and cause heart-burning, to seek after the things that make for justice, for equality and brotherhood.

Along with this there must be an emancipation of the laborer himself from all the influences that make life hard, that exploit his toil, that deprive him of the full fruits of his labor. The history of labor is one of dark pages of the world's history; for it is a story of wrong, of toil unrewarded, of toilers crushed and beaten, of man made the mere instrument of wealth. But the history of labor is no less one of the bright pages of the world's history, for it is a story of struggle against oppression, of self-sacrifice, of man breaking his way outward and upward and rising into freedom and manhood. The race has advanced from slavery to serfdom, from serfdom to wage labor, and now it is seeking to take another great step forward from exploited wage labor into full industrial democracy. And I want to say here and now that all men of good will

Digitized by Google

are interested in this struggle; and we pledge our co-operation to every man and to every movement that faces the light and believes in a better social order.

There are some folks who misunderstand this whole labor movement. They say that it is the effort of working people to rise out of their class, to get above the necessity of labor and to be able to live at ease, without the necessity of labor. The man who thinks that this is the meaning of the labor movement wholly misunderstands that movement, and has not even begun to think. Such a man has hardly begun to think that he thinks; but has simply adopted the cackle of the street and his mistaken prejudice for wisdom. The true worker is not ashamed of his labor or his class; he does not envy the idle their idleness and their ease. But he does demand that every worker shall have the chance to make the most of himself; he does demand that work shall be done under proper conditions with respect to hours, wages, health and management. He does demand that the worker shall enjoy the full fruits of his toil; he does insist that no man or group of men shall be permitted to exploit his toil and take a tax on his labor; he does demand that the wage-earner's family shall have a fair chance for light and air, for sufficient income and a sanitary home; he does insist that the workers in an industry are partners in the enterprise, and should have a partner's voice in the management and a partner's share in the product. The workingman does not envy the rich man his fine home, his books and music; but he does say that if these things have any meaning to man and any values for life, that they should become possible to the downmost man of the race. Some time ago in church I heard the preacher praying that we might learn to take thought for others, and might thereby secure "the greatest good of the greatest number." The first part of that prayer was exactly right, but when he came to the application I found myself asking some questions. "The greatest good of the greatest number." I had often used that expression myself, and had thought it was good political wisdom. But when I heard a man praying about it I began to object. "The greatest good of the greatest number." How about the man who lies outside this average? And I found myself saying, The only program worthy of the man who knows God as Father and thinks of men as brothers is this—The whole good of the last man.

But I must hasten on to note two or three things that lie along the line of our struggle and march toward the Emancipation of Labor. For one thing, we must seek to organize all the workers of the world. It is not necessary at this time of day for any one to argue the necessity and benefits of labor unions. The day for individual bargaining has gone by, and the day of collective bargaining has come. We are sometimes told that competition is the life of trade and will settle all difficulties. But this assumes that competition is fair and open and equal; any other competition than this is not competition at all. Fair competition assumes equal strength and equal weapons. Now, as a matter of fact, such competition does not exist at all today. What chance in the competition has the one weak individual workingman today in presence of our great corporate and all-powerful industrial combinations? He has absolutely no chance whatever, and his enslavement and destruction are only a question of time. But I am told that the managers of these great corporate interests are good and kindly men and will not take advantage of any man's weakness. The man who expects us to believe all that must be very credulous himself, or he must think all other people are fools. Even supposing for a moment that all of our industrial overlords were kindly men and would not take advantage of any man's weakness, this would mean that the workingman must trust to the kindness and charity of an overlord who can crush him if he will. The man whose protection from injustice depends upon the mere good will of one man or a group of men is a slave, and not a free man. The workingman does not want charity, but justice; he wants to feel that he stands in society not by the favor of some overlord but because he has a right to standing room. In a word, the one way that the workingman can maintain his foothold and preserve his self-respect is in and through collective bargaining.

Since this is so, we should do all in our power to organize all wage workers. The presence of a great mass of unorganized laborers is a means through which employers can undercut union workers and keep wages down, and we must do this in order to help these workers. We are all bound in the bondage of our brothers. We can rise ourselves only as we help our brothers to rise. To lift the working people of the world we must lift the whole mass together. To be emancipated ourselves we must emancipate our brothers.

For a second thing, the working people must emancipate themselves by the practice of co-operation. The most important element in our task today is the practice of team work. Whatever promotes this is good; whatever hinders this is evil. What we call co-operation is simply team work applied to industry. We need team work today in buying commodities, in the distribution of profits, and in the conduct of industries. Between the producer and the consumer today stands the middlemen, who tax both parties very heavily. This tax from the middleman is the penalty we pay for our lack of co-operation. I believe that we should organize and promote co-operative stores which will eliminate the middleman and cheapen commodities.

I believe that we should undertake to organize co-operative enterprises in which the workers are the owners and the owners are the workers and in which all have a voice in the management and a share in the product.

But beyond all I believe that the emancipation of labor must come through the union of all in behalf of

Digitized by Google

all. The working people must protect themselves and secure social justice in and through state action. The trade union, as we have seen, is wholly necessary at this stage of social progress. For it is practically the only means by which the workers can maintain their footing, and secure approximate justice. It may be that these trade unions have made many blunders in the past, but to-day they are the only thing that stands between these workers and the killing pace of modern industrialism and the merciless power of corporate capitalism. For a long time to come trade unions will be a necessity. More than that, I believe that all industrial workers should be organized.

And yet there is something beyond the trade union that must supplement it. I believe that working people must find protection and secure justice in and through state action. This means that the state must widen its scope, must protect every group and onsure every person full justice. This means that the work which the state has done for men in some relations and spheres of life it must now do for men in social relations and in industrial realms. The time was when the individual who wanted to stand on his feet and secure justice must depend upon his own strong arm. In the progress of man and the development of society we have long since passed this stage. In what we call the state we have the substitution of a general, definite, universal will for the uncertain, arbitrary, personal will. In the civilized state each person consents to have his interests interpreted and measured by the common will and welfare. In case of a conflict of wills and interests all parties agree to settle the questions at issue by an appeal to the common interest and will. We grant that state machinery is slow and cumbersome and often fails to protect the person and to ensure his rights. But more and more the modern state is gaining in certainty and power, and in the main the person is secure from bodily injury and political aggression.

The time has come when men in their social relations economic concerns must agree to have their interests interpreted and measured by the common will and welfare instead of by their own group will and class interest. In personal and political matters the individual is willing to have his interests safeguarded by the state. The time has come when men must be willing to have their social and industrial interests safeguarded by the same agency. In a modern civilized state it would be an impeachment of government if every person who wanted to escape attack and secure his rights should think it necessary to go armed on the street. In a modern intelligent state it is no less an impeachment of government if every group of workers who would protect themeslves and secure justice must form a fighting labor union. The latter no less than the former would show plainly that the state is not yet fully rational or fully efficient. If the state did its full duty by all of its members and were fully conscious of its missions such labor unions would be wholly unnecessary.

The state can do this work in the one case as in the other, and the state must do it. The state, in the fine phrase of Professor Franz Oppenheimer, is "the impartial guardian of the common interests." The state is the one organization that represents all of the people in their whole welfare. It is the one agency through which all of the people can co-operate in their search after social justice. It is the one agency comprehensive enough to consider the interests of all and to guarantee justice to each. This means that more and more working people must look to the state for protection and must demand that it shall establish social and industrial justice. This means that the state must carefully consider the welfare of the workers and must fully determine the level of industrial action; it must supervise the conditions of labor, secure for every worker a living wage and give the people control of both the processes and proceeds of industry. Working people must secure protection in industrial relations through state action. Social justice and industrial peace must be secured through state action.

There are several immediate things that should be a part of our program and in whose behalf we should seek to unite all men of good will.

(a) We must end the crime and blunder of child labor in industry. In the noble words of the Report of the Executive Council, "Child labor robs the child of a chance to grow, a chance to learn, and a chance to dream. It robs children of the chance to attain the fullest development of manhood and womanhood. It leaves them with a sense of the world's injustie burned into their inmost feelings."

(b) We must relieve woman of the strain of industry. Some people may feel complacent over the entrance of women into industry, but I do not. In the first place, women are used by many employers to undercut the wages of men. Women are now forced into industry to supplement the wages of the men. The man I believe is the natural wage earner, and it should be possible for every man to earn sufficient wage to maintain his family in comfort and efficiency. We should demand a social and industrial system where this is possible. It were better for a nation that its industries were sunk in the depths of the sea rather than that it should build its prosperity upon the forced labor of children and the underpaid labor of women.

(c) We should demand a living wage in every industry. This is possible, and it must be made actual. Any industry that cannot pay a living wage to every worker is a parasitic industry and should not be tolerated by a self-respecting people.

Digitized by Google

(d) We should demand and secure for every worker sufficient time for rest and recreation. It is a sin and it should be a crime to compel any worker to toil to the point of exhaustion. And we should demand and secure for every worker one day of rest in every seven; and should demand a wage based not on a seven-day week, but a six-day week.

(e) We should affirm that the resources of the earth are the heritage of the people and that they should never be monopolized by the few to the disadvantage of the many. Every child born into the nation has some equities in the national heritage, and we should se to it that every person has the equivalent of that equity in the form of an adequate training for life and a fair opportunity in society.

(f) We must devise some system whereby income received and benefits enjoyed shall bear some proportion to service rendered. As things now are, a few people who do not work and perform no function receive very large incomes, while the many people who do the hard work of the world receive a very scanty income. This is an injustice that society must remedy.

(g) We must reaffirm in social custom and social legislation: "He that will not work, neither shall he eat." We must affirm that he who works is entitled to all that he makes and earns.

These are only a few of the things that lie along the pathway of progress. But I believe that they are among the immediate and practical things.

The Federated Churches of America will co-operate with the American Federation of Labor in securing these high aims, and any others that lie along the pathway of progress. And in this co-operation we believe that we are honoring our Master, Jesus Christ, and are moving along the line of his purpose. We do not forget that the one whom we call Lord was known as the Carpenter of Nazareth. We know also that whatever concerns man concerns him and should concern his followers. He has taught us to pray, "Give us day by day our daily bread." And in so doing he has taught us to seek for a social and industrial order wherein every man can earn and eat his bread without anxiety and without scantiness. He has declared that "it is not the will of the Father who is in heaven that one of his little ones should perish." It is not his will, therefore, that any child should have its life snuffed out in some deadly tenement. It is not his will thaa any child should have its life blighted and blasted in a stifling factory. He has come that men may have life and may have it more abundantly. He has come that men, all men, may have life—full life, like physical, life mental, life spiritual, that man, the last man, may become that great and wonderful thing, God intended him to be.

Mr. Walter George Smith, fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Catholic Societies, was introduced by President Gompers.

Mr. Smith: Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Federation: Your meeting in Philadelphia has arrested our profound interest. I believe it is not the first time you have met here, but it is the first time the attention of this community has been concentrated as strongly as it is today upon the objects, the purposes, the form of organization and the ideals of this American Federation of Labor. I have not had the privilege of speaking to so many men representing the workers before. I am not appearing before you now individually, but as a representative. The rules of your organization, it seems, permit that other organizations having perhaps somewhat kindred objects may send fraternal delegates. And so the Rev. Peter Dietz and myself come to you from the Federation of Catholic Societies to extend our fraternal greetings and to defend the purposes that we believe, as representatives, govern an organization of this kind.

The Federation of Catholic Societies is made up of representatives of all organizations working to carry out into concrete life and expression the purposes of justice, founded upon the dogmas of religion, which, we believe, enter into the social affairs of life. Justice, I need not say to you, is the object, and the one great, worthy object, of the pursuit of truth on the part of any man, worker or non-worker, who seeks to solve the mystery of life, who seeks individually to do his duty to God and to his fellow-men.

When it was intimated to me that I should have the privilege of speaking to you this morning, my mind went back to one of the greatest thinkers of the last century, a man who received by common consent the tribute of the whole intellectual world as well as the whole moral world, for the accuracy, the clearness of his thought, his wonderful power of expression, quite irrespective of the exalted position he held at the head of the Catholic Church, the successor of St. Peter, the Pope of Rome, Leo XIII. Bear with me if I give you a paraphrase of what he said as to what should be the purposes of an organization to uplift the conditions of the laboring man.

No doubt the specific teaching of the Catholic Church upon the ethics that should govern workingmen has been brought to your attention by other and more authoritative speakers, but none could be more authoritative than the head of the church, and he showed how the spirit of revolutionary change had passed beyond the sphere of politics and made itself felt in economic affairs. In the presence of a conflict arising out of the vast expansion of industrial pursuits, the discoveries of science, the changed relation between masters and workmen, the enormous fortunes contrasted with extreme poverty, the moral degeneracy, the loss of religious faith, he marked the increased self-reliance and closer mutual combination of the working classes and addressed himself to the effort to make clear the principles of justice to be applied to them. He pointed out the mischievous consequences of the abolition of the ancient workingmen's guilds, and the hard situation of workingmen when pub-

Digitized by Google

lic institutions and the laws had set aside religion, who were surrendered "all isolated and helpless' to the hard-heartedness of employers and the greed of unchecked competition."

To do away with these evils came the Socialists, who, "working upon the poor man's envy of the rich," are striving to abolish private property and make all individual possessions the common property of the state. You are familiar with the specious arguments that have been advanced in favor of this wide-reaching economic heresy, and know its deadly effect. Be sure that not the least of the claims of this Federation to the support of the community is its courageous stand against those who would commit it to the adoption of socialism in any of its forms. It has been seen by you that the endeavor to transfer the possessions of individuals to the state deprives the laborer of the right to use his wages as he will, and thereby precludes all hope of bettering his conditions in life. That is against justice, for every man has by nature the right to possess property as his own.

One of the great errors in prevalent thought is the mistaken belief that the state possesses unlimited power and may justly interfere in all human relations. But man preceded the state; and the laws of nature and of justice consecrated the principle of private ownership as necessary for the preservation of human existence before political divisions arose as the patriarchal system was outgrown.

Since then, notwithstanding all the vicissitudes of life and the dreams of reformers whose imaginations are not based upon real knowledge of fundamental principles, it is not possible to reduce society to one dead level. Inequality must always exist, and each man must do his part in life's work in accordance with his special capacity. "The great mistake is to take up the notion that class is naturally hostile to class, and that the wealthy and the workingmen are intended by nature to live in mutual conflict."

How unreasonable seems such an attitude to those who have had the least experience in life. How utterly inconsistent with the first principles of religion, which teaches by the example and precept of its Founder the dignity of manual labor and the deadly sin of pride. So the principles of justice govern each man, whether he represents capital or labor, employer or employed.

"Thus," said the great Pope, "religion teaches the laboring man and the artisan to carry out honestly and fairly all equitable agreements entered into; never to injure the property or to outrage the person of an employer; never to resort to violence in defending their own cause, nor to engage in riot or disorder; and have nothing to do with men of evil principles. Religion teaches the owner and employer that their work people are not to be accounted their bondsmen; that in every man they must respect his dignity and worth as a man and as a Christian; that labor is not a thing to be ashamed of, if we lend ear to right reason and to Christian philosophy, that it is shameful and inhuman to treat men like chattels."

You have all read, no doubt, the comments of the press of Philadelphia upon your gathering here. In the midst of war and alarms of war, in a cataclysm such as has not shaken the world for a thousand years, this meeting is of sufficient significance to arrest the attention of all thinking men. You men have a heavy responsibility. You are said to represent 2,000,000 workers. The admiration of any man for perfect machinery is arrested at once when it is learned you represent every State in the Union, every vocation and trade, that you reach down into the townships and boroughs and country districts. Gentlemen, you might be ten times as powerful as you are, and if you do not have public opinion at your back your efforts will be powerless. There is nothing that can resist the force of public opinion, because it is founded upon the common sense of what is right and just. That is inherent in the human heart, and so long as you are governed by those principles of right and justice you will be a great and growing power.

I have taken up rather more of your time than I had intended. The thought, it seems to me, that comes into the minds of those that do not know intimately the struggle that labor has made for recognition, those who do not know intimately the internal as well as the external difficulties you have to face, those who do not know intimately the intense strength and wisdom and conservatism that must guide men who are representing a particular interest in the community, when those interests are liable to attack, I say those men are apt to think as the editor of this paper I am going to quote from thinks. I can see between the lines here that there is fear that you may lose your conservatism, that you may align yourself at some time, in some place, in some degree, with the powers of disorder.

In speaking of the meeting here in Philadelphia this week this editorial says of the American Federation of Labor:

"In perfection of organization, in numbers, in financial resources, and in the power of appeal to workingmen, it is strong, probably stronger than any one of the national organizations of labor which preceded it, or which have assumed to rival it.

"But what would be its strength and what would be its service for labor if, in its federated body, its associated national and international unions, and their subsidiary local organizations, it should—even for one year—declare a truce in all industrial warfare, plan a program of peace, seek to promote the welfare of the workingman by promoting harmony with the employer, increasing his skill and efficiency, and finally making membership in the

Digitized by Google

union a certificate of fitness and a union card a credential for employment anywhere by merit, rather than by force.

"The horrors of armed warfare among nations are being visualized in the plight of the starving millions, innocent victims of the combatants, for whose relief America is now moving, even to self-denial. Industrial warfare counts its victims, too, starving wives and children, while fathers and brothers are out of work. No organization ever can be a real and permanent help to labor which foments industrial war, or which tolerates such war, save as they very last resort. Particularly at this time, when industry in the United States is reviving from depression and peril and getting a fresh start toward a prosperity that awaits it, the keynote of organized labor in its representative gathering ought to be one of cooperation and peace."

I can believe, gentlemen of the Federation, those sentiments will find an echo in your hearts. I cannot believe that the principles of justice, when you have pondered over them, as applied to any special case, knowing your strength and knowing the irresistible power, but that which we call justice will lead you to become one of the most beneficent forces in the community, because, as you know, the wealth of the community rests upon labor, upon producing labor. The great difficulty of the political economist when he occupies the position of a legislator is so to regulate the taxing laws that the proper share shall be divided between capital and labor. And there is the rub—when greed on one side and a feeling of injustice on the other side meets it is almost impossible that human nature, constituted as it is, should not strike out sparks.

But, gentlemen, this is the central thought that should come to the employer and the worker alike, that this life of ours is a time of preparation and we can never expect the millenium in our time. It is through suffering, through trials, through tests of that kind that character is perfected. The great object of life is not ease, is not going along the line of least resistance, but is bearing a man's part of the burdens of the entire community, in order that this short life may be a preparation for life eternal.

President Gompers: After the messages we have heard, I take it now it would be appropriate to just express briefly the appreciation of the delegates to this convention of the American Federation of Labor of all that has been said, even when upon any particular point there may be a division of opinion or dissent. Of course, we are pleased to have expressions of good will and hope for the advancement of our movement. But, after all, the movement itself is not the thing, it is not the goal. The organization, the movement of labor, is the instrument and the vehicle to attain the great objects of right, of justice and of humanity.

On behalf of the convention, I am sure I am but very feebly expressing our appreciation when I say we are greatly gratified and thank you from the very bottom of our hearts that you should have come here and expressed to us your hope for our welfare, to have shown that which you have done and trying to do.

We are assembled here in convention, and in holding our annual conventions we are not the dominating factor of the labor movement of America; we come here as the representatives of the organization on the continent of North America, representing the heart throb and the mental thought of the toiling masses of America. We hope to give expression in concrete form of the hopes and yearnings and aspirations of the toiling masses of America. We try to voice their sentiments and their grievances, and to insist and to make the demand upon modern society, and all the representatives of modern society, that the wrongs and the grievances from which the toiling masses of our country and our time have so long had imposed upon them be remedied, and to secure the rights to which they are entitled and which too long have been denied them.

We cannot always direct our movement as some would like to have the movement directed; we must deal with the elements within our ranks which constitute the great rank and file of the organized labor movement. We have not always the choice of material. The men and the women who labor, the men and the women who give service to society—and the service without which civilization itself could not exist—these make up the rank and file of the organized labor movement, and these we have the honor to represent.

For years and years, and particularly in these last two decades, there have been elements at work among the exploiters of the people of our country to go into the fields and in the poorest and the worst fields of the world, and by a system so deep it is with difficulty it can be observed or uprooted, and by the the great agencies which money affords them to utilize bring from all parts of the world men of labor, with all the weaknesses and all the shortcomings and all the ignorance and prejudice upon their heads.

And we say this to you, gentlemen and ladies, as we say it to the world—at least I want to say it for myself, to be responsible for the utterance—that if these men are good enough to be brought to our country to work for your profit, they are good enough, with all their weaknesses and shortcomings, for us to organize them and try to make better men and better women of them. And our movement, I repeat, can only be, if it is truly a movement of labor, a representative gathering of the thoughts and the hopes and the prejudices, if you please, and the shortcomings, if you please, and the strength and the weakness of the men and women in the United States and Canada who have been brought here under such circumstances to mingle with us; and if we can in our way try to help them, and

Digitized by Google

by our maturer experiences to rightly guide them, we have done something for the establishment of the American character, of American concepts; to help them and to help our country, and particularly to help the men and women of labor and the children of our time who are to be the men and women of the future, that they may have a better understanding of their rights and their opportunities, as well as to impregnate their minds with their duties and their obligations.

We aim to earn and deserve the good will of our fellows. We have seen the misery and poverty and degradation existing in industry, involving thousands and thousands of men and women, without a protest or a word of sympathy on the part of what is known as the public; and it has been only when, through the instrumentality of the much misunderstood labor movement, that we have stirred the hearts and the minds of the people oppressed with a sense of the wrongs committed against them, and when they have indulged in a protest which resulted in a strike, as typified, if you please, by the coal miners of America, as typified even up to the recent time, and now, in the textile industry, as it exists now among working people in the iron and steel industry. The thought of Sunday rest, in so far as that industry is concerned, was never given a second consideration by the great corporation and the vested interests, and many men whose duty it is, in speaking in the name of the Lord, who walked, like the Pharisee, on the other side.

The organized labor movement represents the toiling masses. I know as well as any one can tell me that there are some working people who would dispute that utterance and say: "Mr. Gompers, you do not represent me." And in so far as any credential is concerned he speaks the truth; but there is a deeper and a more important credential which, in common with my fellow workers, I carry, and that is the credential to give the very best there is in me, to see to it that the cause of wrong is exposed, to arouse public opinion, the public conscience and public resentment to remedy wrong and establish right.

I believe in quietness and order; I try to lead that life myself, and I will go as great a length as any man in the world to try to maintain order and peace and tranquillity, but there comes a time in the history of labor when to remain in tranquillity is to rivet the chains of slavery. I want, if I can, to express what I believe to be, or what I know to be the sentiment and the view of the American labor movement, without regard to any division of opinion as to which direction the movement should go. We try to avoid strikes, but we are preparing for any strike into which we may be forced; and we realize that the time has not yet come when the angel of peace has descended upon the world. We are going to try to get along as best we can in this labor movement of ours and give the best that is in us toward making it as represented and typified by the American Federation of Labor itself and its constituent bodies, the national and international unions.

On the opening day I took occasion to remark that the meetings of our conventions are open. I think it is but once in the history of the American Federation of Labor that an executive session was held. They are open to the criticism, favorable and otherwise, of our friends or foes. We are going on with our work as the light is given us to help the men and women of labor, even though they are not represented in this convention. We are going to try to influence the opinion of our time, that all the people may have a better concept of that for which we are striving, and to try to use the good influences and the services of the organized labor movement to maintain as much of peace in our own country and continent as we can, and to endeavor to extend that beneficent influence upon the minds and consciences and hearts of the people the world over.

Again, without any invidious comparison, addressing each of our fraternal delegates and the chairman of the Industrial Commission, I want to say that for all you have said, the good will you have expressed, the advice you have given us we shall give it all the best possible consideration of which we are capable. Again, I thank you heartily for your coming here and for your expressions of good will for our welfare.

Delegate McCarthy (P. H.): I move you that President Gompers, the chairman of this convention, be added to the Committee on International Relations. (Seconded.)

The motion was stated by Secretary Morrison, and carried by unanimous vote.

The Committee on Adjustment requested that that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Jurisdiction Over Newspaper Solicitors," be referred to the Committee on Executive Council's Report. The request of the Adjustment Committee was granted.

The Committee on Laws recommended that the subject of A. F. of L. Departments, pages 136-141, Executive Council's Report, be referred to the Committee on Resolutions. The request of the committee was complied with.

Vice-President Duncan: I move you that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn to 9.30 o'clock tomorrow morning, to allow the committees to work, to allow those delegates who are interested in their proceedings to appear before them, and that the introduction of resolutions to the president be allowed until midnight to-night. (Seconded and carried.)

Digitized by Google

The following resolutions were submitted and referred to the committees designated.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate J. G. Brown, of the International Union of Timber Workers:

WHEREAS, The lumber industry is the third largest industry in America, more than one million workers being employed therein; and

WHEREAS, Various attempts have in the past been made to organize the wage-earners in this basic industry with but temporary and usually local success; and

WHEREAS, In the spring of 1913 the International Union of Timber Workers, supported by the American Federation of Labor, began a general campaign to organize the lumber workers, which, in spite of unfavorable industrial conditions, has made considerable progress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. commends the action of the Executive Council and recommends that such efforts be continued as energetically as possible, to the end that all the workers in this important industry be brought into the fold of the American labor movement in the near future.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate J. H. Walker:

Amend Section 8 of Article 13, by adding new paragraph to read:

"In the formation of new local, trade or federal labor unions, any officer or member who is discharged or locked out for securing and maintaining membership in such locals, if it is shown upon investigation by the Executive Council to be a deliberate attempt upon the part of the employer to discourage and to intimidate employes, the Executive Council is authorized where the chances for success seem to warrant it to appropriate such sums from the defense fund as in their judgment seem necessary to protect and safeguard officers or members of new locals in asserting their right to organize."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates M. G. Scott, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, Hugh Stevenson and T. W. McCullough, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, Recent experience has demonstrated that the public interest in the warfare against tuberculosis has not been maintained at that pitch of enthusiasm which marked its beginning, evidences of apathy being apparent in the failure of many well-founded plans having for their purpose the betterment of conditions under which people are compelled to live, these conditions being in themselves the most prolific and fruitful source of this scourge of humanity, which has been called, and rightly called, "The poor man's plague"; and

WHEREAS, The workers of America are entitled to greater support than they have yet received in their efforts to bring about such conditions as will make for the complete prevention of danger of contracting tuberculosis, either in factory, workshop, store, office or home; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge upon all affiliated bodies, together with their locals, and especially upon the State and city central bodies, that they bring before their Legislatures or other law-making bodies the necessity of better provisions for the prevention and cure of tuberculosis; that more rigid inspection of housing conditions be insisted upon, with more adequate provision for the sanitary conditions of places in which men and women are called upon to toil for their livelihood, and that more extensive and more suitable provision be made for the proper care and treatment of those who have fallen victims to tuberculosis, to the end that the ravages of this disease may be checked, and that it may be ultimately extinguished from among the list of plagues from which humanity suffers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates M. G. Scott, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, Hugh Stevenson and T. W. McCullough, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The present war in Europe makes it certain beyond reasonable doubt that many extensive changes in international boundaries will occur, thus destroying the value of existing school maps; and

WHEREAS, The termination of the war will be followed by a general revision of the textbooks used in the public schools of America, and especially the geographies, thus necessitating a large expenditure of public and private funds for the purpose of replacing school books now in use by those of the revised editions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby call the attention of organized labor to the necessity of seeing that as far as possible all school books, and especially geographies, be prepared and published under strictly fair conditions, and we especially desire to impress upon members of organized labor everywhere the fact that the textbooks and maps published by the Rand & McNally Company, of Chicago, Ill., are produced under unfair conditions.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 78—By Delegates M. G. Scott, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes,

Digitized by Google

Hugh Stevenson and T. W. McCullough, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The world stands appalled by events in Europe which indicate the disintegration of civilization and the triumph of savagery, a condition made possible only by the domination of militarism, accentuated by the continual presence of the outward evidences of the military power, with its attendant drain on the wealth of the nations for the purpose of maintaining at a point of mechanical efficiency the tremendous engines of destruction designed for use in war, thereby affording a perpetual temptation to the rulers to put into use these weapons against mankind; and

WHEREAS, The present exhibition of the potentiality of these modern armaments for the purposes of destruction is such as transcends any experience of humanity and outdoes the wildest dream of death deliberately brought about by human agency, with the attendant misery and suffering that have been thrust upon hundreds of thousands of peaceful, industrious and thrifty people who were entirely innocent of any thought of war; and

WHEREAS, This most impressive example must teach us but one lesson, the beauty and desirability of a peace that preserves order with honor, that conserves life and property and insures the pursuit of happiness, and that is the noblest end of man's endeavors; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we pledge our support to any plan which has for its purpose the bringing about of the disarmament of all nations to the furthest extent consistent with the preservation of law and order throughout the world.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Will R. Boyer, of the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union:

WHEREAS, The United States Broom and Brush Company, Chicago, is the only manufacturer in the United States empoying women and girls at tying and sewing brooms; and

WHEREAS, The girl employes of this factory have been compelled to submit to the most terrible conditions—conditions such as all fair-minded men and women will resent—flesh bruised from the hands of a licentious man in whose power they were if they wished to hold their jobs, and jobs they must have if they wished to live; indecent language that cannot be repeated; suggestions that were vile; indecencies repeated; indecent suggestions and foul language so common that they became almost hardened to them; these are the things that these poor girls were compelled to submit to, and if a protest was made their job was threatened; and

WHEREAS, William Wright, the foreman of this factory, was convicted in the Morals Court of Chicago of having taken indecent liberties with and using lewd language toward these girl employes, Judge Goodnow, in passing sentence, declaring:

"Some people believe that because girls are foreigners any language may be used in their presence so long as they do not understand it. That is a mistaken idea. They are as keen and quick to understand indecent language and actions as other girls, and such an atmosphere is not conducive to morality. It will have an effect on their character that later will be harmful.

"The fact that these girls did not make the complaint until they were on strike from this factory has nothing to do with the case. They claim they made no complaint to the president of the company because they were afraid of losing their jobs.

"My experience has been that, usually, what happens if a girl does complain of such things is that she must either endure them or quit, and if they had brought the case into court before they were on strike they undoubtedly would have been out of a position anyway."

This conviction of this indecent foreman being convincing proof of the statements of these girls; and

WHEREAS, The United States Broom and Brush Company, having retained this foreman in their employ after his conviction on these charges, thereby giving their approval to these indecent and inhuman actions toward these girl employes; and

WHEREAS, The firm of Butler Brothers, large wholesalers and dealers in brooms, after having been informed of this mistreatment of girl workers and asked to discontinue patronizing the United States Broom and Brush Company, continues to handle the products of this firm who retain in their employ men who would pollute the minds of innocent girls, because they were defenseless and unable to protect themselves; and

WHEREAS, It is incumbent on us who represent the toilers of the United States to protect the girls who are compelled to toil shoulder to shoulder with us from indecent and licentious attack of those who not alone take the fruits of their labor but seek also to take their virtue and self-respect; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the attention of the organized workers of the country and their friends be called to the methods of the United States Broom and Brush Company and to the fact that they have been placed on the unfair list of the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Illinois State Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all central and State bodies be notified of these conditions by the secretary of the American

Digitized by Google

Federation of Labor and of the fact that Butler Brothers, of Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Dallas, Tex., Milwaukee and New York, are handling the products of this manufacturer and that the central bodies of these cities appoint a committee to wait on the branches of Butler Brothers and urge that they handle brooms made under decent conditions.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates F. A. Scoby and J. J. Doyle, of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The National Association of Slack Barrel, Stave and Heading Makers' Association, an employers' association of the barrel-stave industry, has declared in convention against the organization of the workers of this industry; and

WHEREAS, The action of the said employers' association being contrary to the recognized and established rights of American working men to organize for their protection and in the advancement of social and economic justice; and

WHEREAS, Every honorable effort has been exerted by the Coopers' International Union to bring about an honorable working agreement with the said employers' association having failed, due to the un-American attitude assumed by this organization of the employers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor pledges itself to assist the Coopers' International Union in the organization of the workingmen of the industry over which it has jurisdiction, and to establish equitable contractual relations with the employers of this industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give early consideration to the action of the afore-named employers' association and endeavor to bring about a conference for the amicable adjustment of such differences as exist between the Coopers' Union and the said employers' associations as will guarantee recognition of the rights of the American workingmen to organize and maintain their voluntary association.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates W. C. Reinhard, of the Houston, Tex., Labor Council; O. O. Harper, of the Dallas, Tex., Central Labor Council; H. O. Gossett, of the Texas State Federation of Labor; J. H. Fricke, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The conditions of the skilled and unskilled workers in the South and especially in the State of Texas is in a deplorable condition; and

WHEREAS, This part of our country is sadly in need of organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to give organization work in this section of our country immediate attention; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a general organizer be assigned to this work as soon as possible.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate Chas. S. Child, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Asiatic competition in the various walks of life has become a more and more serious menace to our people, both socially and industrially, particularly in California and other Pacific coast States, and is rapidly affecting the entire American continent; and

WHEREAS, Because of this impossible competition it is our duty to protect and assist our men and women engaged in the great struggle for subsistence in competition against the Orientals by demanding strict exclusion legislation and positive enforcement of same; and

WHEREAS, The Anti-Japanese Laundry League, of San Francisco, Cal., which is composed of Steam Laundry Workers' Union, Local No. 26, and Laundry Wagon Drivers' Union, Local No. 256, has for years consistently fought against the undermining of the American standard of living by Chinese, Hindoos and Japanese; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fourth Annual Convention assembled, extends to the Anti-Japanese Laundry League of San Francisco, and other similar organizations composed of locals affiliated to the A. F. of L., its sympathy and co-operation in the work that it is accomplishing; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as opposing Asiatic competition and instructs its officers and delegates to use their best efforts for the purpose of discouraging Asiatic competition of any nature against our own people, as well as to encourage and work for legislation that will prohibit the immigration of all Asiatics and for the strict enforcement of such legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Geo. F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp, Wm. Kemp, T. H. Norris, P. H. Triggs, John H. Baker, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Carmen claims jurisdiction over and includes in its membership men engaged in the painting of railway equipment; and

Digitized by Google

WHEREAS, The Pittsburgh 1905 convention of the American Federation of Labor gave to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America jurisdiction over car and railway equipment painting; and

WHEREAS, When the Brotherhood of Carmen was chartered by the American Federation of Labor, the Brotherhood of Painters called to the attention of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the fact that the jurisdiction claimed by the Brotherhood of Carmen conflicted with the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters as recognized by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The charter of the Brotherhood of Carmen was granted with the specific understanding, as stated by the Executive Council, that "in issuing the charter to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen it shall in no way infringe upon the jurisdiction of any existing national or international union, nor the work that may belong to either"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen be notified by the American Federation of Labor to refrain from further encroachment upon the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate A. J. Rosenthal, of the Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, At the present time there are in the United States unions which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, locally or through their national organizations; and

WHEREAS, These unions are a constant menace to some of the trades affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, and every effort has been made by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and its organizers to have these unions affiliate, and the aforesaid unions, have failed to do so; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, through its officers, proceed to organize such local or national unions, if such is possible

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate W. A. Neer, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers:

Amend Section 8 of Article 10 by inserting before the word "action" in the thirteenth line the words: "Like procedure may be instituted against the delegates of a local union for disloyalty upon the part of the local to the central body, and upon conviction the central body need not consider credentials from such local until it absolves itself from such disloyalty.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate H. O. Gossett, of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, This country is in many places overcrowded with unemployed men and women and from such unemployment the prices of labor is held at a minimum, and for the want of statistics of numbers of workers unemployed, the surplus is increased to the maximum; and

WHEREAS, The armies of unemployed are of no value to themselves, their neighbors, or the commercial world; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., in convention assembled, indorses and urges the suitable establishment and maintenance by State legislation of labor bureaus in each State in our Union, with branch offices located in every city therein, for the purposes of aiding the unemployed in securing positions, the investigation and abolition of shark employment offices, and the furnishing of statistics of value to labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate A. J. Rosenthal, of the Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The present system of affiliation with local unions to their respective departments, known as the Metal Trades Council, Building Trades Council and the Central Labor Union of their respective cities or towns does not seem to have the desired effect upon the different metal trades, building trades and the central labor unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record as favoring compulsory affiliation of the different local unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor through their different national, international or Federal labor unions, to their respective departments either with the metal trades, building trades councils or the central labor union in the cities or towns where they have jurisdiction, if such is in existence.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate L. N. Gansworth, of the Iowa State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, For the best interests of all concerned in the labor movement, it is necessary that we present a solid front; and

WHEREAS, There are a large number of local unions which are not affiliated with the central bodies in their

Digitized by Google

respective cities and State federations of labor; and

WHEREAS, We, the delegates to the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, feel that the time is opportune for taking action toward a solidification of our ranks in the city central bodies and State Federations of labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., recommends to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. that it, at its earliest possible convenience before the next annual session of the A. F. of L., use its good offices in the work of having the international unions require that in every city where there are central bodies, all locals belonging to said international unions must affiliate with such city central bodies and also with State federations of labor.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate John M. Cahalane, of the Hamilton, Ohio, Co-operative Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The fundamental principles of organized labor call for the exertion of every effort towards the maintaining and preserving of peace among mankind; and

WHEREAS, The existence of the Dick Military Law is not only a serious menace to the peace of our land, but is also a weapon that can be used at any time against the interest of the toiling masses; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the theory of extensive armaments and the creation of an unlimited military organization as a preserver of peace has been proven a fallacy by the deplorable barbaric struggle now being waged throughout Europe; and

WHEREAS, The stupendous suffering and devastation, and, in fact, all of the horrors and burdens of war, must be borne eventually by the toilers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we instruct its Executive Council and all affiliated bodies to use every effort to have the United States Government repeal not only the Dick Military Law but all others having a tendency to further the spirit of militarism within our land.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate P. F. Hanley, of the American Brotherhood of Slate Workers:

WHEREAS, It is universally conceded that the organizations of labor are all striving to the one end, to wit: to better conditions and uplift the toilers; and

WHEREAS, It is further conceded that no organization can sustain a healthy growth with members of its concrete body rent asunder; and

WHEREAS, It is still further conceded that what is a small benefit to one is such a detriment to another that it prevents it from organizing its members under the jurisdiction of the organization which has had the prior jurisdiction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all men employed in the production and the working of slate, to wit: quarry men, sawing, cutting, rubbing, constructing of sinks, wash trays and the setting of blackboards, urinals, wainscoting, treads, platforms, base, etc., and the working of slate in any way, shall be under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Slate Workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That its jurisdiction shall extend to such heretofore mentioned, as this is the only organization that can control the slate industry from its inception to its erection.

Referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate William Green, of the United Mine Workers:

WHEREAS, For the past fourteen months a strike has been in progress in the coal fields of Colorado, which strike is due in great measure to the non-enforcement of the laws of that State; and

WHEREAS, This strike and the causes leading up to it have been thoroughly investigated;

First, by a joint committee, appointed by the Legislature of 1913, which committee reported that practically all of the laws pertaining to the mining of coal in the State of Colorado were being violated by the operators.

Second, by a Federal Grand Jury sitting at Pueblo, Colorado, December 1, 1913, which found that

"State laws pertaining to the mining of coal have not been enforced.

"Coal companies controlled the State and county officials.

"Camp marshals, whose appointments were dictated and salaries paid by coal companies, have established arbitrary and illegal control over the miners and their rights and liberties.

"For the past ten years the coal miners of Colorado have been working under conditions of duress and intimidation, the coal companies having established a private army practically throughout the whole mining district. In the recent strike this proprietary guard has been superseded by the militia of the State, which has been still more destructive of civil liberty, in that the military commission, acting under orders of the Adjutant General, has set aside the writ of habeas corpus and trial by jury;"

Third, by a committee appointed by the State Federation of Labor, at the solicitation of Governor Ammons, to inquire into the alleged overt acts committed by the militia. This committee found that the militia, individually and collectively, has acted with the most brutal and wanton license, committing with impunity numerous crimes, from murder of women and children down to petty larceny;

Digitized by Google

Fourth, by a committee appointed by Congress to inquire into the strike and the causes leading up to it, which has disclosed a system of active peonage, through armed despotism, whereby the miners in many instances have been reduced to a condition of practical slavery; and,

WHEREAS, Repeated solicitation on the part of the miners, of committees of citizens representing the general public, and of State and congressional committees appointed to investigate these conditions, has completely failed in their efforts to bring the contending interests together, the operators ever maintaining that there was nothing to arbitrate, notwithstanding the fact that the State has been brought to a condition bordering upon civil war, in which the Governor has been obliged to call upon the President to send Federal troops into Colorado, thereby admitting that the State itself is incapable of dealing with the situation; and,

WHEREAS, On September 7, 1914, President Wilson submitted a proposal for a three-year truce as a basis of settlement, the terms of which were simply that each party to the controversy observe and obey the laws of the State of Colorado. This proposition was heartily accepted by the miners and just as summarily rejected by the operators, who insist now that their case might not be determined by the laws of the State or nation, but by the court of public opinion. Since then, and in fact for months previous, the coal companies have been conducting a campaign of publicity through such newspapers as they own and control, both inside and outside of Colorado, and through the medium of a number of bulletins mailed in great quantities to almost every community in the country, the sole purpose of which is to deceive the general public and create a hearty public opinion in favor of the operators.

We have examined these bulletins in the light of the evidence compiled by the Congressional Committee and have no hesitancy in saying that from the first to the last there is not a grain of truth in them that has not been distorted into a perversion of fact. As a case, to wit: Mr. Welborn, president of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, in a letter addressed to President Wilson, said: "I can state unequivocally that during the seven and one-half years I have been president we have not knowingly violated a single constitutional law of the State." And yet, on the witness stand, before the Congressional Committee, this same Welborn admitted that the law against the payment in scrip had not been enforced by his company; that the semi-monthly pay day, which became a law in 1901, had not been put into effect; that the eight-hour law, enacted in 1905, as well as the laws pertaining to the check weighman, were also ignored by his company; and notwithstanding these facts, the operators continue to send out these bulletins, the sole purpose of which is to poison public opinion while the great mass of refutative evidence gathered by the Congressional Committee remains buried in undigested and unobtainable volumes.

In the light of the history made in this strike, we deem it high time that the Government, which is in possession of all the established facts; facts which will prove:

First—That the operators of Colorado have not only violated every statutory law pertaining to the mining of coal, but that they have ruthlessly trampled in the dust every right and guarantee of citizenship as well;

Second—Ninety-five per cent. of the coal production of Colorado is controlled by a small group of operators, who exercise an absolute and oppressive monopoly and fix at will the price at which the public may obtain coal.

Third—The public is so thoroughly in the grip of this oppressive and extortionate price-fixing monopoly, that during the strike a committee representing the operators publicly advertised over their own signatures that, if the people of Colorado would help them put down the strike, they would, in turn, reduce the price of coal; and

WHEREAS, The President's proposal for a three-year truce simply means the operation of the mines of Colorado in conformity with the laws of that State, which proposal has been ignored by the operators, by which act the operators have declared that it is their purpose to force upon the American people the absolute Predominance of the interests they represent to rule industrially, irrespective of the statutory laws of both State and nation; and

WHEREAS, This conflict has now become paramount in its importance, national in its scope and character, and a menace to peace and liberty; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, call upon the President of the United States to insist that the Colorado coal operators immediately comply with the Federal plan of settlement, and in the event they refuse, that he take such steps as are necessary to have a receiver appointed for the purpose of taking over the mines and operate them in the interest of the people, under Federal supervision, until such time as the civil and political rights of the people are established.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate Wm. J. Boyle, of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Victor Talking Machine Company, of Camden, N. J., employs about 5000 mechanics at different trades; namely, machinists, toolmakers, metal polishers, cabinetmakers, machine hands, wood carvers, carpenters, painters and hardwood finishers. All these mechanics are compelled to work longer hours and receive 25 per cent. less wages than is paid to mechanics in other shops in Philadelphia; and

Digitized by Google

WHEREAS, The product of this company is bought and used by the wage earners all over the world; and

WHEREAS, The managers of the cabinet department are and always have been antagonistic to the principles of organized labor from a selfish standpoint. They discriminate and discharge union men whenever they get the chance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By Local Union No. 426, Hardwood Finishers, that we request our delegates to the American Federation of Labor to put the Victor Talking Machine Company on the unfair list until such time as the owners or stockholders realize that it does not pay to have managers who delight in discharging union men.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate Wm. J. Boyle, of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Labor Forward Movement Committee, appointed last January by the Philadelphia Central Labor Union, has gained such added impetus to the cause of trade unionism in this city; and

WHEREAS, The vigorous and sustained efforts of the committee have resulted in the institution of fourteen new local unions, and added approximately 15,000 to the membership of existing unions; and

WHEREAS, All trade unionists of Philadelphia should take advantage of the great opportunity afforded for the advancement of the principles of organized labor made possible by the marvelous enthusiasm aroused in the rank and file of its membership by the campaign conducted by the Labor Forward Movement Committee; and

WHEREAS, This can only be accomplished by a systematic following up of the work already inaugurated, and which can be made a great agency under the leadership of an organizer, familiar with local conditions, for the upbuilding of the great cause in which we are engaged; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Labor Forward Movement Committee be made a permanent institution of the Central Labor Union under the direction of a paid organizer; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated national and international unions be urged to give such financial support as to guarantee the permanency of this committee that has but just entered upon its career of usefulness; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and that the delegate of the Central Labor Union be instructed to bring the subject before the convention of the American Federation of Labor for the consideration of its delegates.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 94—By Delegates G. W. Perkins, T. F. Tracy, J. Mahlon Barnes, Phil. H. Mueller and Samuel Gompers, of the Cigarmakers' International Union of America:

RESOLVED, That the editor of the American Federationist be and is hereby instructed to contribute, bimonthly, articles in the American Federationist bearing upon the subject matter of the resolution adopted by the Seattle Convention.

Such resolution known as Resolution No. 34, page 163, Proceedings of the Seattle Convention.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth, of the International Seamen's Union:

WHEREAS, Periodical unemployment is growing; and

WHEREAS, This enforced idleness has its origin in the employment of women and children in industry made possible by our discovery and control of natural forces and their application to machinery and to our system of land tenure; and

WHEREAS, These conditions are destructive of the individual, the family, and our race; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we do our very utmost to restore individual, social and racial health by restoring the woman to the home and the children to the school and to such play as shall help them to grow up to become efficient men and women.

RESOLVED, That to this end the land be restored to the people and made available without paying of tribute to so-called land owners; and therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That we give our greatest attention to the organization of the so-called unskilled in every field of labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate Stanley Anderson, of the Detroit Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, As there now exist two Central Labor Unions in Detroit, one known as the Detroit Federation of Labor and the other as the Central Labor Union, the Central Labor Union consisting of German-speaking organizations, such as the Bakers and the Typographia Unions and others; and

WHEREAS, The Detroit Federation of Labor protests against said Central Labor Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Detroit Federation of Labor does hereby ask the

Digitized by Google

American Federation of Labor to take this matter up with the internationals and ask them to discontinue the name of Central Labor Union and affiliate with the Detroit Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth, of the Seamen's International Union:

WHEREAS, We hold that the great war in Europe, as the lesser war in Mexico, has its origin in the hopes and aspirations of the people—aspirations of the people of the Balkans, for ages suppressed by the Turkish power, and now struggling to attain unity and self-expression, guided by government of their own making and based upon affinity in race and language—aspirations of the burdenbearers throughout the Christian world to ease their burdens and get a more just share of the fruit of their toil; and

WHEREAS, The lesser causes of these birth pangs lay in racial, national and social fears, the Teutonic fear of the Slav, French and English fear of Germany—territorial, military and commercial—and the fear of the beneficiaries of the present social and industrial system, like unto the fear of the unwilling mother, who feels new and strange life growing within; and

WHEREAS, We hold the present awful struggle to be too fundamental to be blamed upon any particular government or people and too great for prejudice and anger; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we call upon our own people to judge none of those who are engaged in this war, but to tender to them our profound sympathy and join with them in the hope that as a result of the struggle there may come new national boundaries, which shall be based on racial and lingual affinity, new opportunities for self-expression to those of the human family who feel themselves to be one and an improved social and industrial system that shall permit and foster a truer equality, a broader freedom, a higher justice and therefore a more lasting peace; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That we protest against the cry of peace, peace where peace is not nor can be, because of the present wrongs imposed and suffered; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we warn our fellow toilers against any international police force, which, no matter how organized or controlled in our present stage of development, can mean only suppression, stagnation and despair.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

Resolution No. 98—By Delegates E. J. Brais, John B. Lennon and C. N. Bolander, of the Journeymen Tailors' Union:

WHEREAS, Numerous changes have occurred in the production of custom tailoring during recent years, such as specializing, subdivision of labor, introduction of machinery and different business methods, the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, in order to keep up with the development, found it necessary at its convention, held August, 1913, to change its name to the Tailors' Industrial Union; and

WHEREAS, This action was submitted to referendum vote of the membership and was likewise adopted by them; and

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America now makes a formal request that it be officially recognized under the title of Tailors' Industrial Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, grants the request of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, and instructs the proper officers to make the necessary changes and issue a charter to the Tailors' Industrial Union.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates A. P. Sovey, Alfred Bieber and Mary R. Sullivan, of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, There has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. Gorman, of Illinois, a bill known as House Resolution No. 16,541, a copy of which is herewith appended; and

WHEREAS, This bill, if enacted into law, will be of material benefit to employes of the Federal Government and of the District of Columbia, many of whom are members of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The said International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, in convention assembled at Denver, Col., did give this proposed legislation its unqualified indorsement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does give its indorsement and support to the proposed law, and urges upon Congress and its proper committee, the necessity for its early enactment.

A bill providing a minimum wage for certain employes of the District of Columbia and in the civil service of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter all persons employed by the District of Columbia and in the civil service of the United States of America, who are now designated as "unskilled laborers," shall receive for their services

Digitized by Google

as such employes a minimum salary of not less than $780 a year; and all persons employed by the District of Columbit and in the civil service of the United States of America, who are now classified as "skilled laborers," including watchmen, police officers, firemen, inspectors, or those who, in due course of their employment, are required to use tools or other machinery, or who are assistants to mechanics, or who assist in the management or operation of machinery, shall receive a minimum compensation of not less than $1080 per year.

Sec. 2. That the provisions of this act shall take effect from and after its passage.

Sec. 3. That upon the passage of this act the heads of departments in which are employed persons affected hereby shall issue new appointments at the increased rate of compensation herein provided for.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegates T. M. Daly, John J. Flynn, George Leary, of the International Union of Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers:

WHEREAS, The Pocket Knife Grinders' Union, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, has polishing and buffing in its jurisdiction, and, in fact, its whole union is comprised of metal polishers; therefore, be it

REOLVED, That the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union be allowed its full jurisdiction of metal polishing and buffing on all metal; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, goes on record in regard to our charter rights, and that the incoming Executive Council shall do all in its power to bring the two organizations together, as their interests will be best safeguarded in the one union.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates George Leary, T. M. Daly and John J. Flynn, of the International Union of Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers:

WHEREAS, The Jewelry Workers' Organization no longer exists as an International Union; and

WHEREAS, During the time that it held a charter of affiliation to the American Federation of Labor, it claimed the right to organize Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union be allowed its full jurisdiction of metal polishing, buffing and plating on all metal; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, now assembled, goes on record to the effect that our organization's charter, issued by the American Federation of Labor, covers all metal polishing, buffing and plating in its jurisdiction.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate William McPherson, of the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, A great number of vehicles, both horse-drawn and motor-driven, are used and owned by the United States Government for service in its various departments; and

WHEREAS, None of these vehicles are made in union shops or under anything approaching union conditions, to our knowledge; and

WHEREAS, We do positively know that such firms as the Armleeder Company, of Cincinnati, Ohio, have received contracts for such work, and have done such work on a ten-hour basis, with the added piece-work features; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested by this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention to take this matter up with the proper authorities in Washington, D. C., at its earliest convenience and endeavor to bring such pressure to bear as will eliminate this condition of affairs and will result in having this work, both new and repair work, done in union shops or factories by union labor and under union conditons.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegates A. P. Sovey, Alfred Bieber and Mary R. Sullivan, of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEERAS The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has on two occasions rendered decisions which gave to the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders jurisdiction over single wrapping in all binderies; and

WHEREAS, The Seattle Convention of the American Federation of Labor confirmed by a unanimous vote the decision of the Executive Council in this regard; and

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union has persistently ignored and openly defied the plain intent and purpose of the decisions of the Executive Council and the American Federation of Labor, which awarded jurisdiction over single wrapping in all binderies to the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; and

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union is affiliated with and subordinate to the American Federation of Labor, and must, therefore, abide by the decisions of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, It is imperative that discipline be maintained and the judgment of the American Federation of Labor recognized as supreme and its decisions accepted as final; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the international unions forming the International Allied

Digitized by Google

Printing Trades Association, and all other unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, be instructed to recognize and respect the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders over single wrapping in all binderies, as decreed by the Executive Council and the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Typographical Union be and hereby is instructed to immediately relinquish all claim to jurisdiction over single wrapping in binderies, and to surrender at once to the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders such single wrapping as it may now control, in accordance with the decision of the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event the International Typographical Union fails to fully comply with these decisions of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and of the American Federation of Labor itself, or seeks to evade a complete compliance with these demands and instructions, that the Executive Council is authorized and instructed to use all powers vested in it and in the American Federation of Labor to command enforcement of the decisions of the Executive Council and the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate Samuel Gompers, of the Cigarmakers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The whole civilized world is torn by the awful titanic struggle which is now devastating continental Europe, disturbing the commercial and industrial conditions of the whole world, submerging the nations of Europe in the shadows and horrors of war, touching sharply our sympathy and stirring the depths of our emotion; and

WHEREAS, All history has proved that trial by conflict does not result in permanent peace when it does not establish justice as its foundation, while peace promotes the establishment of those agencies which seek to regulate the relations between men that justice may prevail; and

WHEREAS, Political experience shows that the welfare and the interests of all the people are promoted in proportion as they are represented in the government and the government is responsive and responsible to them, it is necessary that the workers have a will and an effective voice in determining international relations; and

WHEREAS, The workers of every age have had special and imperative reasons for advocating and endeavoring to secure provisions insuring the maintenance of peace with justice, since upon them fall the burdens of actual warfare and the real fighting in the ranks, while the hardships and the suffering accompanying war and following it are felt most keenly and most palpably by them and those dependent upon them, and the costs of war ever fall disproportionately upon their already inadequate resources; and

WHEREAS, The workers of all countries have been leaders in protesting against injury and violence to human life in peace as well as in war, and against the cruelty and the waste of needless war, and they have steadfastly endeavored to rouse the general public to realize the enormity of war, thereby rendering public opinion alert and sensitive to the responsibility of all men for the existence of war, and, moreover, the workers have been inspired to assist in constructive movements for the prevention of wars whereby peace may be maintained with justice; and

WHEREAS, The organized wage workers of the civilized nations have established fraternal realtions for the purpose of binding together the trade unions of all countries for the promotion of common interests and ideals, and by frequent and regular communication, co-operation and exchange of representatives have brought about an understanding and sympathy between the organization and their members in the various countries, relations which are necessary for the inception and the continuance of peace; and

WHEREAS, Out of the experience of these workers, out of their burden bearing and their wrongs, out of their hopes and their victories, have developed principles of justice and the conviction that the establishment of these principles as practical forces in the lives of the workers is conditioned upon establishing dependable representative agencies for the realization of purposes and agreements determined upon; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of the organized labor movement of America, express and hereby convey to the organized labor movements of Europe fraternal greetings and our sympathy with their great suffering and distress, and that we express our most earnest hope for the early cessation of the terrible warfare now desolating the lands, destroying the families and impoverishing the nations of our fellow-workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we desire that fraternal relations between national labor movements shall continue with no more interruption than shall be absolutely unavoidable during the war, to the end that our regular intercourse and co-operation shall be resumed immediately at the close of the war; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention of the A. F. of L., in view of the general Peace Congress which no doubt will be held at the close of the war, for the purpose of adjusting claims and differences, hold itself in readiness and authorize the Executive Council to call a meeting of representatives of organized labor of the different nations

Digitized by Google

to meet at the same time and place, to the end that suggestions may be made and such action taken as shall be helpful in restoring fraternal relations, protecting the interests of the toilers and thereby assisting in laying foundations for a more lasting peace; and be it further.

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the International Federation of Trade Unions, to all national trade union centers throughout the world and to the President of the United States.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

Resolution No. 105—By Delegates J. E. McClory, M. J. Cunnane and W. R. Walters, of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers:

WHEREAS, The method of handling the finances and the various national and international unions is such that it enables the workers' money being used in an indirect way to defeat the purposes of their organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be ordered and is hereby instructed to make a thorough investigation, as to the amount of money each international and national union can deposit, and report to the next convention some definite plan of co-operation under which we may establish a bank for the handling of all moneys of the various national and international unions to the end that the workers' money may be used for no other cause except the furthering of the conditions of the workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 106—By Delegates A. P. Sovey, Alfred Bleber and Mary R. Sullivan, of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union is, in an indirect manner, fostering and maintaining in New York City a dual organization of women bindery workers, known as Women's Auxiliary of Mailers' Union No. 6, and,

WHEREAS, Members of the International Typographical Union have been active in distributing printed circulars to the membership of the New York Bindery Women's Union, No. 43, of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, which teem with false and malicious statements against the officers of said Bindery Women's Union; and,

WHEREAS, The intent and purpose of this infamous work is unquestionably to encourage secession and to deprive the women members of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders of their jurisdictional rights to single wrapping in the binderies of New York; and,

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has had presented to it on two different occasions the claims of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders and of the International Typographical Union to this particular character of work, and in each instance has decided that aside from the single wrapping of newspapers all mailing done in binderies rightfully comes under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; and,

WHEREAS, The Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor unanimously concurred in the decisions of the Executive Council in this regard; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the International Typographical Union be instructed to dissolve immediately the dual bindery women's organization in New York City, known as Women's Auxiliary of Mailers' Union, No. 6; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Typographical Union be instructed to refrain from aiding or abetting any further dual movement among men and women workers who of right belong under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 107—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, J. H. Fricke, E. H. Foley, A. J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, There are boatowners in the port of New York and vicinity who will not employ a captain for one of their boats unless his wife and children live on the boat, and as conditions surrounding these boats are not sanitary and a proper place for women and children to be, due to the fact that while the boat is loading they are in the dust caused by the cargo, and if lying at a public pier where there is a city dump they are in the dust of the rubbish and ashes; also, that they are exposed to the odor caused by the garbage and sewers, and while lying alongside of a steamship it is a common occurrence to have the toilets and garbage of the ship dumped on the deck and in the cabin windows of their boats; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. do all in its power to have laws enacted which will stop this system and prevent women and children from living on these boats and give the children an opportunity to go to school.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, J. H. Fricke, E. H. Foley, A. J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, It is essential that all unions engaged in the transportation industries be organized into a joint defensive central body; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be instructed to organize a Transportation Department within the American Federation of Labor.

Digitized by Google

Referred to the Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 109—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, J. H. Fricke, E. H. Foley, A. J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, Longshoremen are exposed by the hazardous nature of their occupation to an ever-present risk of accident; and

WHEREAS, The risk is greater through the speeding up of work by selfish employers for the sole purpose of attaining greater profits with no thought of life or limb; and

WHEREAS, We realize that preventive measures are more desirable in attaining a longer usefulness for both our families and the communities in which we reside, than the compensation by law for unforseen accidents; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use every endeavor to have the federal, state and provincial authorities enact safety legislation that would minimize the risks of accidents to our calling.

Referred to Committee on State Organization.

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate George B. McGovern, of the Yonkers Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Industrial injuries incapacitate many workers, preventing them from following their chosen trade or calling; and

WHEREAS, Society owes a duty in payment for incapacity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor exert all efforts to secure for the unfortunates who have been incapacitated from following their own vocation, such assistance by legislation or otherwise as may enable them to earn their own livelihood.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, J. H. Fricke, E. H. Foley and A. J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, There is a number of foreign ships lying in ports of the United States on account of the European war with full crews of foreign sailors aboard. At the port of Hoboken, N. J., there are a number of German ships lying with several thousand men aboard. It is rumored in that city that the companies owning those ships are contemplating using those men at longshore work on other boats belonging to that company. We believe that this would be a violation of the Alien Contract Labor Law. It is also rumored that the companies are going to turn the men off of the boats. If this latter should happen, they would immediately become a charge on the city and would necessarily encroach upon the work now done by the longshoremen of that city; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The Executive Council take this matter up with the Labor Department of the United States and also with the Immigration Department and find out whether or not this would be contrary to law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegates J. W. Kline, John M. Tobin, of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths; Wm. H. Johnston, Thos. Van Lear, J. A. Taylor, of the International Association of Machinists; Jas. Hatch, of the Upholsterers' International Union; John J. Hynes, James T. Moriarty, of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance; James Wilson, John Watt, of the Pattern Makers' League of North America; George Leary, John J. Flynn, of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America; P. H. McCarthy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; F. J. McNulty, S. A. Grimblot, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, The following resolution was introduced at the Seattle convention:

"WHEREAS, There are over 150,000 mechanics employed in carriage, wagon, and automobile manufacturing plants; and,

"WHEREAS, Efforts made to organize the automobile factories have not been effective on account of the claims made by the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union, which claims jurisdiction over all men employed in the construction and repairing of carriages, wagons and automobiles; and,

"WHEREAS, The jurisdiction claimed by the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union encroaches upon the jurisdiction of all the national unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, whose members are employed in the auto manufacturing establishments; therefore, be it.

"RESOLVED, That this Thirty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor certifies to the fact that the jurisdiction of the organizations whose crafts are a part of the carriage, wagon and automobile industries shall be protected, and the officers of the American Federation of Labor instructed to notify the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union that it is to discontinue in future all encroachment upon the jurisdiction of the unions the names of which are herewith attached, and that the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union be required to turn over to their respective unions all men they have as members of the local unions who lawfully belong to other international unions, and that the Executive Council be instructed to assist the various international organizations whose

Digitized by Google

charters give them the right to organize men employed in the carriage, wagon, and automobile industries, to secure control of the work that properly comes under their jurisdiction. Should the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union fail to comply with the provisions of this resolution, your committee recommends that a report of the facts be made by the Executive Council to the next convention."

WHEREAS, In view of the fact that the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union has, since the adoption of above resolution by the Seattle convention, continued its encroachment on the jurisdiction of other national unions by organizing and attempting to organize men in the automobile industry who perform work covered by the jurisdiction of other national unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention order the revocation of the charter of the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union by June 1, 1915, unless it comply with the provisions of Resolution No. 125, adopted at the Seattle convention—to wit, that it be required to turn over to its respective unions all men it has as members in its local union lawfully belonging to other national unions and in future to refrain from organizing or interfering with the organizing of men employed in the automobile industry who are performing work covered by the jurisdiction of other national unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates Matt Comerford, R. G. Moser, John J. Glass and James G. Hannahan, of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association is organizing engineers; and

WHEREAS, It is using said engineers to fill places of members of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers when said members are on strike to better their conditions, this recently happening in the port of Chicago; be it

RESOLVED, That the International Longshoremen's Association be censured by this convention for this flagrant violation of trades unionism; and be it further

RESOLVED, That it be compelled to transfer all operating engineers in its organization to the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and stand instructed not to enroll in the future any engineers into its organization.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 114—By Delegates T V. O'Connor, J. H. Fricke, E H. Foley, A. J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The different steamships calling at the ports of New York and New Jersey for unloading and loading of cargo have their equipment in a dangerous condition to such an extent that a number of lives have been endangered and a number of men have been crippled; and

WHEREAS, The States of New York and New Jersey have no laws sufficient to compel the shipping companies to better their equipment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. convention does hereby instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to prepare a bill to be introduced in the next session of Congress, and have it enacted into law, establishing a bureau of inspection of loading and unloading equipment aboard ship.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegates Matt Comerford, R. G. Moser, John J. Glass, Jas G. Hannahan, of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, The Steam Shovel and Dredge Engineers are a part of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, and known in that organization as Local Union No. 440; and

WHEREAS, A joint conference was held in the city of Chicago by the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, officers of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor, officers of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and officers of both factions of existing Steam Shovel and Dredgemen's organizations; and

WHEREAS, It was agreed at this conference by unanimous vote that all engineers following this line of industry must hold membership in the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and

WHEREAS, Later a conference has been held without representatives of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor or representatives of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers being present, resulting in a proposition of granting the two organizations a charter by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this charter be not granted and jurisdiction over this work be granted to the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

Referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 116—By Delegate D. Marcusy, Central Trades and Labor Council, New Orleans, La.:

WHEREAS, Acting upon instructions of the trades unionists of New Orleans and vicinity, and realizing the necessity of having a permanent organizer located in the South; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled instruct the Executive Council

Digitized by Google

to transfer an organizer to the South, with headquarters in New Orleans, La., for a period of one year.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 117—By Delegates Matt Comerford, R. G. Moser, John J. Glass and Jas. G. Hannahan, of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, In accordance with action taken by the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor a conference was held in the headquarters of the A. F. of L. in Washington, D. C., for the purpose of bringing about an amalgamation of the engineers and firemen; and

WHEREAS, At said conference after general discussion amalgamation was not agreed to by the representatives of the firemen; and

WHEREAS, In order to bring about a peaceful understanding, temporarily, representatives of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers made the following proposition to the firemen, to wit: "That the Firemen's Union would agree to transfer all licensed and bona fide operating engineers to the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, and that the engineers would agree to transfer all members in its organization that were employed as firemen to the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen; and

WHEREAS, This proposition was rejected by the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled grant jurisdiction to the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers over all firemen, helpers and apprentices in power plants or engine rooms or on any other work where engineers claim jurisdiction at this time.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 118—By Delegates E. H. Foley, T. V. O'Connor, J. H. Fricke, and A. J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, There are many millions of men in the nation at all times who are able, willing and anxious to work in order to support themselves and their dependents, and yet are unable to find employment of any kind. As was truly said by Thomas Carlyle, "A man willing to work and unable to find work is, perhaps, the saddest sight possible to behold." It is the duty of organized labor to solve this problem of unemployment and offer a remedy; and

WHEREAS, The perusal of Government statistics on labor and commerce informs us that while the average annual product of the American wage-worker is more than $2400, the average wage paid this same worker is only $480, but we believe that the worker is entitled to the full product of his toil. This, along with the fact that the American wage worker is speeded up to the limit of endurance and has to work extremely long hours and under conditions that are, very often, of the most dangerous and insanitary kind, is a deplorable state of affairs that makes paupers of the wealth producers of the nation and multi-millionaires and billionaires of their arrogant exploiters, who perform no useful labor whatever, and treat the workers to a shower of bullets from the muzzles of machine guns in armored cars if they dare to protest in a manner that is at all effective. A remedy for this condition must also be furnished by organized labor if it is to survive; and

WHEREAS, Prices of the necessities of life have been sent skyward by the demands for profits of the private employers engaged in the production and distribution of the commodities necessary to sustain life, until it is next to impossible for the wage worker to get more than the barest kind of an existence, in spite of the fact that improved machinery and modern methods of production have made it possible for the labor of one worker to produce more than a dozen, a hundred, and, in many cases, even a thousand workers could produce only a few years ago; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That, as a means of permanently solving the unemployed, the employed under deplorable conditions and the high cost of living problems, the American Federation of Labor does hereby petition the President of the United States and the Governors of the States, demanded that they do call upon Congress and the Legislatures to immediately pass laws relieving this situation by enabling the municipal, state and national governments to establish at once throughout the nation producing, manufacturing, distributing, building and any and all departments necessary for the purpose of furnishing to the people the necessities of life—namely, food, clothing, shelter, transportation, amusement, etc., at the actual cost of production and distribution; also to pass laws changing the present medium of exchange from dollars, dimes and cents to a system of hours, minutes and seconds of labor power; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to all affiliated locals of the American Federation of Labor with a request that they be favorably acted upon and sent to all unions throughout the nation for like action, then to be forwarded to the President of the United States and the Governor of each State by the respective labor bodies, and that the delegates from the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to do

Digitized by Google

everything possible to have the intent of these resolutions carried out.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate William F. Kavanagh, of the Hudson County (N. J.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Chinese restaurants and Chinese laundries give no employment to American labor; therefore, be it

WHEREAS, Chinese are not eligible to citizenship; and

WHEREAS, American laundries and American restaurants give employment to American labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, requests its affiliated membership to give their patronage to American laundries and restaurants.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 120—By Delegates A. A. Myrup, Henry Koch and J. Goldstone, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, A most severe struggle has been and is now being waged by the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America against the intended extermination of its organization by what is now generally known as the Bread Trust, composed of numerous gigantic baking concerns, such as the Ward Baking Company and the General Baking Company, conducting business in various cities, such as New York and Brooklyn, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Boston, Providence, R. I., and in numerous other large cities and their vicinities, and are the non-union manufacturers of widely advertised brands of non-union bread, such as "Tip-Top" bread, in the advertising interest of which Robert B. Ward, president of the various Ward Bread Trust combinations, apparently became the main financial backer of the Federal Baseball League and the sole owner of its Brooklyn Club, which team he named "Tip-Tops," after his notorious brand of non-union bread; and

WHEREAS, The intended non-union monopolization of the bread industry, if successfully accomplished, will not alone mean the exclusion of organized labor from the bread industry, but will also place the interests of the bread-consuming public in the hands of this Bread Trust combination, by which the latter can assume power to dictate the terms and prices under which bread, the main staff of life, may be bought; and

WHEREAS, In this struggle of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America the best weapon in resisting the offensive warfare and advertising campaign of this Bread Trust combination has been the union label, and the support rendered by organized labor in general and its friends in increasing the consumption of bread that bears the union label of the Bakery workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, reaffirm its previous declaration of support to the bakery workers, reindorse their label, pledge itself and urge its affiliated organizations to do all in their power to continue their assistance to the bakery workers in still further creating a healthy public sentiment in favor of the use only of bread that bears the union label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.

Referred to the Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 121—By Delegates T. Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton, W. J. Brennan, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, Previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor have defined in no uncertain terms the jurisdictional status of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen; and

WHEREAS, The international representatives of the Steam and Operating Engineers assured the Rochester convention of the American Federation of Labor that it was not the intention of their organization to admit to membership any person working under the jurisdiction of the stationary firemen or filling positions covered by said jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, The Seattle convention reaffirmed the action of the previous conventions and instructed the respective officers of both organizations to meet in conjunction with a representative of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of consummating a working agreement in the spirit of brotherhood for the best interest of the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Despite the fact that such meeting had been arranged for by the President of the American Federation of Labor and attended by the respective officers and a representative of the Executive Council (Treasurer Lennon), with no cessation of hostilities on the part of the steam engineers in their encroachments on the jurisdiction granted the stationary firemen; and

WHEREAS, In several cities throughmade by the Steam and Operating Engineers to start dual organizations under the guise of branch locals by the false statements made that the American Federation of Labor had granted the Steam and Operating Engineers the jurisdiction over oilers and firemen, providing they came in as branch locals of the Steam and Operating Engineers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to have all men now holding membership in the affiliated locals of that organization who are working as water tenders, oilers or firemen transferred to locals of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen prior to January 1, 1915; and be it further

Digitized by Google

RESOLVED, That the installation of branch locals, as now practiced by organizers of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, shall be considered as a direct disregard of decisions of the American Federation of Labor and its Executive Council, which, if continued, shall be deemed sufficient cause for such discipline as future conventions may decide.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegates William F. Kavanagh and Henry J. Lohse, Hudson County, N. J., Central Labor Union and Essex Trades Council, of Newark, N. J.:

WHEREAS, In the northern section of the State of New Jersey innumerable conflicts are taking place among local unions of the same international organizations, owing to the 25-mile jurisdiction from the City Hall of New York City claimed by New York locals; and

WHEREAS, On several municipal contracts clauses are inserted in said contract providing for the employment of citizens of the community being employed on the erection of said buildings, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The labor men of New Jersey feel that jurisdiction is being denied them on their own territory, and but scant recognition given them or the central bodies in New Jersey with which they are affiliated by the international unions when appealed to; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the international organizations affiliated to cede to their New Jersey locals all work within their own territory so as to avoid unnecessary strikes and lockouts.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 123—By Delegates A. A. Myrup, Henry Koch and J. Goldstone, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, In order to offset the effective agitation of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America against the large non-union combination generally known as the Bread Trust, the Ward Baking Company, operating large non-union plants in the cities of New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Providence, R. I.; Cleveland, Ohio; Pittsburgh, Pa., and other cities, is conducting an extensive advertising campaign in the interest of its non-union brands of bread, to whch end, during the last baseball season, it extended its advertising schemes and made use of the national game of baseball; and

WHEREAS, Robert B. Ward, president of the Ward Baking Company, in connection with other magnates of the non-union Bread Trust, is the main financial backer of the Federal League of baseball, and the sole owners of the Brooklyn Club of said league, through which fact he intended to eliminate, by his alleged love for the national game, the otherwise existing antagonism against him by reason of his union-hating position as it concerns organized labor; and

WHEREAS, In furtherance of his advertising campaign, and in order to constantly keep before the public the various non-union makes of Ward's bread, he named the team of the Brooklyn Club "Tip-Tops," after his non-union "Tip-Top" bread, trademark of which is owned by the Ward interests; and

WHEREAS, It is the belief of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America that organized labor and its friends in general, who are so loyally supporting the organized bakery workers by their persistent discrimination against the non-union product of the Ward Bread Trust combination by purchasing only such bread as bears the union label of the bakery workers, should further extend the same loyal support to the bakery workers by discriminating against the Brooklyn team of the Federal League, and thereby thwart the intended advertising stunt of the non-union Bread Trust combination as controlled by the Ward interests; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in its Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, to assist the Bakery workers in having these facts become generally known to the end that organized labor and its friends may render the bakery workers in the field of baseball such support as they deem necessary to bring forth the required pressure on those interested in baseball, so that the bakery workers may be assisted in their desire to organize all non-union bread factories of the Ward Baking Company.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegates W. V. Price and S. C. Hogan, of the International Association of Marble Workers:

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 67, introduced at the Seattle convention, called for the expulsion of local unions of bricklayers and masons from State and city federated unions; and

WHEREAS, The Committee on Building Trades recommended to the Seattle convention (recommendation adopted), that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, acting with the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, immediately call a conference of representatives of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union and representatives of the International Association of Marble Workers and if possible

Digitized by Google

bring about an adjustment of the controversy; failing to bring about an adjustment, the provisions of resolution No. 67 to be carried into effect; and

WHEREAS, Conferences having been held and no adjustment reached and the bricklayers and masons continuing to infringe on work conceded to the International Association of Marble Workers by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to notify all State and city federated unions to expel all locals of bricklayers and masons therefrom, notice to be sent immediately on the adjournment of the thirty-fourth Annual Convention.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 125.—By Delegate William F. Kavanagh, Hudson County, New Jersey, Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The school teachers throughout our nation are in numerous cases overworked and underpaid; and

WHEREAS, Organization and affiliation to the American Federation of Labor would be the means of bettering their condition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor recommends that the delegates to this convention returning home urge upon their locals, central bodies and State Federations of Labor to take up the work of organizing this particular class of workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 126—By Delegates J. E. McClory, M. J. Cunnane and W. R. Walters, of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers:

WHEREAS, The tendency of the times in the American labor movement is to consolidate and amalgamate kindred or closely allied crafts; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers is composed of co-ordinate branches of erection and construction, in which rigging and other apparatus is used; and

WHEREAS, Among the various branches of work in the construction line the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers has a class of workmen known as riggers, machinery movers and house movers, who command the highest wage and shortest hours for this class of work; and

WHEREAS, Our efforts to better organize this class of workmen would be greatly facilitated if the American Federation of Labor would give complete jurisdiction to the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers over this class of workmen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, assembled in Philadelphia, grant complete jurisdiction over said work contained in this resolution to the International Association of Brdge and Structural Iron Workers.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 127—By Delegates J. E. Giles, Local No. 11773, of Washington, D. C.; Mary Galvin, Local No. 12755, Chicago, Ill., and Alice S. Bean, Local No. 12646, New York:

WHEREAS, The stenographers, typewriters, bookkeepers, accountants and office clerks generally throughout the country are now and always have been compelled to work for very meagre wages, and under unfavorable conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Philadelphia convention of the American Federation of Labor urges the organizers of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the affiliated national and international unions to use their best efforts and render every assistance possible in organizing the stenographers, typewriters, bookkeepers, accountants and office clerks throughout the country; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor designate one of its special organizers to work among the office employes of the country as long as practicable during the coming year.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 128—By Delegates F. J. McNulty, S. Grimblot, T. Singer, and J. Cullen, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, In communicating with the various State and city central labor bodies many complications are encountered owing to the several different titles by which they are known; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all State and city central bodies affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall be designated under the same title; for example,

The Central Labor Union of Philadelphia, Pa.

The Texas State Federation of Labor.

Said changes to be made as soon as practicable.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 129—By Delegates of the Cigarmakers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The hazards incident to industrial employment that result from the neglect to adequately safeguard machinery, the lack of proper sanitary

Digitized by Google

facilities or the failure to cause the removal of dust, fumes or excessive heat, leads to an enormous amount of occupational sickness and suffering that must be borne by the worker; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the president of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take such steps as may be deemed advisable to acquaint the members of the trade-union movement with the various hazards incident to their employment and the methods best calculated to preserve their health, safety and lives.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 130—By Delegates M. G. Scott, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, Hugh Stevenson and T. W. McCullough, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The present United States laws provide that the Postmaster General shall contract for the manufacture of stamped envelopes; and

WHEREAS, In the contract now in effect and contracts which have been in effect for many years past the successful bidder has been enabled to build up a monopoly on the printing of corner cards on said stamped envelopes for the reason that all the business which is done by the said contractor is handled to a large extent by the United States Government and without cost to the contractor, this system extending to the counting, packing, shipping and delivery of said stamped envelopes containing return corner cards printed to the order of customers in all parts of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union has entered upon a campaign having for its purpose the protection of its members in that they should have an opportunity for the execution of this work, and also for the protection of employing printers, who are unable to meet this unfair competition fostered by the United States Government, and, therefore, lose many hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of business each year; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to lend such assistance to the International Typographical Union in securing the passage of an amendment to the law which will prevent this unfair practice as they may be able.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 131—By Delegates John R. Alpine, Thomas S. Kearney, Charles Anderson and Charles M. Rau, of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters; William Lynn, of the Central Labor Union, Cincinnati, Ohio:

WHEREAS, The Railway Employes' Department of the American Federation of Labor, at its 1914 convention, held in Kansas City, Mo., did, by a majority vote of one, exclude or declare the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters as ineligible for membership in said Railway Employes' Department; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has declared the action of the convention of the Railway Employes' Department, as herein referred to, to be illegal and not in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has further declared the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters to be still in full affiliation with the aforesaid Railway Employes' Department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor sustains the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor as rendered in this case.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 132—By Delegates John R. Alpine, Thomas S. Kearney, Charles Anderson and Charles M. Rau, of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters:

WHEREAS, Local Union 566, of New York City, is a bona fide local union of the United Assoication of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, The International Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union has in the past and still is using every effort to have Local Union 566, of the United Association, affiliate with the International Compressed Air Workers; and

WHEREAS, The members of Local Union 566 are engaged only at pipe fitting as a means of livelihood, and are not in any manner infringing or intruding upon the work or jurisdiction of the Compressed Air Workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the International Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union of the United States and Canada shall discontinue the effort to secure control over Local Union 566, or any other local union of the United Association, and the said International Association of Compressed Air Workers, etc., shall by this convention be so instructed.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 133—By Delegate Thos. Kelly, of the United Trades and Labor Assembly of Louisville, Ky.:

Officers and Delegates to the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention:

Owing to the fact that a controversy has existed in Louisville, Ky., between

Digitized by Google

the United Trades and Labor Assembly and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, in reference to the non-seating of the carpenters for violation of Section 10, Article 11, of the American Federation of Labor, which reads as follows:

Local unions of national or international unions affiliated with the departments attached to the American Federation of Labor in any city where a local department exists shall not be eligible to membership in any local department unless they are connected with the chartered central body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the central body unless they are affiliated with the local department.

WHEREAS, The United Trades and Labor Assembly of Louisville, Ky., claims that it is adhering to the laws of the American Federation of Labor decisions previously rendered by President Gompers in a similar case under date of November 2, 1910, addressed to F. A. Stoefler, secretary of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, a copy of which was forwarded to the secretary of the Trades Assembly of Louisville, Ky., quoting Section 10, Article 11, of the American Federation of Labor constitution; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners has entered a protest to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor against the Louisville Trades Assembly for not being granted a seat, said Council, under date of October 24, 1914, addressed a reply to John Gimbel, secretary of the United Trades and Labor Assembly of Louisville, which read as follows:

Mr. John Gimbel, Secretary United Trades and Labor Assembly, 510 W. Green Street, Louisville, Ky.

Dear Sir and Brother: The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at its meeting October 12-17, devoted much time and discussion to the consideration of the controversy between Carpenters' Local Union No. 64 and the Louisville United Trades and Labor Assembly.

I am writing to advise you that the Executive Council decided that the United Trades and Labor Assembly of Louisville be directed to enforce the decision previously rendered by the Executive Council in this matter, and seat the delegates from the carpenters' local. The previous decision of the Executive Council, and of which you have already been advised, is as follows:

"On the protest of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners against the action of the United Trades and Labor Assembly of Louisville, Ky., in refusing to seat representatives of the carpenters' local union on account of its suspension from the Building Trades Council of that city, it was decided that, inasmuch as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is affiliated to the American Federation of Labor its local unions are entitled to representation in chartered State and central bodies."

You will please accept this letter as official notification of the action of the Executive Council in this case and act in conformity therewith.

Please advise me at your earliest convenience that the United Trades and Labor Assembly has taken such action as will conform to the decision of the Executive Council.

With best wishes, and hoping to hear from you whenever convenient, I am, fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President.

Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Philadelphia, Pa., go on record as endorsing the action of the United Trades and Labor Assembly of Louisville, Ky., relative to the above-mentioned controversy.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate F. L. Dujay, of the Schenectady (N. Y.) Trades Assembly:

WHEREAS, Women working in homes known as domestics are coming to a realization of the fact that if they are to better their condition it must be through organization; and

WHEREAS, There are many thousands of women in the United States eligible to join a woman workers' union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized to send a letter to the volunteer and paid organizers of the American Federation of Labor, requesting them to organize the above class.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 135—By Delegate E. J. Aspengren, of the Tri-City Federation of Labor, Rock Island, Ill.:

WHEREAS, The construction placed upon Rule No. 1 of the Civil Service Rules and Regulations deprives the civil service employes of nearly all their rights enjoyed by other citizens of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Such political restrictions prevent civil service employes from becoming candidates for political office, from engaging in any political movement, from distributing literature having a political purpose, addressing meetings, contributing articles for the press on political questions and other activities of a political nature; and

WHEREAS, These restrictions are contrary to the spirit of the Constitution of the United States of America, which provides for the freedom of speech and press; and

WHEREAS, We believe that these restrictions are unnecessary for the maintenance of the merit system provided in the civil service law; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assem-

Digitized by Google

bled, protest against the curtailment of the political liberty of the employes of theh United States Government, and that the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to use every effort within their command to restore to the civil service employes all political rights, except those which relate to political contributions and assessments and discrimination for or against any employe by reason of his political services rendered or not rendered.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate Catherine Schumers, of the Ladies' Straw and Felt Hat Operatives' Union, No. 14,400:

WHEREAS, The Women's International Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary is doing splendid work in interesting, educating and directing the purchasing power of women in union-made products, shop and store cards and all goods union made, as well as in the field of organization work of women workers; and

WHEREAS, The work of the Women's International Union Label League is constructive in every sense, and in direct accord with the laws of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies, and wherever a local league of this organization exists you will find an active, energetic campaign for union label products; and

WHEREAS, We believe every possible assistance should be given by the members of organized labor to the great work now being done by the Women's International Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor render all services within its sphere and jurisdiction not only to organize but to assist in the organization of Women's Union Label Leagues.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, American public sentiment against immigration of Chinese labor, as expressed and crystallized in the Chinese exclusion act, finds still stronger justification in the demand for adequate measures of protection against the immigration of other races native of Asia, on the grounds (1) that the wage and living standards of such labor are dangerous to, and must, if granted recognition in this country, prove destructive of American standards in these essential respects; (2) that the racial incompatibility as between the peoples of the Orient and the United States present a problem of race preservation which it is our imperative duty to solve in our favor, and which can be effectively solved only by a policy of exclusion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fourth Annual Convention assembled, that we reaffirm our demand for an enlargement and extension of the Chinese exclusion act so as to permanently exclude from the United States and its insular territory all races native of Asia and other than those exempted by the present terms of that act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be again submitted through the proper channels to the Congress of the United States, with a request for favorable consideration and action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 138—By Delegate W. V. Price and S. C. Hogan, of the International Association of Marble Workers:

WHEREAS, The International Association of Marble Workers has for the past fourteen months been engaged in a conflict with the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union in defense of its trade and its organization; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has in convention and through its Executive Council repeatedly appealed and urged its affiliated unions to render every assistance possible to the International Association of Marble Workers; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the International Union of Steam Engineers and the Operative Plasterers' International Union have gone on strike to assist the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union in their attempt to control the setting of marble in the interior of buildings and in efforts to disrupt and destroy the International Association of Marble Workers; and

WHEREAS, Such actions on the part of affiliated international unions is not for the best interest of our Federation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, condemns such action on the part of affiliated unions and earnestly requests the unions named to cease striking against the members of the International Association of Marble Workers.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 139—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In an attempt to intimidate the men under his supervision from signing a petition to Congress asking for the enactment of the Borah bill—to prohibit the use of the stop-watch or time-measuring device in the Government service — Alexander H. Stephens, general superintendent of the Railway Mail Service, has threatened to summarily dismiss railway mail clerks from the service; and

WHEREAS, This attempt to deprive citizens of the right of petition is a blow at one of the fundamentals of our Government; and

WHEREAS, The First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States

Digitized by Google

guarantees to all citizens the right of petition, and the 62d Congress, at the behest of the American Federation of Labor, enacted the Lloyd-LaFollette bill, which reiterated that the principle of the right of petition be not abridged or interfered with and that civil service employes, in common with all citizens, could exercise this right without fear; and

WHEREAS, This unwarranted assumption of power by an official of the Government tends toward the creation of an autocratic bureaucracy and will result, if not checked, in bringing the principle of Government ownership into general disrepute; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we denounce the attitude of Mr. Stephens in seeking to unlawfully coerce men from justly using their rights of citizenship; further

RESOLVED, That we instruct the Executive Council to obtain from the postal authorities a disavowal of the threat of Mr. Stephens, to the end that the postal employes hereafter may have the assurance that the exercising of their lawful rights shall not constitute a cause for dismissal.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 140—By Delegates J. C. Williams, Jos. D. Cannon and Jas. Shea, of the Western Federation of Miners:

WHEREAS, All the workers are familiar with the long-drawn-out struggle which was waged by the copper miners of the State of Michigan and the fact that the fight was declared at an end by them because of the inability of the international organization to further provide the necessaries of life for its strkng members and those dependent upon them. In addition to the many hardships imposed upon the striking miners, 631 arrests were made, the offenses ranging from making a noise in the streets to the crime of murder. Many of these cases found their way into the court, but out of the entire number only two convictions were recorded on minor offenses, but there are yet three men confined in the jail of Houghton, Mich., charged with a crime which we are convinced we will be able to prove to a fair and impartial jury was committed by gunmen in the employ of the Waddell-Mahon and Ascher strike-breaking agencies. These men have been incarcerated since the early part of March, and are now being transferred to Marquette County, Mich., to be tried on a charge of murder. In addition to the direct charge of murder against these three men, 36 members of the miners' organization, including all of its officers and executive board members, have been indicted by a grand jury as accessories, and, in fact, are facing trial for the same offense should convictions be obtained in the cases of the three men now on trial.

WHEREAS, The Western Federation of Miners, because of the long and expensive conflict in Michigan, which caused that federation to incur considerable indebtedness for commissaries supplied to the families of the strikers, followed by a suspension of operations in the metal mines throughout its jurisdiction, owing to the depression brought about in the metal market through the European war; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid conditions, coupled with the efforts now being made by many of the larger employers to disrupt the miners' movement, leaves us in a position which renders it impossible for us to finance the defense of the men now on trial; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that all affiliated bodies be called upon to render all possible financial assistance, by making such appropriations from their treasuries and otherwise as all may be able to give.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 141—By Delegates J. H. Franklin, of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America; W. H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, We now have a law enacted by the 61st Congress, known as the locomotive boiler inspection law, which provides for the inspection of locomotive boilers and their appurtenances; and

WHEREAS, The law, in Section 3, provides that the chief inspector and his two assistants shall be selected with reference to their practical knowledge of the construction and repairing of boilers and to their fitness to systematize and carry into effect the provisions thereof relating to the inspection and maintenance of locomotive boilers; and

WHEREAS, Section 4 of this act provides in part that there shall be appointed 50 district inspectors, and further provides that in order to obtain the most competent inspectors possible it shall be the duty of the chief inspector to prepare a list of questions to be propounded to applicants with respect to construction, repair, operation, testing and inspection of locomotive boilers and their practical experience in such work; and

WHEREAS, The chief inspector promulgated rules as provided for under this act which admitted and made it possible for applicants to qualify as inspectors, likewise without practical experience in the construction, repairing and testing of boilers; the rules adopted also provide that the common carrier operating a railroad must inspect its locomotive boilers at stated intervals and report to the dis-

Digitized by Google

trict inspector under oath the result and finding of all such inspections, which results in the employes of the carrier, who must be men of years of practical experience, and consequently are incompetent to either pass upon, offer suggestions or issue instructions in furthering or putting into effect such measures as are essentially necessary to the fulfillment of the purposes of said act of February 17, 1911; and

WHEREAS, There was introduced in the 63d Congress bills known as Senate Bill S. No. 6165 and House Bill H. R. 17894, amending the present locomotive boiler inspection law to cover the inspection and to bring under the supervision of the Boiler Inspector Bureau the engine and tender and their appurtenances, and providing that the present inspectors of the Locomotive Boiler Inspection Bureau shall have the same supervision and authority over the engine and tender and their appurtenances that they now have with respect to the boiler of a locomotive and the appurtenances thereof; and

WHEREAS, If the act of February 17, 1911, is amended in accordance with the provisions of Senate Bill No. 6165 and H. R. 17894, the result will be that inspectors who have no practical experience in the construction, repair and inspection of engines and tenders and the appurtenances thereof will be appointed, as is now the case, with respect to the locomotive boiler and its appurtenances; and

WHEREAS, It is recognized and conceded by all practical mechanical men who have supervision over the construction, maintenance and inspection of locomotive boilers of the railway systems of this country, not over 20 per cent. can qualify or come up to the desired standard required by the railways themselves.e If this be true —and we challenge successful contradiction—then it must be self-evident that in appointing men to these important positions who are without practical experience few, if any, can qualify or come up to the standard demanded by the act herein specified. And we contend that a competent boiler inspector will not make a competent inspector of engines and tenders and its appurtenances, for the reason that he has not had the necessary technical, and that most essential qualification, practical, experience; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record as favoring the appointment of inspectors with practical experience in addition to the other qualifications demanded by the Boiler Inspection Bureau; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to co-operate with the organizations directly interested who are affiliated to the American Federation of Labor in drafting a suitable bill to cover the inspection of locomotive boilers, engines and tenders and the appurtenances thereto, said proposed bill to contain provisions for the appointment of inspectors having practical shop experience, clearly specifying and recognizing the undisputable fact that none but those who have had such practical experience in their respective callings can qualify for these positions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 142—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, During recent years office workers in Washington, New York, Indianapolis, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Denver, San Francisco and other cities have organized into local unions; and

WHEREAS, The need of organization among office workers is as great as in any other calling, and many of the office workers are coming to a realization of the fact that no short-cut road will bring them to better wages and conditions; and

WHEREAS, Nearly all of the above-named local unions have expressed themselves in favor of forming a national union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to make an investigation into existing organizations of office workers, the need for such organizations, the field for further organization and the whole question of the advisability of organizing a national union, and to make an early report of its findings; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the meantime the general organizers of the American Federation of Labor, in connection with the central labor bodies, be instructed to begin the organization of office workers wherever possible in any of the cities of the United States having a population of over 100,000 inhabitants.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 143—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The would-be "union busters" of the Pacic slope, masquerading under the name of the Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers' Association, have for some time past endeavored to destroy the organization of labor in the city of Stockton, Cal.; and

WHEREAS, In this warfare upon labor every contemptible trick in the lexicon of organized greed, including the planting of dynamite and the bribing of union members and officials has been resorted to by the open-shop crusaders in their efforts to discredit the men and women of Stockton who owe allegiance to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fourth Annual Convention assembled at Philadelphia, and representing more than 2,000,000 wage earners of the North American continent, that we bid good cheer, hope and encouragement to the locked out men and

Digitized by Google

women at Stockton and to the trade unionists of California, who have so cheerfully and courageously picked up the gauntlet thrown at them by the forces who would China-ize the fair State of California; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we earnestly request every national and international union having a local union in the west to lend every moral and financial aid to to the locked out working men and women at Stockton; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of this Federation is hereby directed to wire a synopsis of this resolution to the Labor Council at Stockton, Cal.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 144—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor urged upon all State branches to work for the enactment of laws limiting the working hours of women and children to eight per day, and (where such laws already exist) to begin an agitation for the enactment of a general eight-hour law; and

WHEREAS, During the year President Gompers publicly declared that the American Federation of Labor does not favor a legal limitation of the workday for the adult male workers; and

WHEREAS, Said statement of President Gompers was very effectively used by the opponents of the shorter workday in defeating the eight-hour initiative which was before the people of California, Oregon and Washington at the recent general election; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we reaffirm the declaration of the Seattle convention upon the shorter workday as enunciated in the report of the Committee on Shorter Workday.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Members of organized labor at Vallejo, Cal., who are employed at the Mare Island Navy Yard, are being called to trial by the Federal Civil Commission for alleged political activity; and

WHEREAS, Said activity consisted in speaking for the constitutional amendments and initiative measures advocated by the California State Federation of Labor, and playing a cornet at meetings while such labor measures were furthered; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fourth Annual Convention assembled, that we most emphatically protest against any civil service rules and regulations which aim to muzzle the manual workers employed by our Government and totally prevent them from any participation in the political activities of the working class.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 146—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers' Association of Stockton, Cal., has caused the lockout of hundreds of union men and women, and has declared itself to be strongly opposed to collective bargaining and to the organization of the wage workers; and

WHEREAS, The most notable among the concerns that are members of the Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers are the Holt Manufacturing Company, Houser & Haines and the Aurora Gas Engine Company, all owned and controlled by the Holt Manufacturing Company; and

WHEREAS, The Holt Manufacturing Company through one of its principal owners, Pliny Holt, declared in testimony before the Industrial Relations Commission that the firm would not employ any one known to be a member of a labor organization, and that the Holt Manufacturing Company is closed to members of trade unions; and

WHEREAS, The Holt Manufacturing Company operates its shops on a nine-hour basis, pays low wages, and by its past and present attitude has demonstrated that it is unreasonably antagonistic to trade unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fourth Annual Convention assembled, that the Holt Manufacturing Company, manufacturers of traction and caterpillar engines and other farm implements, be placed on the unfair list; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the various farmers' unions and State Granges, and that the Executive Council be directed to give every possible publicity to this subject until such time as said Holt Manufacturing Company deals fairly with organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 147—By Delegate P. J. Conlon, of the Alexandria, Va., Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The tendency of employers of labor to force upon their employes a physical examination, under the pretext that it is a necessary requirement to comply with the compensation laws enacted by the several States as a requirement of some insurance company to which they have consigned the risk, has given of late considerable trouble to various craft organizations; and

WHEREAS, The compelling of the militant members of our organizations to undergo these physical examinations offers to employers of labor an excellent excuse for discrimination against said members, and is in its last analysis a scientific blacklist under professional guise; and,

WHEREAS, The trades unionists of our country are looking to the Executive

Digitized by Google

Council of the American Federation of Labor, if not the convention itself, to go squarely on record on this matter as to whether the wage workers shall resist these examinations or submit, and, if it is the decision to submit, just how far the examination shall go—whether it shall be a cursory examination as to the eyesight and hearing, or whether it shall go into the genealogy of the family three generations back; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized and ordered to prepare a general policy on this important question and make it known not later than January 1, 1915; and be it further

RESOLVED, That when this policy is outlined and promulgated that it become the universal policy of all affiliated unions in this matter.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate P. J. Conlon, of the Alexandria, Va., Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The President of the American Federation of Labor, in his report to this convention, draws attention to the fact that the home of George Washington, at Mount Vernon, Va., and the home of Thomas Jefferson, at Monticello, Va., should be owned and controlled by the Federal Government; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as supporting the measure introduced by Congressman Detrick in the Congress of the United States, and urge upon the officers of the American Federation of Labor to do all in their power to secure the adoption of the measure.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 149—By Delegate J. A. Taylor, of the International Association of Machinists; J. G. Brown, of the International Union of Timber Workers; H. L. Hughes, of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The best interests of the workers demand a radical reduction in the hours of labor at the earliest possible date; and

WHEREAS, The increased activities and power of organized employers of this country is making organization work in many industries exceedingly difficult and expensive, if not impossible; and

WHEREAS, A considerable number of States today enjoy the right to initiate and pass legislation by vote of the people; and

WHEREAS, California, Oregon and Washington, at their recent election, endeavored to pass eight-hour-day laws, but were considerably handicapped in their efforts by reason of the fact that the American Federation of Labor was misrepresented by the press of these three States as being opposed to such legislation; and

WHEREAS, The various labor bodies in these three States endorsed and put forth a tremendous effort to pass their several measures; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor went on record in favor of such legislation at the convention of 1913, held in Seattle, Wash. (see page 285, Resolution No. 44, Recommendations of the Committee of Shorter Workday, 1913 Proceedings), now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does reaffirm its action favoring the direct-legislation method of shortening the workday in such States as the Federation of Labor in said States shall deem it desirable and expedient to use.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 150—By Delegate Wm. H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The United Association of Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc., introduced a resolution, designated as Resolution No. 63, at the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor, alleging that the International Association of Machinists were engaged in performing the work of pipe fitter; and

WHEREAS, The Committee on Adjustment, in submitting its report, which was adopted, cited that there were technical questions the settement of which required investigation, recommended that the resolution above mentioned be referred to the Executive Council with instruction to arrange a conference among all organizations in interest for the purpose of formulating an agreement defining the technical questions involved; and

WHEREAS, A conference was held in the city of Washington between the representatives of the organizations in interest, no agreement being reached. The Executive Council, without making a personal investigation of the work involved, which the Committee on Adjustment recommended, rendered a decision affecting the jurisdiction previously recognized as belonging to the I. A. of M.; and

WHEREAS, We believe a great injustice has been done the International Association of Machinists in the rendering of this decision before such personal investigation had been made; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct the President and Executive Council to reopen the question and arrange for a conference to be held between the representatives of the organizations in interest in the city of Chicago within ninety days, where a personal inspection of the work involved shall be made and decision rendered.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 151—By Delegate Wm. H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists:

Digitized by Google

WHEREAS, The Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor unanimously adopted the following report of the Adjustment Committee:

"The Committee on Adjustment wishes to make the following declaration and recommendations: Whatever argument or excuse there might have been in the past for the existence of two organizations of the one craft, we now believe that such argument or excuse is absent. It is the unanimous opinion of the Committee on Adjustment, many of whose members have had to deal with disputes caused by the existence of two organizations of one craft for many years, that the time has arrived for the American Federation of Labor to openly and emphatically declare itself to the effect that, large as this country is, it is not large enough to hold two organizations of the one craft. Therefore, your committee recommends that this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes squarely on record in favor of the above declaration, and your committee further recommends that this convention instruct the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to carry into effect the principles and purposes involved in this declaration: 'One craft —one organization' "; and

WHEREAS, This declaration and principle has been reiterated and put into full force and effect in the case of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Woodworkers' International Union, also the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, the United Association of Plumbers and the International Association of Steamfitters. In addition to these specifically mentioned cases the records of the American Federation of Labor are replete with many instances relating to the amalgamation of organizations whose relations were such that it was mutually to the advantage of those directly concerned; and

WHEREAS, This policy has without question resulted very materially to the advantage of all organizations directly concerned, and the movement in general; and

WHEREAS, A similar condition relating to two organizations—namely, the International Association of Machinists and the International Union of Elevator Constructors—now exists and favorable action has been taken at the Toronto, St. Louis and Atlanta conventions of the American Federation of Labor looking toward the amalgamation of these two organizations; and

WHEREAS, The plan of amalgamation as submitted by the International Association of Machinists has been declared to be eminently fair and among the most liberal propositions ever offered; and

WHEREAS, The good offices of the President and Executive Council, together with the favorable action of the conventions above referred to, have, up to the present time, failed to bring about the amalgamation, as a result of which a most serious state of affairs exists, interfering with and mutually detrimental to both organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instructs the President and Executive Council to arrange a conference between the representatives of the organizations in interest, within ninety days, for the purpose of bringing about the amalgamation of said organizations.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 152—By Delegate Wm. H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere, where machinery may be used; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is attempting to do this work and taking advantage of every opportunity to place the members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on same; and

WHEREAS, Numerous protests have been made to the officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of the trespass on the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, and a number of conferences have been held, all to no avail, this resulting in the International Association of Machinists appealing to the Seattle Building Trades Department Convention in the form of a resolution protesting against the infringement complained of, this resolution was adopted and the offifficers of the Building Trades Department instructed to use every means at their command to conserve the rights and jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is fundamentally a craft composed of men skilled in the erecting, forming and assembling of wood materials and has never been recognized as a metal craft organization or granted jurisdiction over the making, repairing, erecting, assembling or dismantling of machinery; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be and are hereby instructed to discontinue the infringement complained of; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to render every possible assistance in enforcing the intent of this resolution.

Digitized by Google

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 153—By Delegate Elisabeth Christman, of the International Glove Workers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, Fifteen hundred glove cutters have been on strike since August 21st in Gloversville and Johnstown, N. Y., the great fine glove centre of this country, to secure an increase in wages, as no increase in wages has been received for the past seventeen years, and the New York State Mediation Board reported after its recent investigation into the causes of the strike that the average wage of the cutters for 52 weeks was $13.30; and

WHEREAS, The employers have rejected the recommendation of the above-named board for an increase of 15 cents per doen, while the strikers voted to accept it. This refusal means a determination on the part of the employers to continue the fight and our strikers are equally determined to hold out, as they must have an increase in wages to meet in some measure the increased cost of living of to-day; and

WHEREAS, The glove trade being the only industry in that locality, nearly all the workers are engaged in some branch of the trade, so that in all about 8000 are involved in the strike, making the need for relief especially great; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, vote to assist the glovemakers in this strike by directing the officers to issue an appeal to all affiliated organizations for funds, and that the delegates, upon their return home, urge upon their members the need of their generous assistance in this strike.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 154—By the Delegation of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Victor Talking Machine Company employs about 5,000 mechanics of different trades—namely, machinists, toolmakers, metal polishers, cabinetmakers, machine hands, wood carvers, carpenters and painters and hardwood finishers, all of whom are compelled to work longer hours and receive 25 per cent. less wages than is paid to men of the same trades in other shops in and about Philadelphia; and

WHEREAS, Repeated efforts have been made to organize the men employed by this company, or to secure the employment of union men, and all to no purpose; and

WHEREAS, The management of the concern is and always has been antagonistic to the principles of organized labor, and deliberately discriminates against union men; and

WHEREAS, The product of this company is bought largely by wage earners all over the world; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by this convention that the Victor Talking Machine Company be placed on the "we don't patronize" list of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 155—By Delegate C. E. Hill, of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers of the United States have for over fifty years maintained an almost continuous struggle for the right to organize despite the most vigorous opposition of the telegraph companies; and

WHEREAS, Both the Western Union and the Postal Telegraph Companies, employing 90 per cent. of these workers, have persistently fought any attempt of their telegraphers to hold membership in a labor union by maintaining an organized reign of terror, by discharging, blacklisting and persecuting telegraphers even suspected of belonging to a union or of associating with union men; and

WHEREAS, In promoting this policy one of these companies has resorted to methods not only un-American, but criminal, in trying to destroy the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, practices that forced this union in regular convention assembled in June last to unanimously resolve to follow an extremely militant policy henceforth in defense of the fundamental rights of those engaged in this craft; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the president of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to call to the attention of the various international unions and the central bodies of the American Federation of Labor the peculiar conditions surrounding the workers of this monopolized industry in order that every possible means of support may be given the Union Commercial Telegraphers in their struggle for the right to go where they please, talk to whom they please, join whatsoever society they see fit to join without fear of discharge and blacklist, and in every other way to exercise the rights of free-born, decent-living, liberty-loving American citizens.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 156—By Delegate Wm. H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The three last conventions of the American Federation of Labor have strongly condemned, by resolutions and recommendations, the vicious systems of so-called scientific management, particularly the Taylor system, which is partially in operation at the Watertown Arsenal, and which it is proposed by the War Department to introduce in other of its plants at some future time; and

Digitized by Google

WHEREAS, These systems of shop management have been condemned in vigorous terms in reports filed by committees of Congress—i.e., by a special committee of the House of Representatives appointed in 1911, to investigate the Taylor and other systems of so-called scientific management, twice by the Committee on Labor of the House, once by the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate, and once by a subcommittee of the Senate; and

WHEREAS, Employes of the Government have repeatedly filed petitions and protests with Congress and the Departments against the introduction of the Taylor system at the Government Arsenals; and

WHEREAS, The Arsenal authorities are still manifesting a determination to force this system upon the Government employes in spite of the unremitting opposition of labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, reaffirms its opposition to the Taylor system of so-called scientific management, and that the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to urge the President of the United States, who has the authority, to prohibit the introduction and continuance of the Taylor system of shop management (particularly the time-study and premium or bonus features) in the Government workshop; and be it further

RESOLVED, That every effort be made to secure the abolition of the system not later than March 4th next.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 157—By Delegate Eric J. Aspengren, of the Tri-City Federation of Labor of Rock Island, Moline, Ill.; Davenport, Iowa:

WHEREAS, The L. S. Starrett Company, of Athol, Mass., manufacturers of mechanics' tools, three years ago discontinued the use of the Machinists' union label, and at present is regarded unfair to organized labor; and

WHEREAS, It is reported that in addition to the hardships to its employes of working short time (due probably to a depression in their business), this firm is now attempting to establish piece-work in certain of its departments and contemplating its further extension; and that union employes long in the service of the company are being discharged with the apparent intent of making the shop strictly non-union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention endeavor to make known in their respective localities the attitude of this firm, and that the president and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor assist in such way as they may think best to secure a satisfactory settlement between the L. S. Starrett Company and the International Association of Machinists.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 158—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It is in accord with public sentiment that the United States Government in the exercise of the function of an employer of labor should take the lead in establishing ideal working conditions for its employes; and

WHEREAS, The custom of suspending work on Saturday afternoons, thus giving their employes a half-holiday each week throughout the entire year, has been very generally adopted by private employers and also by some of the United States Government departments; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention assembled, that the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War, be requested to issue executive orders to the effect that the employes of the various navy yards, naval stations and arsenals be granted the Saturday half-holiday the entire year; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the secretary of this Federation is hereby instructed to forward a copy of these resolutions to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War and to labor's representatives in Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 159—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, One of the main causes for the maintenance of large military and naval establishments, and which is a standing menace to peace between nations, is to be found in the fact that patent rights on and the manufacture of arms, ammunitions and implements of war are in the hands of international combinations of capitalists, who sell their products indiscriminately to the governments of the world, and promote the sale of such products by arousing and encouraging feelings of national prejudice and jealousy and by employing the press and the officers of the army and navy to produce periodical war scares in different countries; and

WHEREAS, This menace to international peace can be eliminated and the ultimate disarmament promoted by having the governments manufacture their own equipment and articles used for war purposes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention assembled, that all patent rights for arms, ammunition and other equipment to be used for war purposes should be acquired by the government, and all such equipment should be manufactured in government establishments.

Digitized by Google

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 160—By the Delegates of the Cigarmakers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The remorseless activities of the American Tobacco Company, the gigantic trust in the cigar trade, constantly aims to destroy freedom of action, to reduce wages, increase working hours and to exploit the workers engaged therein, in order that its already multiplied dividends may be still further enhanced, all to the still greater impoverishment of its illy-paid, unorganized and defenseless employes; and

WHEREAS, The cigar trust has introduced and steadily increased the number of non-unionists employed, especially women and girls, in the cigar industry, always at reduced wages: and

WHEREAS, The employment of such unorganized labor has rendered the task of completely organizing our trade more difficult; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the efforts of the Cigarmakers' International Union of America to completely organize the cigar industry have the sympathy of the delegates here assembled, and we as such urge the officers and organizers of the American Federation of Labor to render all assistance possible that does not encroach upon their other activities in the effort to organize, especially the women workers of the cigar industry.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

At 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9.30 a. m., Friday, November 13th.

Digitized by Google

FIFTH DAY— Friday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Friday, November 13, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kramer, Goellnitz, Zuckerman, Meyer, Singer, Schlesinger, Leonard, French, Price, Hogan, Daly, Flynn, Clark (T. G.), Hurley, Cooke (W. J.), Pennebaker, Paulsen, Schalk, Greener, Young, Keppler, Cahalane, Obergfell, Fahey (C. P.), Mueller, Taylor, Bradley, Butler, Newberry, Kelly (E. H.), Hannon, Duddy, Rotramel, Givens, Kline, Dezettel, Sherman.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from John A. O'Dwyer, secretary Toledo, Ohio, Convention Bureau, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its 1916 convention in that city. Secretary O'Dwyer stated that the city would provide free a suitable centrally located hall, and that several smaller halls would be available for the use of committees.

A telegram from the Indianapolis Convention and Tourist Bureau was read. The bureau invited the American Federation of Labor to hold its 1916 convention in Indianapolis.

"Gloversville, N. Y., Nov. 11, 1914.
"Mr. Frank Morrison,
"A. F. of L. Convention,
"Philadelphia.

"To the Delegates in Convention, Greeting: Fourteen hundred glove cutters are now on strike and have been for thirteen weeks. We appeal to you to assist us financially as your generosity and sympathy would direct. We must have funds to feed our people in this great struggle.

"J. J. WILKINS,
"President Glove Workers' Union."

Secretary Morrison read telegrams of greeting, good wishes and congratulations from Central Labor Union, Bridgeport, Conn., Charles Stout, president, and from A. E. Barker, Tampa, Fla.

"Bisbee, Ariz., Nov. 11, 1914.
"A. F. of L. Convention, Philadelphia:
"Organized labor in Arizona has succeeded in recent election in having passed through the initiative a law compelling every corporation or individual employing five or more to work 80 per cent. With this defensive measure in operation and co-operation of interested internationals, Arizona will be organized.

"FRANK BROWN, President,
"Warren District Trades Council."

The Secretary read an invitation from the Loyal Order of Moose, Philadelphia Lodge No. 54, in which fraternal greetings were extended and the delegates invited to visit the home of the organization and accept its hospitality. An invitation was extended to the delegates to visit the Masonic Temple and accept the courtesies and hospitalities of the local lodges.

Secretary Morrison read the following announcement:

"Archbishop's House,
"November 12, 1914.
"To the Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor:
"His Grace the Most Reverend Edmond F. Prendergast, D. D., Archbishop of Philadelphia, cordially invites the American Federation of Labor to be present at Solemn High Mass in the Cathedral, Logan Square, Philadelphia, on Sunday, November 15, 1914, at 10.30 a. m.
"CHARLES F. KAVANAGH,
"Chancellor."

Vice-President O'Connell, Chairman of the Adjustment Committee, asked that Resolution No. 19 be referred from that committee to the Committee on Organization. The request was complied with.

Report of Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Delegate Furuseth, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 41—By Delegates Benj. Schlesinger, Sol. Polakoff, Elmer Rosenberg, H. Kleiman, J. Holpern, Alfred La-Porta, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The task of organizing the workers engaged in the needle trades is attended by extraordinary difficulties on account of the seasonal character of the work and other unfavorable conditions of employment, and yet in the face of all these difficulties the organization in the needle industry has of recent years made extraordinary progress.

WHEREAS, It is the desire of the American Federation of Labor to encourage the growth, insure the stability and aid in the success of this industry;

WHEREAS, A division has occurred among the members of the United Garment Workers of America when closer alliance should prevail in order to protect and promote the interests of the workers by uniting and strengthening the organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee of five from among the dele-

Digitized by Google

gates to this convention with instructions to investigate the matter above referred to, and endeavor to bring about unity and a thorough organization of all who properly come under the jurisdiction of the United Garment Workers of America; and the committee is further instructed to investigate and to report as to the feasibility of establishing a department of the A. F. of L. in the needle industries, the committee to report to the Executive Council at the earliest possible time.

Delegate Furuseth: The committee took this up, heard the parties in interest as far as we could, and came to the following conclusion: In view of the fact that the subject matter of the resolution deals with the internal affairs of an organization other than the one which asks for the appointment of the committee, and that to proceed with the inquiry proposed might be construed as recognizing a seceding faction, the committee recommends nonconcurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to concur in the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Polakoff spoke briefly in favor of the resolution and opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Walker, Mine Workers, opposed the recommendation of the committee, and urged that the resolution be adopted. He urged that a hearing be given the fifty or sixty thousand men and women associated with the movement referred to in the resolution.

Delegate Wilson (Jas.), Pattern Makers, spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee, and opposed the appointment of a committee as suggested in the resolution.

Delegate Rosenberg, Ladies' Garment Workers, opposed the report of the committee, and urged the adoption of the resolution. He referred briefly to the causes that led up to the trouble in the United Garment Workers' Association, and urged that a committee be appointed to investigate. He spoke briefly in favor of establishing a department of the American Federation of Labor in the needle industries.

Delegate Larger, United Garment Workers, spoke in favor of the report of the committee and opposed the resolution. He referred at length to the causes that led up to the secession movement in the organization, and urged that the matter be left within the garment workers' organization for settlement.

Delegate McNulty, Electrical Workers, opposed the resolution and spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee. He stated that if similar action had been taken at the time of the secession movement in the Electrical Workers the seceding organization would not have been encouraged to continue the fight in the manner they had done.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Hon. John L. Eschelman, Lieutenant Governor-elect of California, was introduced to the convention by President Gompers.

Mr. Eschelman, in addressing the convention, said in part: In California we believe that men and women and children are more important than property. We believe in that we are followers of Abraham Lincoln more than those who prate about being his followers, because in one of the first messages he gave to Congress he said that men and women and children were superior to capital. He also said that no men were more to be trusted than those who toil. That is the man we follow in California, and in doing so we have eliminated child labor. We have said a condition shall not exist in that great State that will permit men to be without work while little children are denied the opportunity to grow up as little children should; and we say to you people here representing the South and other sections that no condition should exist wherein the lash shall be put on the backs of little children while men walk the streets looking for work.

We have also said the women who are heavy laden, the women who toil, shall have an eight-hour day. It was given by those men for whom labor stood on the third day of November. We have also said that the injury shall be placed where it belongs, and in California we have to-day a workmen's compensation act which is a model for the entire nation. Under the leadership of our great Governor, Hiram W. Johnson, we say the burden of injury shall fall, not upon the man who is least able to bear it, not upon the women and the little children, but upon the industry.

I deem it a great honor to be allowed to talk to you this morning. I know I am interrupting you in your deliberations, but I am glad to talk to you because I am not friendly to labor when labor is present and against labor when labor is away. We in California to-day are proud of the fact that we have the laboring men and women behind us and proud of the fact that we ourselves are laboring men and those connected with us are laboring men and women.

Mr. Eschelman stated he was in Philadelphia attending a convention of American mayors, and spoke of the address he had been invited to deliver before that body. He referred briefly to his work as chairman of the Public

Digitized by Google

Utilities Commission of California, and in concluding said: I did not intend to make a speech until Andy Gallagher got me down here in the hotel and said he wanted to hear from me. I appreciate the courtesy of the laboring men and women of this country, and the courtesy of your honored President, whom I have admired for many years. I am glad to be with you and thank you for this opportunity. No other organization has stood against the aggrandizement of capital as this organization has. It has stood between the gradual encroachment of the right of the many by the few; and I say godspeed to you. Go forth and conquer—conquer for yourselves, but more for the little children that will come after you, and in the future we will have this great land better and better as the years go by, because there is no reason why we should not have better opportunities than we now have; but if you do not heed the admonition of Lincoln and beware our opportunities, instead of getting better, will get worse.

I thank you very much, and from the great governor of California I bring you greetings. Next year I hope to have you there and will give you a California welcome. We will show you that labor remembers its friends and its friends remembers labor.

Delegate Feeney, chairman of the local Entertainment Committee, announced that final preparations for the monster parade to be held Friday evening had been completed and advised the delegates where to proceed to take their place at the head of the parade. He stated that automobiles had been provided by the local committee for women delegates and women visitors, but that they had refused to ride and expressed their intention of walking in the parade with the other delegates.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

The announcement was made that on Sunday, from 2 to 4 o'clock in the afternoon, memorial services would be held in the convention hall for the late P. J. McGuire and George Chance.

Vice-President Duncan: Anticipating that you are agreeable, I have just instructed Delegate Hayes, of the Mine Workers, to escort Mother Jones to the platform, as I see she is in the hall.

President Gompers in the chair.

Mother Jones was escorted to the platform by Delegate Hayes, vice-president of the United Mine Workers. President Gompers introduced Mother Jones to the convention.

In an extended speech Mother Jones referred to strikes in various parts of the country that had been conducted by the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners in the past two years. She described in detail the conditions that had existed in West Virginia prior to the strike, the benefit that had come to the miners through that strike and the subsequent investigation by the Government.

Mother Jones spoke at length of the strike in Colorado, of the conditions under which the miners lived and worked, of the brutality of state militia and mine guards after the calling of the strike, the murder of striking miners and the shooting and burning of women and children in the camps. She spoke in bitter condemnation of the action of the Rockefeller interests in their treatment of organized labor and their defiance of law and government.

Mother Jones made an eloquent plea for harmony and co-operation on the part of the workers. She deplored internal strife, jurisdiction disputes and secession in the ranks of the organizations. She urged all the organizations to remain loyal to the American Federation of Labor, and regretted that dual organizations had sprung up in any part of the country.

In closing Mother Jones urged that the convention assist the Western Federation of Miners financially to help defend men who were in prison in Calumet, Mich., awaiting trial on conspiracy charges, and stated that there were other men belonging to the coal miners' organization in Colorado who were in need of similar help. She asked that the convention take action urging President Wilson to hasten the work of mediation in the Colorado strike

President Gompers, for himself and in behalf of the convention, thanked Mother Jones for her address and for her presence in the convention.

Reports of committees were called for. The chairman of each committee in turn reported progress.

Vice-President Duncan: I move you that, after announcements are made, the convention adjourn until 9.30 tomorrow morning, to permit the committees to continue their work and enable them to report back to this convention. (Seconded and carried.)

At 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9.30 a. m. Saturday, November 14.

Digitized by Google

SIXTH DAY—Saturday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Saturday, November 14th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kramer, Sovey, Cohan (M.), Kiernan, Christman, Glass, Holpern, Kleinman, Price, Hogan, Flynn, Miller, Kearney, Clark (T. G.), Miller, Hurley, Gavlak, Cooke (W. J.), James, Strachan, Paulsen, Conlon, Feron, Young, Cahalane, Rosenthal (A. J.), Walck, Fahey (C. P.), Mueller (C. J.), Laylor, Bradley, Dunn, Butler, Bower, Newberry, Kelly (E. H.), Quinlivan, Collmer, Higgins, Rotramel, Givens, Kline, Dezettel, Sherman.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

San Fancisco, Cal., Nov. 9, 1914.

To the American Federation of Labor, in Convention Assembled at Philadelphia:

Greeting:

The San Francisco Bulletin, a strictly union newspaper, extends a most cordial invitation to the American Federation of Labor to hold its 1915 convention in Fan Francisco, the strongest union city in the United States.

In coming to San Francisco next year you will have the opportunity to visit the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, which will be the most wonderful exposition the world has ever seen, and an exposition that has been built by union labor throughout.

We will also place at your disposal one of the finest auditoriums on the American continent, which also has been erected by union labor.

Our hotel accommodations and our climate are unequaled by any city in the country, and you will receive a most cordial welcome from the citizens of San Francisco, the great majority of whom are either active trade unionists or subscribers to the priniiples and policies of the American Federation of Labor.

Trusting that you wil see your way clear to visit San Francisco in 1915, and hoping that your deliberations in convention will, as in the past, contribute to the happiness and welfare of the masses and result in a greater degree of justice and freedom for the wage earners of America, we remain,

Yours sincerely,

R. A. CROTHERS,
Editor and Publisher;
FREMONT OLDER,
Managing Editor,
The Bulletin, San Francisco, Cal.

Delegate Sumner requested that the chairman refer Resolution No. 50 from the Committee on Education to the Committee on Resolutions. The request was complied with.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Report of Committee on Credentials.

Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 13, 1914.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials begs leave to report that it has received the credentials of M. C. Higgins, as delegate from the United Labor Congress, of Youngstown, Ohio, and recommends that he be seated with one vote.

We have received a communication from Secretary-treasurer Ernest Mills, of the Western Federation of Miners requesting that Charles E. Mahoney be seated as alternate delegate for that organization in place of Charles R. Tanner, and we recommend that Mr. Mahoney be seated.

We have received a communication from President T. V. O'Connor of the International Longshoremen's Association, requesting that Anthony J. Chlopek be seated as delegate from the Longshoremen's Association in place of John French, and we recommend that Mr. Chlopek be seated.

We have also received a communication from E. H. Collmer, representing the Utica, N. Y., Trades Assembly, advising that he has been called home, and requesting that he be excused from further attendance at the sessions of the convention, and we recommend that request be approved.

THOMAS S. KEARNEY, Chairman;
P. J. McGRATH,
LOUIS A. SCHWARZ, Secretary;
Committee on Credentials.

The report of the committee was adopted as read, and the delegates seated.

Vice-President Duncan: A meeting is called for 2 o'clock this afternoon for the purpose of allowing the executive officers of international unions having members in Canada an opportunity to meet with the Canadian delegates to discuss matters of interest to them, especially to consider the advisability of amending the Canadian Trades Dispute Act.

Report of Committee on A. F. of L. Office Building.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the caption "A. F. of L. Office Building," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee has reviewed the action of the several conventions, as well as the action and investigations of the Executive Council of the Amer-

Digitized by Google

ican Federation of Labor having to do with the erection or the purchase and remodeling of an office building to be owned by the American Federation of Labor, and to be occupied by the American Federation of Labor, the several departments thereof, and such affiliated international or local unions desiring to occupy same, and it is the opinion of your committee that the proposition contemplated is a practicable one, as well as necessary in order to efficiently maintain and further the business affairs of the American Federation of Labor.

The present quarters as constituted do not adequately provide the facilities that the Federation requires, and with this fact and with the knowledge of the growth of the various departments affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, your committee does not hesitate in the recommendation that the Executive Council proceed in this matter.

It is not the purpose of your committee to recommend any tight-and-fast rule for the guidance of the Executive Council in this work. The investigation made by the Executive Council indicates that authority should be given to the alternate position of either building outright an office building or to purchase a building accessibly located in Washington, and have it remodeled to meet the requirements of the Federation, its departments, etc.

We, therefore, concur in the report of the Executive Council on this matter, authorize them to proceed with full power to act in all matters having to do with the business in hand, and in addition we specifically recommend the following:

That this convention authorize and direct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to cause to be constructed, or to purchase, a building for an office boulding for the American Federation of Labor and its departments, and such other unions for which such structure may be suitable; that the Executive Council be further authorized to avail itself of the former instructions of the convention of the American Federation of Labor to use such funds as are authorized in the furtherance of the object herein stated, and that the Executive Council be further authorized to raise such other funds as might be necessary to carry out the instructions herein set forth.

Respectfully submitted,

GEO. L. BERRY, Chairman;
JOHN GOLDEN,
TIMOTHY HEALY,
W. D. MAHON,
W. J. COOKE,
J. J. NORRIS,
THOS. F. FLAHERTY,
THOS. REDDING,
A. J. HOWLETT,
JAS. A. SHORT,
J. J. McDERMOTT,
JAS. G. HANNAHAN,
WM. KEMP,
J. H. FRICKE,
W. J. ADAMES, Secretary,
Committee on A. F. of L. Office Building

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

Report of Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Delegate Goldsmith, secretary of the committee, reports as follows:

Labor Day and Labor Sunday.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report, under the above caption, the committee reports as follows: Without attempting further elaboration upon the subject, your committee endorses and approves the statements, opinions and declarations made by the Executive Council regarding a more distinct and general observance of Labor Day.

Labor Sunday, more generally referred to as "Labor's Memorial Sunday," is being more widely recognized and observed on the third Sunday in the month of May. The graciousness of the idea is commending itself to a large and constantly increasing number of people with such force that it will undoubtedly become a national custom as closely observed as a law in the course of time. Your committee endorses the pronouncement of the Executive Council upon this subject.

Labor Forward Movement.

Every phase of this subject seems to be covered in the report, and your committee can only add its endorsement and approval.

Government Ownership of Mount Vernon.

Your committee believes that Monticello, the home place of Thomas Jefferson, as well as Mount Vernon, should

Digitized by Google

be owned by the people of the United States, and that the two proposals to purchase might, with advantage, be combined in the same bill, and, therefore, your comittee approves that section of the report.

The report of the committee on the above subjects was adopted by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Wm F. Canavan, of the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union:

WHEREAS, In the city of St. Louis and vicinity there exists an unorganized condition among the various crafts, both skilled and unskilled; and

WHEREAS, The conditions are most favorable at the present time to secure a thorough and complete organization of all the toilers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the proper officials of the American Federation of Labor inaugurate a Labor Forward Movement on or about May 1, 1915, in the above-named city; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the various national and international unions be called upon by the president and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to co-operate by sending organizers to work in conjunction with the American Federation of Labor organizers and the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union, with the end in view of bringing about a thoroughly organized condition in and about the city of St. Louis.

Your committee concurs in the recommendations contained in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Maurice De Young, of the Brooklyn, N. Y., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Many local unions of national and international unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor are not affiliated to the central bodies of their respective cities; and are, therefore, not carrying their share of the burden of maintaining powerful and efficient central labor unions of the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Philadelphia convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs its Executive Council to earnestly request the next convention of each affiliated national or international union to amend its constitution so as to provide: That its local unions must affiliate to the central bodies of the A. F. of L. in their respective localities (where no such provision in their constitution already exists), and that said national or international unions shall voluntarily delegate to the American Federation of Labor full power and authority to pass necessary laws and adopt suitable means to enforce the above provision against their local unions.

Your committee is inclined to the opinion that each and every local of an international union should affiliate to a city central body, where such central body exists; but the compulsory feature respecting affiliation thereto should be left to the discretion of the internation union having jurisdiction. The resolution, if adopted in its present form means that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall request the international unions to bring about changes in their laws that would be distasteful to many, thus establishing a precedent and an example that might have a bad effect upon the labor movement. Your committee nonconcurs in the terms of the resolution.

Delegate Freel raised the point of order that the resolution contained an amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and should have been presented in that way.

The chairman declared the point of order not well taken.

Delegate De Young spoke in support of the resolution, referring particularly to organizations that remain out of central bodies until they need assistance, then join, and after their troubles are settled drop their affiliation, and to locals of internationals affiliated to the American Federation of Labor that join dual city central bodies.

Treasurer Lennon read that portion of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor governing the affiliation of organizations to city central bodies and State federations, and spoke briefly in support of the recommendation of the committee.

Vice-President Perham spoke in support of the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Rosenthal urged that all national and international unions compel their local unions to affiliate to city central bodies and State federations.

Delegate Taylor, of the International Association of Machinists, spoke in favor of some method being adopted to compel organizations to affiliate with central bodies.

Digitized by Google

Delegate Sharrenberg stated that the Committee on State Organizations would bring in a definite recommendation dealing with the matter that would probably dispose of the question.

Delegate Boyle, of the Philadelphia central body, spoke in support of the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate Wm. J. Boyle, of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Labor Forward Movement Committee, appointed last January by the Philadelphia Central Labor Union, has gained such added impetus to the cause of trade unionism in this city; and

WHEREAS, The vigorous and sustained efforts of the committee have resulted in the institution of fourteen new local unions, and added approximately 15,000 to the membership of existing unions; and

WHEREAS, All trade unionists of Philadelphia should take advantage of the great opportunity afforded for the advancement of the principles of organized labor made possible by the marvelous enthusiasm aroused in the rank and file of its membership by the campaign conducted by the Labor Forward Movement Committee; and

WHEREAS, This can only be accomplished by a systematic following up of the work already inaugurated, and which can be made a great agency under the leadership of an organizer familiar with local conditions for the upbuilding of the great cause in which we are engaged; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Labor Forward Movement Committee be made a permanent institution of the Central Labor Union under the direction of a paid organizer; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated national and international unions be urged to give such financial support as to guarantee the permanency of this committee that has just entered upon its career of usefulness; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the officers of the American Federation of Labor and that the delegate of the Central Labor Union be instructed to bring the subject before the convention of the American Federation of Labor for the consideration of its delegates.

The committee reported as follows: With regard to the first resolve, your committee recommends that the subject matter be referred to the Philadelphia Central Labor Union for consideration and such action as may be agreeable to that body, and that the second resolve be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for such action as may be agreed upon.

The recommendation of the comittee was adopted.

Resoution No. 96—By Delegate Stanley Anderson, of the Detroit Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, As there now exist two Central Labor Unions in Detroit, one known as the Detroit Federation of Labor and the other as the Central Labor Union, the Central Labor Union consisting of German-speaking organizations, such as the Bakers and the Typographia Unions and others; and

WHEREAS, The Detroit Federation of Labor protests against said Central Labor Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Detroit Federation of Labor does hereby ask the American Federation of Labor to take this matter up with the internationals and ask them to discontinue the name of Central Labor Union and affiliate to the Detroit Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resoution No. 148—By Delegate P. J. Conlon, of the Alexandria, Va., Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The president of the American Federation of Labor, in his report to this convention, draws attention to the fact that the home of George Washington, at Mount Vernon, Va., and the home of Thomas Jefferson, at Monticello, Va., should be owned and controlled by the Federal Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention goes on record as supporting the measure introduced by Congressman Detrick in the Congress of the United States, and urges upon the officers of the American Federation of Labor to do all in their power to secure the adoption of the measure.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

H. B. PERHAM, Chairman,
MICHAEL GOLDSMITH, Sec'y,
O. O. HARPER,
E. W. A. O'DELL,
JAMES C. SHANESSY,
JOHN H. KENNEDY,
JOHN J. BARRY,
WILLIAM J. BOYLE,
HUBERT S. MARSHALL,
Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Delegate Altman, United Garment Workers, stated that he would request the representatives of the press to be more accurate in reporting the proceed-

Digitized by Google

ings of the convention; that two Philadelphia papers carried the statement that the seceding faction of the United Garment Workers had ben sustained by the convention. He asked that the chair request the representatives of the press to correct their former statement.

Vice-President Duncan: The men representing the press who are present will please take notice. However, the representatives of the press may report the proceedings correctly; they are only responsible for the report they send in; what takes place thereafter is not attributable to the men who write the copy.

Delegate Feeney, chairman of the local Committee on Arrangements, announced that an invitation had been extended to the delegates to attend High Mass at the Catholic Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul, Eighteenth and Race streets, at 10.30 a. m., Sunday.

The announcement was made that Treasurer John B. Lennon would speak Sunday morning at St. John's Episcopal Church, Brown street, below Third, the services to be arranged by the rector.

Delegate Tobin (D. J), suggested that the local committee arrange the hall so that visitors would be separated from the delegates. He stated that on the vote on the garment workers' proposition people who were not delegates had voted, and as many important matters will be voted upon by an aye or nay vote or a show of hands during the coming week, it would be advisable to set aside the rear of the hall for visitors.

Vice-President Duncan stated that the body of the hall should be reserved for the delegates, and if any one not a delegate took any part in the proceedings, that person would be denied admission to the hall.

Delegate Frey, in speaking of the memorial services to be held on Sunday afternoon in the convention hall for the late P. J. McGuire and George Chance, suggested that another pioneer in the movement, one of the greatest labor leaders of the past, also a Philadelphia man, should be honored during the services, William H. Sylvis. Chairman Duncan suggested that the molders make suitable arrangements in regard to the matter.

At 11 o'clock, a. m., the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9.30 a. m., on Monday, November 16.

Digitized by Google

SEVENTH DAY—Monday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 o'clock a. m. Monday, November 16, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees — Mullaney, Meyer (A.), Wenneis, Schlesinger, Holpern, La Porta, Rosenberg (E.), Scott (D.), Gehring, Price, Baker, Clark (T. G.), Cooke (W. J.), Paulsen, Steinacker, Conlon, Young, Keppler, Walck, Kavanagh, Lowe, Kelly (T.), Fahey (C. P.), Mueller, Kay, Laylor, Butler, Newberry, Kelly (E H.), Collmer, Scott (J. W.), Duddy, Givens.

Report of Committee on Credentials.

Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 16, 1914.

To the Officers and Members of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials desires to report that it has received a communication from the officers of the Central Trades Council, of New Kensington, Pa., certifying to the fact that Francis Feehan has been elected to represent that body in this convention of the American Federation of Labor, and recommends that Mr. Feehan be seated with one vote.

Respectfully submitted,
THOMAS S. KEARNEY,
Chairman.
P. J. McGRATH,
LOUIS A. SCHWARZ,
Secretary.
Committee on Credentials.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegate seated.

Report of Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Delegate McCullough (T. W.), chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 143—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor:

"WHEREAS, The would-be 'union busters' of the Pacific slope, masquerading under the name of the Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers' Association, have for some time past endeavored to destroy the organization of labor in the city of Stockton, Cal.; and

"WHEREAS, In this warfare upon labor every contemptible trick in the lexicon of organized greed, including the planting of dynamite and the bribing of union members and officials, has been resorted to by the open-shop crusaders in their efforts to discredit the men and women of Stockton who owe allegiance to organized labor; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fourth Annual Convention assembled at Philadelphia, and representing more than 2,000,000 wage earners of the North American continent, that we bid good cheer, hope and encouragement to the locked-out men and women at Stockton and to the trade unionists of California, who have so cheerfully and courageously picked up the gauntlet thrown at them by the forces who would China-ize the fair State of California; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That we earnestly request every national and international union having a local union in the West to lend every moral and financial aid to the locked-out working men and women at Stockton; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That the Secretary of this Federation is hereby directed to wire a synopsis of this resoltuion to the Labor Council at Stockton, Cal.

Your committee begs to report its concurrence in the resolution, recommends that it be adopted and that the Secretary be instructed to immediately notify the workers of Stockton by telegraph of the sympathy and support of this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate McCullough requested that Resolutions Nos. 8 and 9 be referred from the Committee on Executive Council's Report to the Committee on Resolutions; Resolutions 124 and 138 to the Committee on Adjustment, and Resolution 133 to the Committee on Law. The request was complied with.

Vice-President O'Connell obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 161—By Delegate James O'Connell of the International Association of Machinists.

There is located in the city of Lansdale, Pa., the Abraham S. Cox Stove Company, a non-union concern in every department, with a possible exception of the molding room. In the polishing department this company has adopted what is known as the "Buck" system, refusing to employ members of organized labor. The discovery of a union man in this department means an immediate discharge. They only employ skilled mechanics as

Digitized by Google

instructors, and the wages range from $1.50 to $2.00 a day lower than in fair stove shops. On account of the cheapness of labor with which it is possible for them to make stoves, they are entering into contracts with other stove factories that are strictly union, or were heretofore strictly union shops, manufacturing for them stoves to be sold under the purchaser's name, supplying these stoves to the other manufacturers at a cheaper rate than they can be manufactured in the union shop; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Abraham S. Cox Stove Company, of Lansdale, Pa., be placed on the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor so notify all affiliated organizations, and give the same all the publicity possible.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report referred to your Committee on Resolutions, we desire to submit our report in compliance with the suggestions contained on page 16, requesting committees to avoid duplication and to refer to the subjects under their respective headings.

Upon the matter contained in the first two pages of the report, we cannot help but express deep appreciation for the progress which our movement has made during the last year and the evidence "that each year brings for the trade-union movement new tests and new problems," and "each year finds the American Federation of Labor emerging from these tests with increasingly magnificent demonstration that it is founded upon true and lasting principles."

We recommend concurrence in all of the sentiments expressed upon pages 15 and 16 of the report.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

World's Congress of Unemployment.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends, should a World's Congress to consider the subject of unemployment be held in San Francisco during the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to appoint a representative of the American Federation of Labor to attend the conference.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Situation in Mexico.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

We have read the communication forwarded by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, signed by Samuel Gompers, President, to R. Zubaran, the United States representative of the Mexican Constitutionalists.

We approve the action taken by the Executive Council as indicated by the text of the communication and we recommend that the policy which the communication advocates should remain the policy of the American Federation of Labor relative to the Mexican situation and that this receive the endorsement of this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Eight Hours.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the first two paragraphs be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to request the present United States Attorney General to place a construction upon the law supplementing the decision by the previous Attorney General, which has in a large measure rendered the eight-hour law ineffective, and that if the Executive Council should find that an amendment is necessary to make the law establish the object sought, that an amendment be introduced which will provide that all work done for the Government shall be done on an eight-hour basis.

In connection with the third paragraph, we note with gratification the passage of the eight-hour bill for working women in the District of Columbia, which was introduced by Senator La Follette, and in connection with the last sentence of this paragraph we recommend that encouragement be given to those Representatives who have introduced measures to prevent the transportation in interstate commerce of products upon which women and children have worked more than eight hours per day.

In connection with the fourth paragraph, we recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to lend its assistance to secure the passage of the measures introduced by Representative Stephens, of New Hampshire, to provide an eight-hour day for railroad telegraphers.

In connection with the fifth paragraph, we note with gratification the incorporation in the Alaska coal land bill of the provision establishing an eight-hour day for miners.

In connection with the last paragraph, your committee recommends approval of the action which the Executive Council has taken in connection with the conservation bill, H. R. 16136, and we recommend that the Ex-

Digitized by Google

ecutive Council continue its efforts to have the measure enacted into law.

Resolution No. 27—By the delegation from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

WHEREAS, On August 1, 1913, the United States Attorney General handed down an opinion on the Federal eight-hour law (act, June 19, 1912), applying to manufactured material used in connection with Federal building work; and

WHEREAS, Said opinion has opened the way for ten-hour shops and mills to practically monopolize all this work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Federal eight-hour law be amended so as to protect the union shops and mills in manufacturing materials under the eight-hour system.

Secretary Frey: Your committee had referred to it Resolution No. 50, dealing with eight hours, and has covered action upon the resolution in its action upon the Executive Council's Report.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.) asked if the committee would make any further report in regard to the shorter workday. Secretary Frey stated that the committee would make no further report so far as the Executive Council's report was concerned.

Vice-President Duncan, chairman of the committee, in reply to further questions, said, in part: The subject matter just reported on covers one of the most important questions upon this subject that can come before the convention. The committee has dealt with the subject concretely by referring it to the Executive Council to take such action as may be necessary in the premises. In case there be any doubt in the mind of any delegate as to the full scope of that meaning, I am making this explanation. It is known, at least to the interested trades, that since the eight-hour law referred to was passed, after the specific decisions having reference to it were given by Attorney General McReynolds, one of them shortly before he was elevated to the supreme bench, in each of the decisions given he appears to have decided about as nearly in opposition to the purpose of the bill as the language could be construed to oppose the purposes of the bill.

Some officer of some department referred to the Attorney General a question under the eight-hour bill, and asked for an expression of opinion so as to govern the department, and in each instance the decision given was as completely against the purposes of the bill as it was understood as it was possible for a decision to be. The machinists and others of the metal trades can tell the convention better than I can as to the effect some of the decisions may have upon the metal trades; but as far as building operations are concerned, the most far-reaching decision was given by Attorney General McReynolds that was ever given, I believe, by a Cabinet officer, and practically nullifies the bill.

After a further brief discussion, the chairman of the committee read the following letter written by him to the Secretary of the Department of Labor:

November 2, 1914.

Hon. W. B. Wilson, Department of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Through several sources a subject has come to my attention which I am herewith writing about, so that you can look into it if that is necessary, and if we will have the honor of your attendance at the convention of the A. F. of L. next week in Philadelphia, I may have a chance to exchange views with you upon this very important subject.

Some trade papers and a letter I have just received from the headquarters of the A. F. of L. have reference in connection with the latest eight-hour employment act to a question propounded to you while you were a member of the House of Representatives by Mr. Madden, which in this instance specifically has to do with that portion of his question having reference to finished cut stone. He continued in his question on this part of it to state "he could not go into the market and buy the finished material, because dressed material would have to be made in accordance with the provisions of the specifications under the contract." Your reply is given as follows: "My judgment is that finished material would be simply material they had bought in the open market under certain specifications, and it would be exempt from the operation under this clause of the bill."

It seems that Attorney General J. C. McReynolds uses your answer to Congressman Madden as a basis for practically deciding that as far as Government buildings are concerned the eight-hour act is a dead letter, for if his conclusion, based upon your statement, is to be the position of the Government, all our efforts for relief in this act were "sweetness wasted on the desert air."

What I desire to know is, if you intend your answer to mean that stone cut for a public monument for the Federal Government, or stone cut for a public building for the Federal Government—in other words, memorials, postoffices, court houses, etc.—was material that could be bought in the open market. I can scarcely conceive of your having any such thing in mind, for it is an utter impossibility to purchase cut stone in the open market for monuments, memorials or buildings for the Federal Government. In fact, all stone cut for public or private buildings is cut by diagrams which are made from specifications prepared in con-

Digitized by Google

nection with the contract and for use absolutely and entirely with that specific contract, and every foot of stone, hard or soft, cut for a memorial or public building after a contract for the Federal Government has been awarded is of itself specific work having no connection near or remote to the open market, and not a foot of which could be purchased anywhere in the open market. In fact, this is so much so that it is questionable if the raw material, as taken from the quarry for a public building, would not come under the act, for stone split up in a quarry, to be given to the stone cutter to cut, is usually for economical reasons quarried "to make close patterns," thereby not only saving cost in raw stock but having the stone as nearly to the finished size as possible, and, therefore, making it more economical to cut into the shape and size by the man who does the granite cutting or soft stone cutting. However, it is true that such a stone in the quarry might be sold to some one else to cut some other size of a stone than that intended for the Government building, but after the stone is given to the stone cutter and is cut according to the specific diagram to suit the place in the wall of the Government building, that stone is of use for no other place or for no other purpose, and cannot in the remotest manner be considered as purchasable in the open market.

If, on the other hand, your answer had reference to such things as the contractor might purchase in the open market ready for use, the meaning Attorney General McReynolds took out of your answer would not apply, and the eight-hour act would still be of public service. The contract, for instance, might specify the weight and shape of nails, bolts, hinges, locks, door knobs, etc., which may all have been manufactured for whomsoever might buy, and then, if the contractor purchased some ready for use, the operations of the law would only apply to attaching that which had thus been purchased in the open market to the portion of the building for which the specification provided. Such could be called manufactured articles purchasable in the open market.

With your own broad vision and practical knowledge of affairs, I am sure you will understand the distinction between the two lines of thought, and because of the importance the ex-Attorney General put upon your remarks, you will see how necessary and important it is that we get this cleared up, either to get a correct interpretation from the Attorney General reversing the unwarranted decision of Attorney General McReynolds, and, if that is not possible or feasible, then so we might apply to Congress again for redress, so that the act can be made to apply for what it was intended, and not shorn of its pith by an impracticable and unwarranted technical expression by an attorney.

Respectfully,

(Signed) JAMES DUNCAN,
First Vice-President.

Upon that reply by then Congressman Wilson to Congressman Madden, Attorney General McReynolds based his opinion that material for a public building or for a ship, armor-plate excluded, because that is dealt with by itself, or things that can be bought in the open market do not come under the bill, and any contractor doing work of that kind need not be governed by the provisions of the eight-hour law.

An important structure, like the monument being erected to President Lincoln in Washington, is turned out, not only in violation of the eight-hour law, but by non-union labor. If the eight-hour act were applied to that work there is no doubt the employer would hire union labor to do it. The subject matter having been brought to my attention by the Building Trades Department and by the action of the Soft Stone Cutters' Association, which is much affected, because the memorial to Abraham Lincoln is a marble job, coming from Colorado, and is not only a violation of the eight-hour law, but is a non-union job, notwithstanding, the fact that Attorney General had based his decision on the answer to Congressman Madden by then Congressman Wilson, I wrote to Secretary Wilson and received the following reply:

Department of Labor,
Office of the Secretary,
Washington, Nov. 14, 1914.

Mr. James Duncan,
Hotel Walton, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Sir: I have your letter of the 2d instant, relative to the application of the eight-hour workday to certain classes of labor.

It is only recently that the circular of the Treasury Department embodying the opinions of the Department of Justice on the eight-hour law has been brought to my attention. It seems to me that the question of whether or not any given article can usually be bought in the open market is not a question of law, but is a question of fact, and such questions are usually determined by the department letting the contract and not by the Department of Justice.

In rendering its opinions on the question of fact, the Department of Justice, under Wickersham, and again under McReynolds, quotes a statement from the Congressional Record supposed to have been made by me in the general debate when the eight-hour bill was up for consideration.

So far as the quotation from the record is concerned, the part which has been selected as a basis for the opinion is a correct quotation from that particular point, and yet I never had any such idea in my mind, and do not believe I ever

Digitized by Google

made any such statement. The record itself would seem to bear out my contention in that respect. For instance, on page 382, prior to the question and answer quoted by the Attorney General, Mr. Madden asked this question:

"Mr. Madden: If the gentleman will pardon me, I presume that what the gentleman intends to have the bill provide is, that if the stone is manufactured after it is produced from the quarry that would be material which could not be bought in the open market, and the manufacture of such stone would be required to be made by eight-hour labor. Is not that correct?"

(I may inject here, in parenthesis, that the language used by Mr. Madden on the floor was not "to be made by eight-hour labor," but "by union labor.")

"Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania: No. It would not be required to be made by union labor or non-union, but made under the eight-hour workday.

"Mr. Madden: That is the same thing.

"Mr. Kendall: There is a vast difference in the proposition.

"Mr. Madden: Made by union labor working eight hours a day.

"Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania: Some not belonging to the union receive the benefits coming as the result of the union workday.

"Mr. Madden: I take it the intention is that raw material which enters into the construction of a building would be considered as material which could be bought on the open market.

"Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania: In a general way that would be my construction.

"Mr. Madden: And finished material made from the raw material would be required to be made under the provisions of this bill.

"Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania: I did not quite catch that.

"Mr. Madden: Finished materials, materials which would require mechanical work after the raw material had been purchased, would not enter into the construction of a building at all, except under this bill.

"Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania: I should judge so."

Immediately following the question of Mr. Madden and answer by myself quoted by the Department of Justice, the following colloquy occurs:

"Mr. Davidson: I want to ask the gentleman whether material that was constructed in accordance with specifications furnished would be construed as being in the open market. For instance, referring to cut stone for building. Take a public building to be treated with doors and windows. Door and window sashes are articles to be bought in the open market, and yet for that particular building the doors might have to be of certain dimensions. The window sash might have to be of certain dimensions and there might not be in the open market those dimensions carried in the general stock, but they would have to be manufactured to fit those particular places. Now, if that were the case and contract was issued with specifications, would that come under this eight-hour law?

"Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania: Those would have to be things not usually bought in the open market. Where things usually bought in the open market conform to specifications——

"Mr. Davidson: If the article were a stock article which could be bought upon the open market, but if it required that article to be of different dimensions, then, you see, it could not be bought in the open market.

"Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania: If it were something that could not be usually bought in the open market, then the work in making that article would come under the provisions of this act; but if it could be usually bought in the open market, then it would not be required to conform to this act, but in the very nature of the exception there is some latitude that must be allowed to administration.

"Mr. Cannon: If the gentleman will allow me. In view of his explanations I either do not understand them or I do not understand the bill. Except armor and armor plate, whether made to conform to particular specifications or not, or for the purchase of supplies for the Government, whether manufactured to conform to particular specifications or not. Now, as I understand it, under the provisions of the bill the doors of a public building, the cornices, the tiling that would cover it, might conform to particular specifications and not be subject to the eight-hour law, if I understand the provisions of the bill. Am I right?

"Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania: If they are of that nature that they could usually be bought in the open market, then they would not be required to conform to this eight-hour proviso, but if they are of the nature that they cannot usually be bought in the open market, then they would be required to comply with the provisions of the law."

My whole attitude in handling that phase of the bill was that the question of whether or not an article could be bought in the open market was one of fact to be determined by the administration of the department letting the contract, and not one of law to be passed on by the Department of Justice. It does not seem to me that dressed stone is an article that can usually be bought in the open market, and, consequently, I am certain that the language attributed to me in the record is not correct.

I do not know whether the original notes of the reporters are still in existence, but I am having the matter looked into, because the language quoted has placed me in a very embarrassing position. Sincerely yours,

W. B. WILSON,
Secretary.

The chairman of the committee continued: I am glad I received this letter in time to present it to the convention, because it shows the narrow margin the

Digitized by Google

Attorney General relied upon for his decision. If he had looked a little further into the record he would have seen that not only Secretary Wilson but others of the labor group favored the opposite idea and stated it. I know there are some labor organizations who, because the Attorney General at the time tried to hedge behind Secretary Wilson, have been trying to put the blame for this legislation upon Secretary Wilson, whereas the correspondence brought out and his explanation show conclusively that it was in the minds of those who voted for this bill that manufactured stone or manufactured material for public buildings or ships for the Government should come under the eight-hour act.

Delegate Griggs, in discussing the question, said in part: I had an interview with Secretary Wilson and explained to him that, inasmuch as the language of Attorney General McReynolds stated that stone could be bought ordinarily in the open market and therefore was exempt from the operation of the eight-hour law, under no ordinary or extraordinary circumstances could stone be bought for monumental buildings in the open market. Most of the stone must be quarried in size to conform to the specifications. I am glad to hear this morning that Secretary Wilson has revised his opinion as given to me. I was very much disappointed in Secretary Wilson. I had better treatment from the secretaries who were not connected with organized labor than by Secretary Wilson, and I want to take this opportunity to say so. After going over the matter with him he stated to me that this was his opinion as quoted by Attorney General McReynolds.

Delegate Griggs discussed at some length the quality of the material being used in the Lincoln Memorial and various buildings, and the character of the companies doing the work.

Delegate Walker (J. H.): I move you that consideration of this matter before the convention now be deferred until Secretary Wilson has had an opportunity to come here, get an understanding of what is being said and have an opportunity to present the matter from his point of view.

Vice-President Duncan stated that while it was hoped Secretary Wilson would attend the convention, he doubted the advisability of putting a member of the Cabinet in evidence upon the passage of legislation in the convention. He stated that Secretary Wilson's letter fully set forth his attitude in the matter, and that the matter was referred to the Executive Council to take up with the present Attorney General in order to get a fair interpretation of the bill, and in event of failure to take such further action as might be deemed advisable.

Delegate Walker stated that he wished the matter deferred so that Secretary Wilson's statement, if any were made, might go in the records with the other discussion. He stated that he doubted that such a statement had been made.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Treasurer Lennon: I move that the Committee on Resolutions be directed to submit a special resolution regarding the effect of the Lincoln Memorial, it not only being contrary to the law, but entirely out of harmony with the life and spirit and the work of the splendid President to whose memory this monument is to be erected.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Polakoff and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Woll: I want to call the attention of the convention to the special committee that has been appointed for the purpose of trying to bring about an agreement between the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Association of Sheet Metal Workers. The committee was instructed to report back to the convention not later than Monday morning November 16. The committee has not completed its work and asks an extension of time.

Upon motion of Delegate McNulty the request of the committee for an extension of time was granted.

Safety Appliances.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee recommends that the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor render all possible assistance for the enactment into law of the bills referred to.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Digitized by Google

Safety Appliance Inspectors.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with interest and gratification the reference made to the excellent work which was done during the present session of Congress by Representative Frank Buchanan, of Illinois, who proved himself not only a staunch supporter of labor's interests in Congress, but a resourceful and courageous leader upon the floor of the House when labor's interests where under consideration. We recommend that the Executive Council lend every assistance to secure the enactment of an adequate measure providing for safety appliance inspectors.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Bureau of Labor Safety.

Upon subject-matter of the Report of the Executive Council under the above caption, your committee recommends that the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor continue their efforts to secure the necessary legislation and that the affiliated organizations render every assistance in connection with the same.

Your committee desires to express the keen appreciation of this convention to Col. Lewis T. Bryant, Labor Commissioner of New Jersey, for his instructive and interesting address, delivered to the delegates Wednesday afternoon. The delegates are urged to endeavor to have measures containing the provisions advocated by Colonel Bryant introduced and adopted by their respective State Legislatures.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Occupational Diseases.

Upon that portion of the Report of the Executive Council under the above caption, your committee expresses appreciation for the continued efforts which have been made by the Executive Council in securing data relative to accidents and occupational diseases, provided for by Resolution No. 76, adopted by the Seattle convention.

We heartily approve the recommendation that efforts be made to have the Department of Labor gather data and publish an annual report upon mortality and disability by accident and occupational diseases in the various industries.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation.

Upon the subject-matter under the above caption, your committee recommends that the framing of a comprehensive employers' liability act be referred to the Executive Council.

We note the reference made to the diversity of opinion between some of the Railway Brotherhoods and the American Federation of Labor as to the most adequate form of legislation upon the subject of workmen's compensation, and we endorse the Executive Council's recommendation that continued efforts be made to reconcile these differences.

Upon the paragraph relative to the rate of compensation, we desire to emphatically endorse the establishing of rates not less than 66 2/3 per cent. of the wages paid to those who are to receive awards under compensation laws, and we recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to immediately notify the officers of all state federations of labor and central labor councils to this effect.

We also fully endorse the paragraph urging State Federations, central bodies, legislative committees and all trade unionists to earnestly strive during the coming sessions of State Legislatures, already having compensation laws providing for a basis below 66 2/3 to introduce measures to bring the basis of compensation up to this point and to seek to have this standard established in those States which have not adopted workmen's compensation legislation.

We further recommend that determined efforts be made to secure a more generous allowance as to length of time during which payments should be made for accidents resulting in amputations, and recommend that the convention adopt in addition the following policies relative to workmen's compensation:

That widows whose husbands were killed in the industries should receive compensation during widowhood.

That additional rates should be paid on the basis of the number of children under eighteen years of age.

That the administration of compensation laws should be under the supervision of State commissions, appointed for this purpose.

That as the profits of liability insurance companies are derived entirely from funds collected for the payment of compensation to injured workmen, every effort be made to secure workmen's compensation laws which will entirely eliminate employers' liability insurance companies.

That inasmuch as serious evils have crept in as a result of the provisions made by most workmen's compensation laws allowing employers to be self-insured, persistent efforts be made in the several States and Provinces of Canada to eliminate this provision and bring all employers under a law providing for contributions to State funds to be administered by a commission.

Your committee further recommends that all officers and members of trade unions and students of the question of workmen's compensation secure Senate Document No. 419, Sixty-third Congress, second session, which contained the report submitted by Vice-President Duncan and John Mitchell upon the subject of workmen's compensation.

Secretary Frey stated that the report

Digitized by Google

of the committee covered the questions raised by Resolution No. 50, which had been referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Francis Dujay, of the Schenectady (N. Y.) Trades Assembly:

WHEREAS, There are many employers of labor in the State of New York who have, since the passage of the workmen's compensation law in that State, been submitting their employes to a more or less severe form of physica examination, and giving as a cause and excuse for that action the excessive burden placed on them by reason of the enactment of the said law; and,

WHEREAS, The intent and purpose of the promoters and enacters of the said law was to place the burden and the whole of it on the employers of labor and the employers of labor alone; and

"WHEREAS, This scheme of physical examination is detrimental in the extreme to labor, in that it provides a means by which the employers may eliminate from employment all workers whom they might deem it to their interest to eliminate; and

"WHEREAS, It is usually to the interest of the employers to remove from their employment the active members of organized labor; and

"WHEREAS, If the said scheme of examination is permitted to continue, the active members of organized labor will eventually be weeded out of employment; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as insisting on our affiliated national and international unions refusing to permit their membership to stand for any kind of physical examination as a consequence of the said compensation law or any other compensation law; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That this convention also go on record as demanding that the Legisature of the said State of New York amend the said law to the end that no physical examination shall be permissible as a result of the said law, or as a qualification for employment."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Gompers: What has the committee to say in regard to the protest against physical examination of employes?

Secretary Frey: The committee recommends that the law be amended so that employers will not longer enjoy the privilege of being self-insured. That will eliminate physical examination of employes. The laws will allow employers to carry their own insurance provided they can file a satisfactory bond with the State authorities guaranteeing payment of workmen's compensation, under the rates provided by the law. These employers who take advantage of this privilege, in their effort to save expenses or reduce the cost, employ physicians to examine employes. The committee recommends that existing laws be amended so that the right of self-insurance will no longer exist and all employers will be forced to contribute to a State fund from which workmen's compensation will be paid. These amendments, if adopted, will eliminate physical examination so far as the payment of damages or benefits is concerned to injured workmen.

Delegate Taylor spoke briefly in regard to physical examination of Government employes.

Vice-President Duncan: Some form of examination might be made either by the Government—that could be stopped by law—or by individual employers, but so far as workmen's compensation is concerned, by requiring the compensation laws to be administered by a commission employed by the State, the desire to have physical examination would not then exist, or if it did exist, it would be in a very limited degree.

Delegate Dujay spoke at some length in favor of the adoption of the resolution, and moved that the convention go on record recommending to the international and national organizations that they use every effort in their power to prevent their members being compelled to submit to any kind of physical examination as a qualification for employment.

Treasurer Lennon asked the committee if its recommendation would exclude a physical examination of compressed-air workers in caissons.

Vice-President Duncan: I should say it would not. There are some employments where it is necessary to have a physical examination. Men sometimes need to be examined because if they are not capable of withstanding the pressure of such work as mentioned by Delegate Lennon it would mean their death.

The question was discussed by Delegate Keep, Delegate Connors, Delegate McNulty, Vice-President Duncan, Secretary Frey and Delegate Bradley. Delegate McNulty referred especially to the employes of the General Electric Company, Schenectady, N. Y. All the delegates who discussed the question stated that the employers who insisted upon

Digitized by Google

physical examination as a qualification for employment were using it as a means to keep active members of the trades unions out of their employment.

Delegate Walker (J. H.): I am in accord with the report of the committee on this question so far as it goes, because I believe, so far as a fundamental basis for almost perfect compensation legislation is concerned, they have made it in that report. The provision for administering the law eliminates court and general expenses, and, in my judgment, minimizes delay. The provision for preventing employers insuring themselves really insures the payment of the amounts due to the injured person, and a provision for an insurance fund out of which to pay the insured person eliminates the cost of insurance companies in connection with the administration of compensation laws.

Delegate Walker opposed the practice of physical examination of employes, and referred to the danger of employers using it as a means of discriminating against men who are active in the labor organizations, and suggested that a declaration be made by the convention opposing examinations of that kind in ordinary industry.

Secretary Frey stated that it would be dangerous to make any classification of industries where the employers might require physical examinations.

Delegate Flynn stated that in New York the Governor had instructed the commission to immediately annul the insurance of any employer, self-insured, who insisted upon a physical examination of employes.. He urged that the convention protest against all physical tests of employes, especially in factories.

Delegate Frayne, in discussing the question, said in part: There is a phase of this question that has not been touched upon that is very vital to the State of New York. Employers have made it a rule and an excuse to have a physical examination, they themselves to be the judges as to the qualifications and requirements, to discriminate against married men and men who have passed the ages of forty-five and fifty. They do this for the purpose of getting away from the responsibility of paying compensation to the widow and family of a man who may lose his life in their employ. They are employing young men, discriminating against the older men to evade a responsibility. At least in two instances in the State of New York local unions have gone on record advising their members to not submit to a physical examination, and rather than do it to go on strike, because the physical examination is only an excuse to get a chance to discriminate against the older workers, thereby lessening the liability of the employers, who would have to meet only the responsibility of payment of compensation for the injury or death of a single man, as against the liability and the responsibility of paying a widow and her children.

Delegate Daly (T. M.) discussed the question at length. He referred particularly to the fact that physical examinations were required by the General Electric Company, and referred to the abuses that might grow up and have been growing up under the custom.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.) offered the following amendment:

That the convention is unalterably opposed to the growing tendency of employers to compel employes to submit to physical examination, except in cases of extra-hazardous or dangerous occupations, and then only when such examinations are approved by the State commissions that award compensation.

The committee agreed to accept the amendment offered by Delegate Hayes.

Delegate Griffin discussed the question, and stated that the seamen had been fighting physical examinations for thirty years, and he was pleased to note that other organizations were taking up the question. He discussed the question at some length, speaking particularly of the injustice to which seamen had been subjected.

Delegate Skemp: The physical examination, objectionable as it is, seems to me only a minor phase of a much larger subject—discrimination against the older men and against the married men, which necessarily arises under the workmen's compensation law that gives the employer any option as to the manner in which he shall insure his risk. I would like to know whether the recommendation of the committee that legislation be enacted to forbid self-insurance includes forbidding mu-

Digitized by Google

tual insurance and insurance through the casualty companies.

Secretary Frey stated that the committee recommended only one form of insurance, the payment by the employer through a State fund to be administered by the State.

The question was further discussed by Delegate Skemp, Delegate Pryor, and Delegate Dujay. Delegate Dujay stated that he was willing to have the wording of the resolution changed by striking out the word "insisting" and inserting the words "strongly advise."

Delegate Cannon discussed the question and moved as an amendment: That upon the death by accident or through the result of an accident, an estate shall be automatically in existence to which, in case no heirs are found, the compensation due on account of the death shall revert after two years to the general funds of the State, or nation in case of Federal compensation.

The amendment was seconded by Delegate Connors. Carried.

Delegate Daly (T. M.) moved as a further amendment by adding to the committee's recommendation Resolution No. 50 with the word "insisting" in the first resolve stricken out and the words "strongly advise" inserted.

The chairman of the committee stated that if the resolution had been considered by itself the committee would have made the change suggested by Delegate Daly, but the committee's report was the substitute for everything that had been referred to the committee on the subject.

Delegate Daly: I move as an amendment to the amendment that this convention go on record strongly advising our affiliated national and international unions to refuse to permit their membership to submit to any physical examination as a consequence of the said compensation law within the provision of Delegate Hayes' amendment. (Seconded.)

The amendment was adopted by a vote of 94 in the affirmative to 69 in the negative.

Delegate Walker objected to Delegate Hayes' amendment, as mining is termed a hazardous occupation, as the miners were unalterably opposed to any sort of physical examination, and offered the following amendment: That this convention go on record as being opposed to all physical examination as a qualification to either secure or hold a job, except where the physical strain on the individual is so great, or where the lives and safety of others may depend upon his physical, mental and nervous perfection, and thus make it necessary to protect the individual or those in his care or under his charge. (Seconded.)

Delegate Wharton stated that the amendment of Delegate Walker would not cover the point raised, that men going down into the mines would be more or less responsible for the lives of other men working with them. Delegate Walker stated that only the hoisting engineers in a mine could possibly come under that provision.

The question was further discussed by Delegate Keep and Delegate Scharrenberg.

Delegate Scharrenberg moved that the matter be referred back to the committee. (Seconded.)

The question was further discussed by Delegate Connors, Secretary Frey, Delegate Walker and Delegate Daly.

Delegate Hayes asked permission to withdraw his amendment. The permission sought for was granted. The announcement was made that withdrawing Delegate Hayes' amendment also withdraw Delegate Daly's amendment.

Delegate Daly moved as an amendment that the first resolve in Resolution No. 50 be adopted when amended by striking out the word "insisting" and inserting "strongly advise." (Seconded.)

Delegate Woll spoke in favor of adopting the report of the committee without any amendments.

The amendment offered by Delegate Daly was lost.

All the other amendments were withdrawn, and the report of the committee as amended by Delegate Cannon was adopted.

At 12.30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

Digitized by Google

SEVENTH DAY—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Monday, November 16, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Cullen, Wenneis, Larger, Schlesinger, Holpern, Rosenberg (E.), Scott (D.), Gehring, Price, Bergstrom, Clarke (T. C.), Carrigan, Hurley, Freel, Sumner, Cooke (W. J.), McMahon (M. J.), Jones (D. S.), Paulsen, Conlon, Schalk, Young, Keppler, Reinhard, Lowe, Johnson, Mueller, Kay, Laylor, Butler, Newberry, Kelly (E. H.), Collmer, Duddy, Givens.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Upon the portions of the Executive Council's report, under the following captions, the committee reported as follows:

Postoffice Clerks and Night Work.

Your committee recommends that the efforts already made by the Executive Council be continued.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Amendment to Postal Savings Bank Law.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts to have the legislation desired enacted into law.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Parcel Post.

Your committee recommends that this convention endorses the sentiment expressed in Resolution No. 101, adopted at the Seattle convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Teamsters in Postoffice Employ.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts to have the measures enacted into law.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Amendment to Hours of Service Law.

Your committee endorses the recommendation that the penalty should be made higher, and recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts until the measure desired has been enacted into law.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Automatic Step System for Railroads.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Piecework—Taylor System—in Government Service.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, and upon Resolution No. 20, the committee reported as follows:

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate E. J. Aspengren, of the Rock Island (Ill.) Tri-City Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States Government, in its arsenal and navy yards, has installed the piecework system in certain departments; and,

WHEREAS, This system is a menace to the worker in all trades and occupations through its vicious effects, viz.: reduction of wages, increase in production and the development of distrust and brutality among the workers to the extent that it is almost impossible to organize those employed under this system; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in regular session assembled, condemn the use of the piecework system on Government work; and be it further

RESOLVED, That President Gompers and the Executive Council be instructed to use every means at their command that legislation may be enacted that will forever exclude the piecework system from all Government establishments.

Your committee congratulates the Executive Council upon the progress which has been made during the last year in uncovering the evils attendant upon the so-called Taylor system of scientific management, and recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts to have a measure enacted which will prevent the operation of any system of shop management which includes the use of stop watches in connection with workmen's labor, or the application of any system of payment of wages adopted for the purpose of speeding up workmen, and the elimination of such system wherever it exists.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Physical Examination of Government Employes.

Your committee approves the steps taken by the Executive Council to prevent any unfair and arbitrary use of physical examination of employes in Government arsenals and navy yards, and recommends that these efforts be continued.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Digitized by Google

Public vs. Private Construction of Naval and Other Vessels.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts along the lines already adopted.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Regulations for Loading Vessels—Protection of Longshoremen.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts to secure the desired legislation.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Marine Hospital at Seattle.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts to secure the necessary legislation.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Old Age Pensions.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the recommendations of the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Unemployment and Vagrancy Laws.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts to secure the legislation desired.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Weekly Rest Day and Saturday Half-holiday.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts to secure the necessary legislation.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Municipal Ownership.

Upon the subject-matter under the caption "Municipal Ownership" your committee reports upon the same in connection with the report submitted by W. D. Mahon and L. D. Bland.

Upon the subject-matter under the caption "Labor Conditions on European Municipally Owned Railroads," the same being a report submitted by W. D. Mahon and L. D. Bland, your committee desires to express appreciation for the work done by them, and for their valuable contribution to our knowledge relative to the conditions and differences existing between privately owned and publicly owned and operated street car systems.

While not expressing any new or additional thought in connection with the present policy of the American Federation of Labor relative to municipal ownership, your committee cannot overlook the statements contained in this report which indicate that whether under private or public ownership, the only real improvement in the conditions of labor for street railway employes has been accomplished through trade union activity.

Your committee recommends that wherever municipal ownership of public utilities is attempted the trade union movement emphatically insists that there shall be incorporated in the law creating the municipally owned utility an adequate provision guaranteeing the right of the workers to organize upon trade union lines, and their right to a voice in the regulation and determination of the wages, hours of labor and working conditions.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

In discussing the question Delegate Gallagher (A. J.) said in part: I have no quarrel with Mr. Mahon's report as to municipal ownership in Europe, but if he says it has not brought benefit to his men in America in the only place it has been adopted, I challenge his statement or the statement of any one else. There has been something accomplished for men in a community without trade union activity. In the city of San Francisco men on a given car line were not allowed to organize. Their union had been beaten in a fight. At 12 o'clock those men were working ten hours a day for $2.50 for that day. Four minutes after twelve, when the line passed into the possession of the city and county of San Francisco those men were getting three dollars for an eight-hour day, and shortly thereafter the workmen thought they must join the Car Workers' Union. On another municipal line there has been formed a union and everybody on that line has been told he must join that union. On the United Railway lines, that operate all over the rest of the city, a carmen's union cannot be organized.

Vice-President Duncan, chairman of the committee: The committee had before it the fact that the American Federation is on record as in favor of municipal ownership wherever it can be accomplished. In dealing with the report of the delegation that went abroad the committee said that, not adding anything new or additional to the present position of the American Federation of Labor upon the subject of municipal ownership, we could not overlook the statement contained in the report which

Digitized by Google

indicates whether under private or public ownership everything that has come to the men in that industry throughout the country, has come through their organization. The fact that the line in San Francisco went under municipal ownership was due to the activity of trades unions. That is exactly what the committee declares.

Delegate Griffin discussed the question briefly, referred to municipal ferries in New York city and the steamship lines owned by the Government running out of New York to Panama. He stated when a strike was called on the steamship line men were secured from the navy yard to fill the places of the strikers; that the Government-owned steamship line was the hardest line to organize. He referred to his experience in European countries where the street cars were owned by municipalities.

Delegate McCarthy (P. H.), in discussing the question, said in part: To San Francisco and her people is due the credit of building a municipal railroad, in addition to taking one already built. And to union labor is due the credit of building that absolutely union two and one-half miles of road. When an expert came from Chicago he said in his report that the two and one-half miles built under a union administration and in accordance with the principles of trades unionism, by day's work, was the best road he ever went over. When it was necessary to sell bonds to build that road the bankers would not buy the bonds until union labor of San Francisco demonstrated that they would buy the bonds themselves with the money they had in the savings bank and their treasury. The Teamsters Local, No. 85, took $50,000 of those bonds; Machinists' Local, No. 68, took $10,000; the Laborers took $5,000, and so on down the line. Municipal industries of any kind are good when they are operated under principles of unionism such as this American Federaion of Labor has laid down.

Delegate Wills spoke briefly of the conditions existing in regard to the street railways in Chicago, where 55 per cent. of the net profits of the lines are paid over into a city fund. He stated that the 55 per cent. of the profits came out of what the public was entitled to for proper operation of the cars and out of the wages of the employes. He stated that, in his opinion, the proper way to deal with the question was through the labor organizations; that if the organizations had power enough they could keep the municipal authorities from interfering and taking away the benefits the men were entitled to; that if that could be done it would be the best way to operate the street-car system.

Delegate Cannon, in discussing the question of municipal ownership, described the condition existing in the street railway service in New York, and said in part: It is the manner in which the municipal owned utilities are operated that affects the men. If you select representatives of the capitalists to run those utilities your labor is lost. Stick for the control of the utilities by the people after the municipalities own them. The mere change of title will not better your condition. When we take the street-car system of New York city out of the control of the Belmonts we take that much power out of the hands of our enemies, and we will have removed one of the greatest forces of corruption in our municipal politics. After we have taken them out of private ownership we will have removed the causes of corruption that cause the municipalities to oppress labor, and our fight then will be directed right on the political field.

Delegate Furuseth: There is one part of the report that is overlooked that I think is very important, and that is that it should always be provided that the men who are working for municipally owned utilities must have the same right to organize as anybody else, and as long as that is part of it I do not think municipal ownership can be anything else but a success.

Delegate Keep objected to the report of Mr. Mahon and Mr. Bland, inasmuch as it did not discuss conditions in the United States but only in European countries. He stated that abroad as well as in America if the working people owned the municipalities they are treated well, and if they do not they are not treated well.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Digitized by Google

Organized Farmers and the Agricultural Credit Bill.

Upon the subject-matter under the above caption your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts to secure the legislation desired.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Retirement of Vice-Presidents Mitchell and Huber.

Upon the subject-matter under the above caption your committee recommends approval of the action taken thereon by the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

President White's Declination to Serve as Vice-President.

Upon the subject-matter under the above caption your committee, after having carefully read all the correspondence published in this section of the report, is in full accord with the action taken by President Gompers, and in complete approval with his statements of facts as presented in this correspondence, and your committee is furthermore in full accord with the final action taken by the Executive Council in connection with the subject. Your committee recommends that the action of President Gompers and the Executive Council be endorsed.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth, of the Seamen's International Union:

WHEREAS, The registration laws have been so altered as to permit foreign vessels to come under the American flag and to sail for two years without inspection, and for seven years with officers not citizens of the United States; and,

WHEREAS, Those vessels so admitted thereby become able to sail with no inspection whatsoever, to the danger of human life and property; and,

WHEREAS, Those vessels have no rights other than those mentioned that they would not have enjoyed under any foreign flag; and

WHEREAS, That part of our registration laws which prohibits foreign-built vessels from being engaged in the coastwise trade acts as a deterrent on the building of American merchant marine; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge upon Congress to so change our registration laws that any vessel rated in the highest class of any responsible classification society may be registered as an American vessel to sail in any trade, provided that she be compelled to carry citizens of the United States as licensed officers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Senate Committee on Commerce and the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate James F. Morris, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, A number of State Federations of Labor believe it necessary that a central bureau of information should be established to furnish news regarding the progress of labor measures pending before State Legislatures; and

WHEREAS, If the officers or legislative committees of the State Federations of Labor will furnish regular reports on this subject to the A. F. of L., the information thus obtained could be published weekly in the A. F. of L. News Letter; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to take this matter up with a view of formulating some plan whereby various State Federations of Labor may be kept informed as to the labor measures introduced in the various State Legislatures, the particular forces opposing such measures, the progress made in the committees, and the general status of the various labor bills at regular intervals.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with the request that necessary information be published in the American Federation of Labor News Letter.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Edward M. Davies, of the Galvanized Sheet and Tube Workers, No. 14,691, Martin's Ferry, O.:

WHEREAS, It is inevitable that an independent labor party must be formed, that the workers can secure direct representation for the enactment of legislation in the interest of the working class; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention regards with considerable satisfaction the growing desire of organized labor for direct representation, national, State and municipal, and would urge upon the delegates to report to their respective unions the desirability of forming an independent labor party and to support financially and otherwise the recommendation of this cnovention.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution and the reaffirmation of the Seattle convention upon the subject of political activity.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: Resolutions Nos. 23 and 40 are couched in practically the same language and are covered by one report.

Digitized by Google

Resolution No. 33—By Delegates Miller, Bope and Carey, of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, By an act of Congress approved May 11, 1908, enlisted musicians in the army and navy of the United States of America are prohibited from entering into competition with civilian musicians; and

WHEREAS, The then Attorney General, Charles Bonaparte, decided that this act of Congress did not apply to the Marine Band, of Washington, D. C., because the Marine Corps, so he alleged, was not a part of the navy; and

WHEREAS, Since this decision the Marine Band, of Washington, D. C., the best-paid and provided-for enlisted band in the world, has continued to practically monopolize the music business of the civilian musicians of the District, and is continually interfering in the District of Columbia, to the detriment of the musicians of the whole country, by offering its services for expositions, state fairs, and other prominent functions, with a view of excluding the civilian musicians of the various States from such employment; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the fact that the Marine Band, or sections thereof, is frequently furnished free for social functions given by men prominent in the affairs of the nation, high political and social influence is always brought to bear to defeat any effort to confine this band to its legitimate duties as every other enlisted band is; and

WHEREAS, It is within the prerogatives of the President of the United States of America, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to issue an order restraining the Marine Band from entering the competitive field against civilian musicians in or out of the District of Columbia; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, respectfully requests His Excellency Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to issue the necessary order prohibiting the Marine Band, of Washington, D. C., from interfering with the professional engagements of the civilian musicians, either in or out of the District of Columbia, as intended by the law approved May 11, 1908, which was arbitrarily set aside by a decision of the then Attorney General of the United States; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the Federation, in conjunction with an official of the American Federation of Musicians, endeavor to secure a personal interview with the President to lay this matter before him.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The question was discussed by Delegate Miller, of the Musicians' Union.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Michael Goldsmith, of the Ohio State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Much of the time lost by childish squabbles on the floor of central bodies arises from the fact that sufficient jurisdiction has not been given to central bodies affiliated to the American Federation of Labor to affirm decisions already decreed by the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled or the Executive Council thereof; and

WHEREAS, Such indefiniteness has a tendency to embarrass the executive of the American Federation of Labor and all affiliated organizations by the continued appeals of locals asking for decisions on questions already adjudicated by the parent body, the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, give central bodies affiliated to the American Federation of Labor the power to carry out the final decisions on all jurisdictional disputes that come up between affiliated locals where a decision has already been rendered by the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled. The same to remain in effect until changed by the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled.

Inasmuch as all affiliated bodies now have the constitutional authority to enforce the decisions of the American Federation of Labor, your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegate Goldsmith.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The committee recommended the adoption of Resolution No. 39 when amended to read:

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth, of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, On behalf of the organized farmers, Congressman Casey, of Pennsylvania, has introduced a bill in Congress (H. R. 17,855), providing for the establishment of an industrial alcohol commission and an appropriation to demonstrate the practical value of farm denatured alcohol distilling and guide the development of the industry in its early stages; and

WHEREAS, The development of farm denatured alcohol distilling, if as effective as its advocates claim, and as scientific investigation and the experience of European countries would indicate, would curtail if not destroy the monopoly of the liquid fuel supply by the Oil Trust, of the meat supply by the packers, and of alcohol as a solvent in many industries by the industrial alcohol and wood alcohol trusts; and

Digitized by Google

WHEREAS, The evidence submitted to Congress is conclusive that fully 1000 supposed employes of the Agricultural Department are paid from the Rockefeller Educational Fund of the Rockefeller Foundation; and

WHEREAS, The Rockefeller Foundation, with its various educational funds, is evidently the means by which the entire educational system of the nation, including the educational and demonstration work of the States and Federal Government, might be dominated by the Rockefeller interests; and

WHEREAS, The John D. Rockefeller Endowment of the Rockefeller Foundation, the interest on which supplies the various Rockefeller educational funds, is invested in the stocks and bonds of corporations, notably those controlled by the Rockefeller interests, conspicuous among which is the Colorado Industrial Company; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual session assembled, indorses the Casey bill (H. R. 17,855), or legislation of similar import, acceptable to the organized farmers, supporting the Casey bill, for the establishment of an industrial alcohol commission and an appropriation by Congress to demonstrate conclusively the practicability of farm alcohol distilling; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That all organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L. be, and hereby are, urged to assist in making these resolutions effective.

The recommendation of the committee to adopt the resolution as amended was concurred in.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, A great many positions requiring skilled labor on the Panama Canal are now held by aliens, our contention is that the first duty of the American Government is the welfare of its own citizens, and that, therefore, all such positions should at all times be filled by American citizens only; and

WHEREAS, Some of the positions now held by aliens are as follows: planing-mill machine operators, bench carpenters, roundhouse carpenters, car inspectors, Panama Railroad, boiler-shop machine operators on punch and shears, rolls, drill presses, pneumatic hammers and air motors, blacksmiths in shops at Balboa, Christobal, P. R. R.; blacksmiths and sheet metal workers on field work; and

WHEREAS, The present manner of apportioning the work, resulting in many cases in hiring men in the United States and having them journey to the Isthmus for a short period of employment, and then laying them off on account of "lack of work," causes a financial loss to those accepting employment on the canal; and

WHEREAS, As all appointees to the service are required to furnish satisfactory recommendation as to their ability, are in many cases put to considerable expense on account of the great distance to the point of embarkation; are put to other expenses incident to the expectation of a sojourn in a tropical country, and are compelled to sever their previous vocational connections, they should be guaranteed at least six months' employment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we protest against all rental propositions, present and prospective, as this means an indirect reduction in wages and salaries; and, moreover, as regards the construction force, we consider rental charges as a breach of the agreement reached to continue the present scale of wages and salaries until April 1, 1916; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use every means at its command in order to maintain the conditions of employment for all employes on the Canal Zone existing prior to April 1, 1914.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: That ends the committee's report for the time being.

Report of Committee on Organization.

Delegate Hughes (T. L.), secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

We, your Committee on Organization, beg leave to submit the following report:

The following parts of the report of the Executive Council were referred to your Committee on Organization for further consideration and action:

Movement in Cuba.

We recommend that when the opportune time arrives the Executive Council be authorized to carry out the declaration of the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor by giving all the assistance possible to organize the wage workers of Cuba.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Organization of Women Wage Workers.

The organization of women wage workers is an absolute necessity, perhaps as much, if not more so, than that of men. In many instances they work side by side with men. Where they do not organize they are taken advantage of by employers in wages and hours of toil. It therefore becomes our duty to give them all the assistance and encouragement possible to get bet-

Digitized by Google

ter, more agreeable, pleasant and satisfactory conditions under which to work. This can only be done by and through organization.

We congratulate the Executive Council on the results attained in this direction from the one cent assessment levied by authority of the Seattle convention for the organizing of women who have to work for a living

We recommend that the Executive Council continue this work to the extent, if necessary, of levying a one-cent assessment for the same purpose in the coming year.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Organizers.

To be successful in any movement or undertaking organizers, promoters, or advocates—call them what you will—are necessary, nowhere more so than in the labor movement. To us these persons are known as organizers. Without them our movement would be a failure. They instill life, ambition, determination and hope into those who are weak and who would fall by the wayside. They encourage those who lose faith in our movement. We recommend that the Executive Council continue the work of organization, in so far as the funds of the Federation will allow.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Ladies' Garment Workers' Strike.

We commend the Executive Council for its work in behalf of the Ladies' Garment Workers during the strike of that organization in Philadelphia and the successful termination of such strike.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Lecture Bureau.

We concur in the recommendation of the Executive Council, that a series of lectures be delivered by President Gompers, published in pamphlet form and sold at the lowest possible cost to all persons desiring same.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate H. Rosenthal, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, In conformity to the laws of the American Federation of Labor, the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity has at all times obeyed mandates to dissociate affiliated organizations; and

WHEREAS, By so complying the said Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity has been weakened and is threatened with disintegration; and,

WHEREAS, The national and international unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor have not actively enforced Article XI, Section 2, which declares; "It shall be the duty of all national and international unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor to instruct their local unions to join chartered central labor bodies, where such exist"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor calls upon the national and international unions to direct all of their local unions at New York city to affiliate with the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity upon the adjournment of this convention.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate H. Rosenthal, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, Six newspaper writers' unions are already working under a charter of the International Typographical Union, thereby proving that the newspaper writers working for wages are recognizing that it is to their interest as well as to the good of the labor movement to organize their craft, and that the newspaper writers are desirous of becoming part and parcel of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Labor editors are privileged to devote without restraint their abilities for the uplift of the working people and mankind, and have the mission to lead in a movement for improving the work and wage conditions of newspaper writers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is deemed the duty of every labor editor who is not of the craft by which the organ he works for is published to join a newspaper writers' union now or hereafter to be organized; and that it is also deemed a duty of every labor editor to lead or assist in organizing a newspaper writers' union in his locality if none exists.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate James F. Morris, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, During the past year considerable effort was put forth to organize the employes of the Illinois State institutions controlled by the State Board of Administration of the State of Illinois; and

WHEREAS, This effort has met with great success, inasmuch as organizations have been established at Dunning, Elgin, Kankakee and Jacksonville, and we now have organizations under way at Peoria, Anna and Watertown; these organizations are known under the title of Hospital Nurses' and Attendants' Unions, and are chartered as local

Digitized by Google

unions by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Since this agitation to organize State employes much progress has been made in the way of improved conditions, shorter hours of labor and redress of grievances. The eight-hour day has been conceded by the Illinois State Board of Administration to the institutions at Peoria, Elgin, Dunning and Kankakee, and this agitation should be continued until every employe of State institutions is enjoying the eight-hour day; and

WHEREAS, These State employes are entitled to further consideration in the way of increased wages, one day off in seven, an annual vacation and better housing facilities for State employes and redress of grievances, which can only be secured by action of the State Legislature in granting a sufficient appropriation and the co-operation of the State Board of Administration and the Governor; and

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, congratulated the Hospital Nurses' and Attendants' Unions upon their splendid progress through their organized efforts, and advised the co-operation and assistance of the organized labor movement of Illinois to encourage and assist the State employes in all State institutions to organize and stand together to secure and maintain the proper standards of employment and living conditions which should exist among the workers in every occupation; and

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Federation of Labor instructed its officers and legislative committee to render every possible assistance to the end that proper legislative action shall be taken by the Illinois Legislature to secure for the employes of the State institutions one day's rest in seven, reasonable compensation for labor performed, an annual vacation of at least two weeks, adequate housing facilities for employes and a practical tribunal for the redress of grievances and the protection of the employes; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that similar work be taken up in other States through the proper channels, such as State Federations of Labor, city central bodies and A. F. of L. organizers.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 42—By Henry J. Lohse, of the Essex Trades Council, Newark, N. J.:

WHEREAS, There are about thirty thousand organized workers in the city of Newark, N. J., and its vicinity within a radius of five miles; and,

WHEREAS, In this territory there are about fifty thousand unorganized workers, with an equal number scattered throughout the State, who are eligible to membership in the various national organizations; and,

WHEREAS, This vast body of unorganized workers, or at least 50 per cent. of them, could be enrolled as members of the organized labor movement by an energetic campaign, which can only be carried on by having an organizer devote his time and skill exclusively to this locality; and,

WHEREAS, The Essex Trades Council has instructed its delegate to this convention to urge the Federation to take up the work of organizing the unorganized workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to assign an organizer to the State of New Jersey, with headquarters in Newark, for a period of one year, for the purpose of assisting the various trades unions in bringing about the complete organization of the unorganized workers.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to assign an organizer to the State of New Jersey, with headquarters in Newark, as soon as possible, providing the funds of the American Federation will permit the expenditure.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates John J. Pfeiffer and W. E. Bryan, of the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods:

The following resolution is primarily intended to aid the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods in their difficult struggle to increase their membership, having suffered a material decrease by reason of a general strike during the year 1910 to gain the universal eight-hour day. Manufacturers, in reprisal, demanded of mechanics in the trade that they cease to be members or refrain from becoming members as a condition of retaining or getting employment; and,

WHEREAS, The above-named organization is confronted with the National Saddlery Manufacturers' Association, engaged in an effort to disrupt the union of the workers; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Leather Workers can only successfully compete with existing conditions through a strong organization among the mechanics in the trade; and,

WHEREAS, The members of labor unions are not the purchasers of our product; but the employers with whom you deal, or are in conflict with, are the direct customers; therefore, only your influence can be brought to bear in assisting us in our most difficult undertaking; and,

WHEREAS, The purpose of the movement is for the strong to assist the

Digitized by Google

weak, we come to you at this time asking your co-operation and assistance, confident in our minds that you will gladly extend to us your best efforts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, It being in harmony with the purposes of the labor movement and within the scope of our efforts, all members of organized labor are hereby requested to demand that all goods delivered at your house, or transported by horse-drawn vehicles be done under union conditions, the horse equipment bearing the label of the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to transmit a copy of this resolution to all affiliated State Federations, city central bodies, national and international unions, requesting the proper officers of said organizations to likewise transmit copies of the resolution to their affiliated unions, recommending its adoption and report the action thereon to the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods.

Your committee recommends that the subject-matter of the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate John F. English, of the Massachusetts State Federation:

WHEREAS, The lastmakers of Lynn, Salem and Beverly, Mass., have been organized into local unions working under a charter issued by the A. F. of L. and known as Federal Labor Union No. 14,375; and

WHEREAS, The lastmaking industry is in a deplorable conditions as far as organization is concerned; and

WHEREAS, The lastmakers of the country are oppressed by the contract system, long hours of labor and poor working conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled request the Executive Council to use all honorable means to effect a complete organization of the lastmakers in the United States and Canada, to the end that an international union of the craft may be brought about.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate J. E. Giles, of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association, No. 11,773, of Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The need of organization among office workers is as great as in any other trade, barring none of our 110 international organizations, and many of the office workers are coming to a realization of the fact that no other road will bring them to better wages and conditions than by the way of organization; and

WHEREAS, There are many thousands of men and women in the United States eligible to join an office workers' union, viz.: Stenographers, typewriters, bookkeepers and assistants, which offers an extremely fertile field for organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized to forward a letter to volunteer and paid organizers of the A. F. of L. requesting them to organize the above class of workers.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate William P. O'Donnell, Elevator Operators' and Porters' Union, No. 14,215, of Boston, Mass.:

WHEREAS, In all the larger cities of the United States and Canada there is a great number of elevator operators and janitors employed; and

WHEREAS, Only a very small percentage of these are organized, with the result that the conditions under which they are compelled to labor are most severe; that hours of labor are exceedingly long and the wages shamefully small; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to instruct all organizers of the American Federation of Labor to pay particular attention to the organizing of the elevator operators, porters and janitors in their respective locations.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate G. M. Henderson, of the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor, and Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The State of Maryland is a fertile field for the work of organization of men and women workers; and

WHEREAS, It is the purpose of the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor to inaugurate a labor forward movement during the spring of 1915, in the city of Baltimore, Md.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to co-operate with the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor in an endeavor to make this movement a success, that an experienced organizer of the American Federation of Labor be placed in full charge and that international unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor be urged to send representatives in order to press

Digitized by Google

this movement to a successful conclusion.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates F. A. Scoby and J. J. Doyle, of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The National Association of Slack Barrel, Stave and Heading Makers' Association, an employers' association of the barrel-stave industry, has declared in convention against the organization of the workers of this industry; and

WHEREAS, The action of the said employers' association being contrary to the recognized and established rights of American workingmen to organize for their protection and in the advancement of social and economic justice; and

WHEREAS, Every honorable effort has been exerted by the Coopers' International Union to bring about an honorable working agreement with the said employers' association having failed, due to the un-American attitude assumed by this organization of the employers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor pledges itself to assist the Coopers' International Union in the organization of the workingmen of the industry over which it has jurisdiction, and to establish equitable contractual relations with the employers of this industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give early consideration to the action of the afore-named employers' association and endeavor to bring about a conference for the amicable adjustment of such differences as exist between the Coopers' Union and the said employers' association as will guarantee recognition of the rights of the American workingmen to organize and maintain their voluntary association.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate W. C. Reinhard, of the Houston, Tex., Labor Council; O. O. Harper, of the Dallas, Tex., Central Labor Council; H. O. Gossett, of the Texas State Federation of Labor; J. H. Fricke, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The conditions of the skilled and unskilled workers in the South, and especially in the State of Texas are deplorable; and

WHEREAS, This part of our country is sadly in need of organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to give organization work in this section of our country immediate atttention; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a general organizer be assigned to this work as soon as possible.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the subject-matter of the resolution, providing the funds of the Federation will permit.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President Valentine in the chair.

The committee reported on Resolution No. 84. A brief discussion ensude, participated in by Delegates Furuseth, Connors, Perham, Rosenthal, Heberling, Walker and President Gompers.

Upon motion, the resolution was recommitted to the committee for further consideration.

Resolution No. 116—By Delegate D. Marcusy, Central Trades and Labor Council, New Orleans, La.:

WHEREAS, Acting upon instructions of the trades unionists of New Orleans and vicinity, and realizing the necessity of having a permanent organizer located in the South; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instruct the Executive Council to transfer an organizer to the South, with headquarters in New Orleans, La., for a period of one year.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council assist the labor movement in New Orleans and the South by placing an organizer in that district, providing the funds of the American Federation will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 125—By Delegate William F. Kavanagh, Hudson County Central Labor Union, New Jersey:

WHEREAS, The school teachers throughout our nation are in numerous cases overworked and underpaid; and

WHEREAS, Organization and affiliation to the American Federation of Labor would be the means of bettering their condition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor recommends that the delegates to this convention, returning home, urge upon their locals, central bodies and State Federations of Labor to take up the work of organizing this particular class of workers.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate Francis L. Dujay, of the Schenectady (N. Y.) Trades Assembly:

Digitized by Google

WHEREAS, Women working in homes known as domestics are coming to a realization of the fact that if they are to better their condition it must be through organization; and

WHEREAS, There are many thousands of women in the United States eligible to join a woman workers' union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized to send a letter to the volunteer and paid organizers of the American Federation of Labor, requesting them to organize the above class.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate Catherine Schumers, of the Hat Operatives' Union, No. 14,400, A. F. L.:

WHEREAS, The Women's International Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary is doing splendid work in interesting, educating and directing the purchasing power of women in union-made products, shop and store cards and all goods union made, as well as in the field of organization work of women workers; and

WHEREAS, The work of the Women's International Union Label League is constructive in every sense, and in direct accord with the laws of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies, and wherever a local league of this organization exists you will find an active, energetic campaign for union label products; and

WHEREAS, We believe every possible assistance should be given by the members of organized labor to the great work now being done by the Women's International Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor render all services within its sphere and jurisdiction not only to organize but to assist in the organization of Women's Union Label Leagues.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 155—By Delegate C. E. Hill, of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers of the United States have for over fifty years maintained an almost continuous struggle for the right to organize despite the most vigorous opposition of the telegraph companies; and

WHEREAS, Both the Western Union and the Postal Telegraph Companies, employing 90 per cent. of these workers, have persistently fought any attempt of their telegraphers to hold membership in a labor union by maintaining an organized reign of terror, by discharging, blacklisting and persecuting telegraphers even suspected of belonging to a union or of associating with union men; and

WHEREAS, In promoting this policy one of these companies has resorted to methods not only un-American, but criminal, in trying to destroy the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, practices that forced this union in regular convention assembled in June last to unanimously resolve to follow an extremely militant policy henceforth in defense of the fundamental rights of those engaged in this craft; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to call to the attention of the various international unions and the central bodies of the American Federation of Labor the peculiar conditions surrounding the workers of this monopolized industry in order that every possible means of support may be given the union commercial telegraphers in their struggle for the right to go where they please, talk to whom they please, join whatsoever society they see fit to join without fear of discharge and blacklist, and in every other way to exercise the rights of free-born, decent-living, liberty-loving American citizens.

The committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Alice S. Bean, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, No. 12,646, New York City:

WHEREAS, The tendency of office workers to emulate their brothers and sisters in factories and shops and seek better wages and conditions of employment by organization into trades unions is gaining in strength and momentum; and

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to aid in the organization of all classes of wage earners; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledges itself to renewed efforts through its organizers, particularly in the larger cities not now organized, to organize unions of office workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommends to all trades union officials who employ office help in the cities already organized that they give active support and assistance to the said unions by the following means: (a) To assist in the organization of their own workers; (b) when employing new workers apply to the union for those already members, if any such are out of employment and competent for work required; (c) to periodically look for the union cards of their workers, so that they will assist the struggling unions in keeping their members' dues paid without unnecessary effort; (d) to enter into union shop agreements with the union

Digitized by Google

where the union is in the habit of making formal agreements; (e) to give extra work done outside the office to union members where possible; and, therefore be it finally

RESOLVED, That in the many philanthropic, civic and social and industrial reform or other associations working in harmony and often in connection with organized labor, wherever prominent union men are on managing committees of said associations, they be urged to make earnest and persistent efforts to unionize the offices of said associations.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Hughes: This completes the report of the committee, with the exception of the resolution that has been recommitted.

Delegate Bower moved that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn to 9.30 Tuesday morning. Seconded but not carried.

Report of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Delegate Riley, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The Committee on Ways and Means, having had referred to it the matter of the expenses incident to the appeal of the Danbury hatters' case to the Supreme Court of the United States, begs to report as follows:

The committee finds that there are now outstanding bills of more than $2000, while there is only available in the fund for their payment $266.59.

The committee is unable to make an estimate of the additional expenses necessary to the pending appeal, but believes that the recommendation which it makes will provide sufficient revenue to liquidate present indebtedness and provide for all further contingent expenses. Therefore it recommends that an assessment of one cent per member be levied upon the membership of all affiliated organizations, the amount derived from such assessment to be placed in this special fund, and that any amount remaining after all indebtedness now outstanding or which may arise incident to expenses incurred in he Danbury hatters' contempt cases be transferred to the fund for the organization of women's workers.

J. C. SKEMP,
Chairman;
JAMES F. RILEY,
Secretary;
C. W. MILLS,
H. P. GRIFFIN,
J. F. MORRIS,
WILLIAM KEARNEY,
GEORGE RICE,
CHARLES E. HILL,
E. H. FOLEY,
JAMES MORIARTY,
H. G. ALEXANDER,
C. F. FOLEY,
HENRY IRWIN,
F. J. SHEEHAN,
J. B. McMUNN,
Committee on Ways and Means.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

At 5 o'clock the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 9.30 a. m., Tuesday, November 17.

Digitized by Google

EIGHTH DAY—Tuesday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m. Tuesday, November 17, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Hill, Wenneis, Larger, Schlesinger, Holpern, Rosenberg (E.), Rice, Raleigh, Scott (D.), Gehring, Clark (T. G.), Carrigan, Mills, Evans, Smith (J. T.), Paulsen, Conlon, Young, Cahalane, Walck, Reinhard, Kavanagh, Lowe, Johnson, Kelly (T.), Fahey (C. P.), Marcusy, Kay, Laylor, Butler, Newberry, Kelly (E. H.), Collmer, Givens.

The Secretary read an invitation from John A. O'Dwyer, secretary Convention Bureau, of Toledo Commercial Club, inviting the convention to hold its 1916 session in that city.

Telegrams extending fraternal greetings and good wishes of the Quincy, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly, the International Fur Workers' Union and Division 481, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes, of Port Chester, N. Y., were read by the Secretary.

The following telegram was read and made part of the records of the convention:

Kalamazoo, Mich., Nov. 13, 1914.

Frank Morrison,
Secretary American Federation of Labor, Philadelphia, Pa.

To the Delegates in Convention Assembled:

Forget not that the W. K. Kellogg Company, of Battle Creek, Mich., does not use the label on its products. Although this institution got a whole lot of free advertising previous to the last convention by letting it be known that it was going to use the union label, now, this company says it will not use the label on any of its printing and most of it is done in a non-union shop.

Fraternally,
JOHN W. CLOSE,
President.
FRANK C. STEGMAN,
Secretary.
Kalamazoo Typographical Union, No. 122.

Report of Committee on Organization.

Delegate Hughes, secretary of the committee, reported as follows: Resolution No. 84 was recommitted to the committee for further consideration.

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate A. J. Rosenthal, of the Hartford (Conn.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, At the present time there are in the United States unions which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, locally or through their national organizations; and

WHEREAS, These unions are a constant menace to some of the trades affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, and every effort has been made by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and its organizers to have these unions affiliate, and the aforesaid unions have failed to do so; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, through its officers, proceed to organize such local or national unions, if such is possible.

The Committee on Organization, to whom was referred Resolution No. 84, begs to say that the discussion before the convention disclosed a different state of affairs than would appear in the resolution. Immediately after the resolution was recommitted we had before us the introducer of the resolution, Delegate Rosenthal, and representatives of the Switchmen's Union, representative of the Railway Department, representative of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, Boiler Makers and Ship Builders, and of the Marble Workers, and having in mind the subject as it was there presented, as well as the discussion before the convention, we, therefore, offer the following as a substitute for Resolution No. 84:

It is true that the American Federation of Labor is a voluntary association of the organized workers of America and that no compulsory features attach to affiliation, yet it appears to the American Federation of Labor that it is the duty and moral obligation upon the men of all organized labor to be in full affiliation to the American Federation of Labor, to bear their share of the responsibilities and the obligations as well as to share in the achievements and advantages; we hold that it is morally wrong for a wage earner to remain outside the fold of the union of his trade or calling; that it is morally wrong for a local union of the trade or calling to remain isolated from the international or national union thereof, and it can but be morally wrong for such a national or international union to remain unaffiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

We therefore recommend that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in the name of this convention, invite and urge any and all

Digitized by Google

national or international unions to become affiliated to the A. F. of L. and join with our great movement in the achievement of the justice and rights to which the toilers of America are entitled, and that every effort be made to prevail upon such unaffiliated bodies to make common cause with us. We further recommend that the officers and other representatives of our affiliated national and international unions, state federations and central bodies, organizers, both salaried and unsalaried, and the labor press of America, join in the effort to bring home to the officers and the rank and file of the unaffiliated national and international unions their duty in the premises; that is, to become affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Wharton moved, as an amendment, that the report of the committee be amended by inserting the word "eligible" before the words to "become affiliated." (Seconded.)

Delegate Cannon moved, as an amendment to the amendment, that a committee on committees of three be appointed by the President to visit those organizations or sections and make an effort to have the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. (Seconded.)

In referring to an article appearing in a newspaper in regard to a discussion held upon the resolution on Monday, prior to its being recommitted to the committee, Delegate Connors said: It is said I oppose all the railroad brotherhoods. That is not true. I have no fight on any railroad brotherhood, but I do oppose the policy of the railway trainmen's organization. I have nothing against the rank and file. I do not think the resolution offered by Brother Cannon is consistent, for it is a well-known fact that members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor have visited conventions of the different brotherhoods, and in their talks they certainly have urged the importance of their joining the American Federation of Labor. With Brother Walker, I attended a meeting of the engineers in Chicago. As is usual on those occasions, Brother Walker and I invited those people to join the labor movement. After we concluded, the senior vice-president of that organization took the floor in direct opposition to what we had to say. I do not believe we should spend the time and money necessary to have a committee go and beg those fellows to come in. I am willing to hold the door open and let them march into this organization and take the obligation. I want them in here, but I do not think the policy of this organization should be to beg any one to affiliate with it.

Delegate Graham opposed the committee's report. He stated that shopmen on the roads were aware of the fact that members of the brotherhood took the places of members of other organizations when they were on strike whenever they had an opportunity to do so, although they did not do so in times of peace. He stated that the brotherhoods had obtained their best legislation when they had cooperated with the regular labor movement.

Delegate D'Alessandro spoke in favor of the report of the committee. He objected to declaring war on any organization, and stated that his organization would be affected if the resolution were adopted.

Delegate McCullough (T. W.) spoke in favor of the report of the committee, stating that it fairly presented the attitude of the American Federation of Labor. He stated further that he opposed the amendment to insert the word "eligible"; that the convention would be the judge as to the eligibility of organizations when they asked for admission, and they should not be prejudged.

Delegate O'Connor: I want to offer as an amendment to the report of the committee that no international organization that is affiliated to the American Federation of Labor be permitted to make any sort of working alliance with any organization outside of the American Federation of Labor, and if there are any that have such alliances at the present time they be instructed to sever them.

President Gompers: The amendment is out of order. It is not germane to the subject.

Vice-President Perham spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee. He stated that conditions in different parts of the country and on different roads were not the same; that on some railroads the brotherhoods worked with other organizations in perfect amity, and that contracts were made that included the brotherhoods and organizations be-

Digitized by Google

longing to the American Federation of Labor. He stated there was a growing sentiment in favor of affiliation and nothing should be done to interfere with it.

Delegate Franklin: The four brotherhoods, known on the railroads as the "Big Four," will not permit their members to enter into any federation with or co-operate with any other trade affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. These people are on record as opposing anybody affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, and have never lost an opportunity to not only condemn its officers and its principles, but everything it stands for. I am opposed to having any affiliation with them until they come into the labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor. I am opposed to the report of the committee.

Upon motion debate was closed.

Delegate Gallagher stated that he desired to offer a further amendment to the report of the committee. The chairman stated that no further discussion or amendment would be in order, as debate was ordered closed.

The amendment offered by Delegate Cannon was lost by a vote of 62 in the affirmative to 86 in the negative.

The amendment offered by Delegate Wharton was lost by a vote of 58 in the affirmtive to 90 in the negative.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was adopted by a vote of 149 in the affirmative to 30 in the negative.

Secretary Hughes: That completes the report of the Committee on Organization, which is respectfully submitted.

(Signed)

FRANK DUFFY,
Chairman.
THOMAS L. HUGHES,
Secretary;
JOHN J. SULLIVAN,
J. J. DOYLE,
FRANK J. HAYES,
J. A. CULLEN,
JAMES SHEA,
BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER,
A. M. SWARTZ,
THOMAS A. FARRELL,
JOHN T. TAGGART,
M. J. COHAN,
CHARLES McGOWAN,
M. J. CUNNANE,
WILLIAM McPHERSON,
Committee on Organization.

Upon motion of Delegate McCullough (T. W.), the report of the Committee on Report of Executive Council was made the special order of business for 2 o'clock p. m., Wednesday, November 18.

Report of Committee on Shorter Workday.

Delegate Brennan, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 30—By the delegation from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

WHEREAS, Constant and unceasing toil, coupled with long hours of work, robs the workers of their vitality, strength, energy and endurance, and thereby unfits them to perform valuable and productive labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor inaugurate a campaign for the establishment of a six-hour workday, same to be put into force and effect as soon as possible.

Your Committee on Shorter Workday submits the following for the consideration of the convention:

WHEREAS, The reduction of the hours of labor stimulates the business of all legitimate industries, and brings a wave of beneficence, particularly to those who toil; and

WHEREAS, The trades unions have not only increased wages and forced better factory acts, but have immeasurably reduced the hours of labor, which in turn has enabled millions of workers to provide better and more comfortable homes for their wives and families; and

WHEREAS, There is still room for improvement in many industries that have not yet secured the eight-hour workday, employment in which calls for a larger expenditure of muscular and nervous energy than ever before; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has ever been alert in championing the cause of social and moral betterment, we most heartily commend to the delegates in attendance at this convention the principles contained in the resolution, urging the agitation for a still further reduction in the hours of labor from eight to six hours; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we favor a progressive decrease of working hours in keeping with the development of machinery and productive forces, believing thereby that a decrease in the hours of labor will tend to a gradual elimination of the unemployed. We recommend:

First. That we strive for a more general application of the eight-hour day in all trades and occupations before commencing a general agitation for a six-hour workday, but in the

Digitized by Google

event any national or international organization desires to commence an agitation for a working day less than eight hours, that they be given the encouragement and moral support of the American Federation of Labor.

Second. That the American Federation of Labor work unceasingly for the enactment of laws limiting the working hours of women and children to eight hours per day, and not more than forty-eight hours per week.

Third. Where women's eight-hour laws already exist an agitation should immediately begin for the enactment of general eight-hour laws.

Fourth. That the Executive Council be and is hereby authorized to do all in its power to aid and promote the principles hereby enunciated.

JOHN WILLIAMS,
Chairman.
WILLIAM J. BRENNAN,
Secretary.
THOS. O'DONNELL,
TOBIAS HALL,
A. O. WHARTON,
T. H. MORRIS,
NED BYRNE,
J. S. STRACHAN,
WILLIAM CHRISTMAN,
EDWARD GURNEY,
ELMER ROSENBERG,
J. F. MILLER,
J. J. CARRIGAN,
T. L. GABERT,
J. V. MORESCHI,

Committee on Shorter Workday.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Treasurer Lennon: I do not want to oppose the report of the committee, but I want to call to your attention something that has come under my observation since coming to this convention. I was appointed to meet in conference with the representative of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers and the representative of a local union in the city of Chicago that works on straw hats. I discovered that one of the great obstacles, one of the chief things that has caused friction and may cause disintegration of one of two local unions is this:: That in the State of Illinois a law has been passed limiting the hours of women and minors to ten hours per day. Because of this limitation the employers are getting rid of the women that belong to one union and supplanting them with men. This is not offered as an argument against the report of the committee, but I believe it is a matter that delegates should know and give some consideration to when they are confronted by the general subject throughout the country.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Vice-President Duncan moved that, inasmuch as there were no other committees to report, and members of committees who had a great deal of work to do and delegations appearing before committees did not want to be absent from any of the sessions, the rules be suspended and an adjournment taken to 9.30 a. m. Wednesday morning. (Seconded.)

President Gompers: President John Golden, of the Textile Workers, has requested that an opportunity be given to Mrs. Conboy, an organizer in the textile industry, to address the convention for five minutes. If there are no objections five minutes will be given Mrs. Conboy.

Mrs. Conboy was introduced to the convention by the chairman, and gave a brief and graphic account of the conditions existing among the textile workers on strike in Atlanta, Georgia. Mrs. Conboy said, in part: These people voluntarily started to organize in October of last year, and as soon as they did so the leaders were dismissed. They continued to organize during the winter, and on the first of May seventy-two of their members were discharged. Efforts were made to adjust the strike, but the owners of the mills would not listen, and the balance of the workers came out. This is the first big strike of organized workers in the cotton mills of the South. There have been sporadic strikes from time to time, but this is the first big organized strike in the cotton district. There were three prominent reasons for the strike—a most vicious contract system, a system of fining and the extremely low wages. The contract protects the building, the machinery, the production, everything pertaining to anything that may be owned by the mill people, but the workers sign away all rights to any damages for loss of life or limb from whatever cause, freeing the company from any responsibility for anything that may happen to them. Those people were fined for the smallest thing; the weaver was fined for a slight imperfection in his work, and the loom fixer, who had nothing to do with anything except keeping the looms in order, was fined 20 per cent. of that work. The average wages for men in that mill, figured out from pay envelopes, was $6.23. The housing conditions were abominable.

Digitized by Google

Mrs. Conboy described the housing conditions of the people, and stated that through the efforts of the Atlanta Federation of Trades and an appeal to the Board of Health many of the shacks were torn down and the companies were obliged to erect new buildings at a cost of $40,000. She stated that when the strike had been on for some time the people were evicted, and when the Textile Workers could no longer care for them in rented tenements they had housed them in tents, where they are now living. She spoke of the necessity of providing food and clothing for the women and children, and stated that for some time past she had been visiting organizations and soliciting funds for that purpose. She appealed to the delegates to take the matter up with their organizations when they returned to their homes.

Delegate Furuseth asked Mrs. Conboy several questions in regard to the conditions prevailing in the strike district.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.) moved that the American Federation of Labor contribute $1000 to the support of the textile workers on strike in Atlanta. (Seconded.)

President Gompers asked if the delegates would provide for the thousand dollars if they appropriated it. Delegate Hayes stated that he gathered from the reports there was $100,000 in the treasury. President Gompers stated that the fund mentioned would be safeguarded for the purpose for which it had been created. Delegate Hayes asked for information in regard to the general fund.

Secretary Morrison: I will not know until the end of the month whether there will be $100 in the general fund. It will depend upon how much is received from the internationals this month. The report shows only a few thousand dollars in the general fund.

Delegate Hayes withdrew his motion and moved that the Executive Council be instructed by the convention to send out a special circular to the affiliated organizations requesting that they contribute to the best of their ability to the support of the textile workers on strike in Atlanta, Ga. (Seconded.)

In discussing the motion, President Gompers said, in part: There are now two appeals before the men and women of organized labor of the country, one of them for the glove workers on strike, the other for the marble workers on strike, and there is a resolution introduced in this convention to make such an appeal to all organized labor in the interests of the Western Federation of Miners. After this convention adjourns the men in the office will have to stand the brunt of all the insults and indignities that are put upon them because conventions thoughtlessly will decide that money shall be raised, and then, when we cannot raise it, it is not the delegate who offered the motion who receives the censure and abuse, but the officers.

Delegate Hayes discussed the question at some length, and suggested that the Women's National Trade Union League assist by calling a national convention of other women's organizations, in order that a combined effort might be made to remedy conditions such as those described by Mrs. Conboy. He spoke in terms of praise of the work for the improvement and betterment of the conditions of living done by various organizations of women throughout the country, both those in the trade union movement and those non-affiliated to it.

Secretary Morrison, in discussing the question, said in part: I am satisfied there is not a delegate in this hall that is not willing and anxious to be of the greatest possible assistance to the textile workers on strike in Atlanta. The Federation has had its organizers taking charge of that strike and assisting. That was part of the instructions of the last convention, to organize women workers. The organizers there were paid out of that fund, and as a result of that effort there was placed on the statutes of the State of Georgia a child labor law raising the age at which children could go to work from twelve to fourteen years.

Secretary Morrison spoke at some length of the assistance that had been given the textile workers, the glove workers and other organizations that have been on strike, and moved: "That the appeal be referred to the Committee on Report of the Executive Council, to be considered with the appeal of the glove workers and the appeal of the Western Federation of Miners, to allow the committee to bring in a report of such character as would meet with the approval of the delegaes, and in that way be able to give the assistance that is required to the Atlanta, Gloversville and

Digitized by Google

Calumet people who are in distress. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan stated that in the last convention an assessment was levied by special action of the convention for the purpose of organizing women workers; that when the Executive Council had the subject under consideration it was agreed that instead of dividing the assessment among a number of organizations the whole assessment would be applied to the textile workers, because probably more women were employed in that industry than any other attached to the American Federation of Labor. Vice-President Duncan spoke at some length of the various appeals that had been made to the American Federation of Labor, and the manner in which various organizations on strike had been assisted.

Delegate Rowe (T. W.) asked a number of questions about the number of people on strike and the manner in which assistance had been rendered. The questions were answered by Mrs. Conboy. Delegate Rowe stated that while the convention sympathized with the efforts made by the textile workers to improve conditions in Atlanta, their international organization should have been able to finance the strike, in which, at the most, 1400 people were involved. He suggested that the time had arrived for organizations to pay higher dues and be able to do more for their people when out on strike. Delegate Hayes stated that the plan suggested by Delegate Rowe might be followed by organizations of well-paid workers, but in organizations of poorly paid men, women and children workers it was not possible to do it.

Delegate Jones spoke at length of the conditions in Atlanta, and of the work that had been done by the trades unionists of Atlanta and Georgia. Delegate Frey discussed the question briefly, and in a review of the causes that led up to the conditions in Georgia quoted from a circular sent out with the endorsement of state officials of North Carolina in past years urging the investment of Northern capital in that state, and offering as one of the inducements that there were no laws limiting the hours of labor, that there was cheap labor, and no strikes in that locality.

Delegate Golden, President of the Textile Workers, spoke at some length in defense of the course that had been pursued by his organization. He spoke of the good that has been accomplished among the textile workers in various parts of the country, in increasing wages, shortening hours and raising the standard of living generally.

Delegate Melinda Scott, in discussing the question, said in part: Inasmuch as there has been some remark made about the Women's National Trade Union League, while I am not here representing the League, I am a member, and I want to say the Women's Trade Union League is not a social uplift society; it is not a Socialist organization nor a suffrage association; it is an organization trying to organize women, and it has done so. The Women's Trade Union League has helped the textile industry. In the situation in Lawrence, in Trenton and in New York it has helped, and it stands ready at any time to go to Georgia or any other place when it is invited to do so. The Women's Trade Union League could do a great deal more organizing if it had the money to do it.

Delegate Rowe stated that he had intended no reflection upon the textile workers' organization by his remarks, described briefly the method of assessing the members of his own organization, and stated that the flint glass workers had always helped every other organization during strikes, had helped the textile workers, and would do so again.

Delegate McCarthy (P. H.) stated he was in accord with the motion made by Secretary Morrison, but suggested that the delegates donate personally to the Atlanta textile workers.

Upon motion, debate was closed.

The motion offered by Secretary Morrison, that the subject-matter be referred to the Committee on Report of Executive Council, was carried.

Delegate McCarthy (P. H.): I move you that a committee of three be appointed to take up from the delegates a donation for the Atlanta textile workers, each delegate to subscribe what he sees fit to help those who are suffering. (Seconded, and carried by unanimous vote.)

President Gompers appointed Delegate McCarthy, Carpenters; Delegate Shay, of the Theatrical Stage Employes, and Delegate Polakoff, of the Ladies' Garment Workers, to secure donations for the Atlanta strikers.

Digitized by Google

Delegate Gallagher: We had a discussion yesterday on the question of municipal ownership. Delegate Mahon's report was quoted in the convention of Mayors held in this city the other day, and, I am sure, whether he wants it or not, it will be used against him. I think for that reason the record ought to show the debate on that question.

Delegate Mahon: I was not present when the discussion was had yesterday upon my report. I understand that Delegate Gallagher wants a record of the debate. I have no objection to any records of the American Federation of Labor being printed. My report speaks for itself, but if the records are to be published I would like to have an opportunity to make a few explanations on my report, owing to the rumors and stories that have come to me. If it is published in full, I would like an opportunity to say a word on that report to go with that record.

President Gompers: Suppose we suggest that an abstract be published. Of course, we cannot publish all the speeches, points of order and rulings of an entire convention.

Delegate Gallagher: I would like to have the record in regard to municipal ownership in our city, the union and the wages and conditions.

Delegate Mahon: That report does not deal with Mr. Gallagher's city; it deals with the conditions in Europe, which we were sent to investigate. It does not deal with his city or with municipal ownership; it only gives facts and conditions as we found them, and I do not know why there should be any reference in that report to Delegate Gallagher's city or any other city.

Delegate Gallagher: Do you not know that your report has already been used in the last few days as an argument against municipal ownership?

Delegate Mahon: I understand that at a convention of the Mayors questions of wages and other matters were referred to. The wages and conditions under municipal ownership to which we refer are absolute facts. The records from Glasgow are from the general manager's office. We got the absolute wages in Germany from trade unions that established the wages. If those things are used against us, we cannot help it. They are a matter of fact, and no attack on municipal ownership. I stood on this floor before Delegate Gallagher was ever heard of and fought for municipal ownership. What we are fighting for now in America is to establish the right of contract before municipal ownership does come, so that the men will not be changed. Municipal slavery is as objectionable to us as slavery under private ownership. We want to give them the right to preserve their organizations and the right to make contracts when municipal ownership comes. That is our fight, and it is a very serious one. In Canadian cities and others we are denied the right of collective bargaining with our unions, and that is what we are fighting for.

Delegate Gallagher: Have you any quarrel, so far as your organization is concerned, with the conduct of municipal ownership in San Francisco?

Delegate Mahon: We have no quarrel there. We have no contract with the municipality in San Francisco; it is all verbal. There is a civil service there, and some of the old men did not pass. Some of the good, competent men did not get back on the road. The civil service rules were amended to give the manager the absolute right to change the men. The matter was carried to the Legislature. The men apply for jobs under civil service, and the manager has absolute power to discharge them. We want to protect the men, and the only protection they can have is through collective bargaining and the establishment of contracts. That is what we are fighting for in San Francisco and everywhere else.

Delegate Gallagher helped us a great deal in San Francisco. When the Geary street lines stopped we had an understanding that our men would go back on the road. When the civil service examination came it was made rigid, and our old men, who had run their cars up and down the hills of San Francisco, did not get back, but inexperienced men got the jobs. We had to go to the commission and insist on a modification. We want conditions in San Francisco, Canada and everywhere else established to allow the men to preserve their union.

Delegate Brown obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution, and submitted the following:

Resolution No. 162—By Delegates J. G. Brown, of the International Union of Timber Workers; J. A. Taylor, of the

Digitized by Google

International Association of Machinists; H. L. Hughes, of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Federal labor unions are paying at the present time 15 cents per capita tax to the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, In addition they are compelled to pay equally as much in support of local and state central bodies, and the local labor press, when they do their full duty, thus placing a heavy burden on workers who habitually receive very small wage; and

WHEREAS, Support of the local labor press is one of the most important duties of labor unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we request the A. F. of L. to remit 5 cents per month of the per capita tax of federal labor unions who support their labor press, where same is owned and controlled by the central labor organization in that locality.

Introduced by request of Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 16, 1914.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Walton Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa.:

The vote on amalgamation of the Steam Shovel and Dredge Men, counted this date, was as follows: International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men—Yes, 988; no, 16. Associated Union of Steam Shovel Men—Yes, 619; no, 188. We certify that the above count is correct, and that the amalgamation has been agreed to by a large majority of votes cast.

John Fitzpatrick, President Chicago Federation of Labor, representing American Federation of Labor.

E. M. Foley, representing Associated Union of Steam Shovel Men.

T. J. Dolan, representing International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men.

At 12.30 the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned to reconvene at 9.30 a. m., Wednesday, November 18.

Digitized by Google

NINTH DAY—Wednesday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m. Wednesday, November 18, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Wennels, Holpern, Scott (D.), Gehring, Schneider, Clark (T. G.), Carrigan, Burns (G. F.), Conlon, Young, Walck, Lowe, Johnson, Kay, Laylor, Butler, Newberry, Gallagher, Kelly (E. H.), Collmer, Duddy.

Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Schwarz, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials begs leave to report that it has received the credentials of John H. Malin, of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, and we recommend that he be seated, with 36 votes.

Respectfuly submitted,
T. S. KEARNEY,
Chairman;
P. J. McGRATH,
LOUIS A. SCHWARZ,
Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President O'Connell moved that the report of the Committee on Adjustment be made a special order of business for 10 o'clock Thursday morning. (Seconded and carried.)

Report of Committee on Education.

Delegate Sumner, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Education begs leave to submit the following as its report:

The matters considered by the Executive Council, which are found in its report under the appropriate subheads and which were referred to this committee, are herein reported by caption, with the recommendations of the committee following immediately after each.

International Congress on Occupational Diseases.

The committee recommends approval of the action of the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Conservation of Natural Resources.

The committee recommends concurrence in the recommendations of the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Sunday Rest Movement.

The committee recommends approval of the action of the Executive Council, and further recommends that the American Federation of Labor avoid committing itself as in favor of any one particular day of the seven as the day of rest.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Child Labor.

The committee notes with much satisfaction the deep interest the Executive Council has shown in the subject of "child labor," and the great amount of attention it has given to the subject.

We read also with pleasurable pride the remarkably clear and appealing declaration of the Executive Council, which we again read and make a part of this report, and recommend that it shall be adopted as the declaration of this convention on this subject. It follows:

No dividends, no profits, can compensate for the waste and the wrong of child labor. The greatest possession that any nation has is its men and its women. No nation can be greater than the masses of its men and women. There is no more deadly certain way to undermine national power than to deny its children rights necessary to most complete development of heart, mind and body.

Child labor denies these opportunities, not only to the individuals themselves but to their children and their children's children. The effect of the wrong and waste is cumulative, sapping the life-force of the nation.

Many industries in our country are soulless corporations as heartless as the "ogres" that were said to eat children. They have taken these little ones and have done their most to them. They have set dreary, tiresome tasks for little hands, they have permitted little feet to tread in dangerous places—all that they might have higher profits.

Statistics of child labor, however appalling, are a most inadequate method of evaluating the incalculable—the effect of child labor upon human minds, bodies and ideals. Child labor robs children of a chance to grow, a chance to learn and a chance to dream. It robs them of the chance to attain the fullest development of manhood and womanhood. It leaves them with a sense of the world's injustice burned into their inmost beings.

Children will become better citizens when the wrong of child labor is abolished. They will become healthier, more capable men and women when uninjured by premature overwork. They will become greater men and women when removed from associations that degrade and injure.

Digitized by Google

Child labor is not essential to any industry. An industry which cannot be profitably conducted without using child labor is not necessary to society and is abhorrent to the social conscience. Men and women with hearts do not wish to encourage or to endorse in any degree those who profit by child labor. But often they are placed in the unfair position of giving seeming approval through patronage because they do not have access to information that will enable them to act in accordance with their sense of justice and their conviction of right.

It is due to those who earnestly desire the welfare of the nation's children that they should have the opportunity to help in the conservation and protection of the children.

It is a most solemn obligation due the children that all organizations for human welfare should use every available agency to promote humanity's progress.

Therefore, we, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, as authorized representatives of the greatest humanitarian movement of the country, declare that any who profit by the toil of children at all or by the labor of other minors required to toil more than eight hours a day, is unfair and unworthy of the patronage of true patriots and those who desire human welfare.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

In the original report the second line appears "The greatest thing that any nation," etc.

Delegate Furuseth moved to amend by striking out the word "thing" and inserting "possession." (Seconded and carried.)

The recommendation of the committee was adopted as amended.

Industrial Education—Vocational and Trade Training.

The committee is pleased to note the success of the friends of industrial education in the passage by Congress of the Lever bill. We approve of the Executive Council giving special mention to those persons and organizations which so ably co-operated to accomplish this result. The committee recommends that the matter be left with the Executive Council to take such further action as will cause the greatest benefit to labor in the development of industrial education, vocational and trade training.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations.

The committee is pleased to note that the work of the commission thus far has the approval of the Executive Council. We favor the widest publicity being given the testimony of President Gompers before the Commission, and recommend that the attention of the wage workers be called to the existence of a pamphlet in print containing an abstract of this testimony.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

American Federation of Labor Exhibit, Panama-Pacific Exposition.

The committee heartily approves of the course followed by the Executive Council and recommends that the matter be left in its hands with authority to call upon the affiliated organizations and friends to contribute a commensurate share of the expenses involved.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

American Federationist

Pages 162, 163, first day's proceedings.

The committee appreciates the value of the Federationist as a publicity agent for the cause of organized labor and commends it to the attention of wage workers generally.

The report of the committee was adopted.

A. F. of L. Weekly News-Letter.

The committee notes with much pleasure the increasing usefulness of the News-Letter. It undoubtedly "fills a long-felt want." Every effort ought to be given to its wider circulation. Every wage worker should be a reader of its columns. We believe any action taken by the Executive Council with the object in view of more generally increasing the circulation and news value of the News-Letter will be heartily approved by the convention of the A. F. of L. Therefore, the committee recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to extend the services of this pubication as far as practicable.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Labor Press.

The committee heartily concurs in the expression of the Executive Council regarding the value of the labor press and recommends concurrence by the convention thereof.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.) made a brief statement in regard to the publication of the National Women's Trade Union League organ, Life and Labor, and urged the delegates on their return to their homes to interest the women workers in the publication.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

A. F. of L. Library.

The report of the Executive Council on this matter is both lengthy and illuminating, but it appears to the com-

Digitized by Google

mittee that the difficulties in the way of the creation of such a department are too great to overcome for some time. Your committee therefore recommends that the matter be left in the hands of the Executive Council for further consideration and report.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Free Textbooks.

The committee notes the progress made in the awakening of interest among the wage workers for free textbooks and larger salaries for teachers. We note with pleasure the successful struggle that teachers of Cleveland, Ohio, are making for the right to organize and affiliate to the labor union movement. We recommend that every effort be made by the A. F. of L. and its subordinate bodies to advance both the adoption of free textbooks and the organization of school teachers.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates M. G. Scott, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, Hugh Stevenson and T. W. McCullough, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The present war in Europe makes it certain beyond reasonable doubt that many extensive changes in international boundaries will occur, thus destroying the value of existing school maps; and

WHEREAS, The termination of the war will be followed by a general revision of the textbooks used in the public schools of America, and especially the geographies, thus necessitating a large expenditure of public and private funds for the purpose of replacing school books now in use by those of the revised editions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby call the attention of organized labor to the necessity of seeing that as far as possible all school books, and especially geographies, be prepared and published under strictly fair conditions, and we especially desire to impress upon members of organized labor everyhere the fact that the textbooks and maps published by the Rand & McNally Company, of Chicago, Ill., are produced under unfair conditions.

Your committee reports favorably on the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 107—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, J. H. Fricke, E. H. Foley, A. J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, There are boatowners in the port of New York and vicinity who will not employ a captain for one of their boats unless his wife and children live on the boat, and as conditions surrounding these boats are not sanitary and a proper place for women and children to be, due to the fact that while the boat is loading they are in the dust caused by the cargo, and if lying at a public pier where there is a city dump they are in the dust of the rubbish and ashes; also, that they are exposed to the odor caused by the garbage and sewers, and while lying alongside a steamship it is a common occurrence to have the toilets and garbage of the ship dumped on the deck and in the cabin windows of their boats; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. do all in its power to have laws enacted which will stop this system and prevent women and children from living on these boats and give the children an opportunity to go to school.

Your committee reports favorably on the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate G. W. Perkins, of the Cigarmakers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Tuberculosis, an unnecessary, preventable and curable disease, annually destroys about 200,000 human lives and causes the continuous illness of at least 600,000 people, the great proportion of whom are working men and women; and,

WHEREAS, Among the chief contributory causes to the unnecessary annual slaughter of so many of our fellows by this scourge are malnutrition (due to low wages), long hours of illy-paid toil, insanitary factories and working conditions, overcrowded, poorly ventilated, insanitary housing conditions, carelessness, indifference and ignorance; and,

WHEREAS, The trade-union movement is doing its full duty by contributing through its existence and activities, the means by which nearly all of the foregoing contributory causes may be eradicated. Still, back of our efforts, as trade unionists, lies the splendid possibility of a public conscience aroused to a full realization of its obligations and responsibilities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, re-declares its purpose to be even more helpful in the prevention of the spread of tuberculosis, and that we endorse the publicity and educational activities of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, and that our officers be and they are hereby requested to render such assistance and helpfulness as may not be inconsistent with their official obligations in promulgating the campaign of publicity and education of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That we suggest to all officers of national and international

Digitized by Google

unions a like action upon this humane, necessary and worthy activity.

Your committee reports favorably on the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 37 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate George M. Henderson, of the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It is our belief that the labor press has done much to clarify public thought and impart correct impressions of the purposes and policies of the workers; and

WHEREAS, The men who give their time to these papers are performing a work very necessary to the success of the organized labor movement; and

WHEREAS, We believe the use of the registered seals of the American Federation of Labor or of any of its departments printed in these publications is a temptation to those employed in the solicitation of advertisements to turn aside from honest business methods for the handful of silver; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention condemn the use of these seals by privately owned papers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all State bodies and city central bodies be notified of this action, and that the departments of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to notify councils in the various cities to take up any seals now being printed in privately owned papers, and to hold these seals for use only on stationery or printing officially issued by them.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

Delegate Ferguson discussed the question at length and urged that the use of the registered seal of the American Federation of Labor and of its departments be refused privately owned labor papers. He referred to the fact that these seals were used in some instances with the deliberate purpose of securing advertising through fraudulent means.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate Gompers of the Cigarmakers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The hazards incident to industrial employment that result from the neglect to adequately safeguard machinery, the lack of proper sanitary facilities or the failure to cause the removal of dust, fumes or excessive heat, leads to an enormous amount of occupational sickness and suffering that must be borne by the worker; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take such steps as may be deemed advisable to acquaint the members of the trade-union movement with the various hazards incident to their employment and the methods best calculated to preserve their health, safety and lives.

Your committee reports favorably on the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Sumner: This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted.

JOSEPH F. VALENTINE,
Chairman;
JOHN H. FERGUSON,
P. M. DRAPER,
R. G. STEWART,
STANLEY ANDERSON,
MARY SULLIVAN,
MARGARET HALEY,
JOSEPH OBERGFELL,
C. C. SHAY,
C. N. BOLANDER,
PHIL H. MUELLER,
A. J. KUGLER,
J. B. CONNERS,
WILLIAM E. BRYAN,
CHARLES A. SUMNER,
Secretary,
Committee on Education.

Delegate Woll read the following report of Conference Committee on Jurisdictional Dispute between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance:

Mr. President and Delegates: Your committee recommended to and approved by this convention for the purpose of bringing about an agreement between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Amalgamted Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, begs leave to report that quite a number of conference meetings have been held, in which all parties in interest were fully represented, and wherein all present actively participated.

In the brief time allowed your committee has thoughtfully and carefully considered the problem submitted in many of its phases and relations. While our conferences have not as yet resulted in an agreement being consummated between the two interested organizations upon the issues involved in this controversy, nevertheless we view our conferences as having been helpful in the interchange of opinions, and especially in the development of the idea that a strong community of interest exists between the two organizations in dispute.

With this accomplished, your committee believes that the time is opportune and expedient to continue these conferences for the purpose of bringing about a full and complete understanding and adjustment of this much-to-be-regretted controversy between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance. We feel confident

Digitized by Google

that the outcome of these conferences must be for good. To this end your committee submits the following recommendations, which have been agreed to by the representatives of both contending organizations.

The committee recommends that, for the purpose of bringing about an agreement between the two organizations, the president of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the president of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, the president of the American Federation of Labor and the president of the Building Trades Department be instructed to investigate the work in dispute and to continue the conferences, to the end that an amicable and satisfactory agreement be reached between the two contending organizations.

Respectfuly submitted,

MATTHEW WOLL, Chairman;
JAMES J. SWEENEY,
WILLIAM GREEN,
Representing the American Federation of Labor;

JAMES KIRBY,
P. H. McCARTHY,
JOHN A. METZ,
Representing the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

JOHN J. HYNES,
THOMAS REDDING,
HUGH FRAYNE,
Representing the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the special committee.

Delegate Hynes, of the Sheet Metal Workers: I desire to say, Mr. Chairman, in behalf of the Sheet Metal Workers' delegation that we are absolutely satisfied with the report and recommendation of the committee. We have contended for seven years that this work absolutely belongs to us. We believe, Mr. President, that by an impartial investigation of this work the committee will be unanimously of the opinion that it is purely and solely a sheet metal workers' proposition. There has been turmoil throughout the entire building trades movement of America and Canada on this proposition. We were placed in the position, as we saw it, and see it now, that we are fighting for the right to exist in our organization, the way organizations are composed at the present time, and chartered by and affiliated to this American Federation of Labor.

We desire at this time to thank the representatives of the trades that helped us in our unequal fight, as we call it, and to assure them that we appreciate the support they have given the Sheet Metal Workers in this controversy. And if the time ever comes when they need reciprocation on the part of the Sheet Metal Workers they will find us ready and willing at all times to pay back the support they have given us. We have found out positively who our friends in the American labor movement are in this instance. It has been said by many people throughout the country that the sheet metal worker never forgets his friends. We have proved it time and again in different controversies where we have gone the entire distance, and we propose to stay and go along the same way in the future as we have in the past.

We desire also, Mr. Chairman, to thank the committee that was appointed by you on this proposition for its painstaking effort in trying to bring about some sort of settlement in this controversy. We sat on the committee several hours at a time. When we first got together it was almost a case of putting the committee in the same position the organization has been in. All we have thought of for the past seven years has been fight and fight. After a couple of meetings we began to get at least some of the wrinkles ironed out.

I hope this 1914 convention of the American Federation of Labor will place this contest—controversy—fight, if you will—in a position whereby in the end something concrete may be brought out of it, whereby the two organizations affected will be satisfied with the adjudication made in the end. I hope on account of what has been done and is going to be done by the convention now, a great deal of the turmoil existing in the labor movement of the country will be taken away.

Again I want to thank the committee, thank the American Federation of Labor, thank all the organizations that helped us, and hope we will be in a position from now on to help everybody who helped us in the contest.

Delegate Kirby, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners: We welcome an investigation, and we will abide by any fair, unbiased decision that may be rendered for or against us. We deny that we have had a fair hearing heretofore. And I want to say

Digitized by Google

to the committee representing the Sheet Metal Workers that it is the first time we have had an opportunity to sit down and discuss our difficulties in a rational way. The committees heretofore have assumed such an attitude that mediation has been impossible. We believe the report that will be brought in by the committee will be such as will be concurred in in 1915; and, so far as I am concerned and so far as my colleagues are concerned, we will do everything to enable that committee to bring in a fair and unbiased report.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Chicago, Nov. 17, 1914.

Samuel Gompers,
President American Federation of Labor, Walton Hotel, Philadelphia:

After vigorous efforts on the part of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the two steam shovel and dredge organizations have voted to amalgamate; now comes along Comerford and throws a monkey wrench into the machinery and tries to break up the good efforts of your Council by agreeing to grant a charter to an independent local of steam shovel men in New York city. If his plans go through, he will simply grant a charter to seceding members of our organization. Does the Executive Council propose to allow this destructive work to proceed?

T. J. DOLAN,
Secretary - Treasurer International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men.

E. M. FOLEY,
Secretary-Treasurer Associated Union of Steam Shovel Men.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate H. P. Griffin, of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, It has been demonstrated by years of practical experience that a majority of the detective agencies of this country are in reality strike-breaking concerns, the bulk of their business being the furnishing of strike-breakers, thugs and gunmen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the representatives of organized labor in convention assembled, pledge our several and united efforts for the enactment of legislation to cancel the license of any detective agency found supplying labor directly or indirectly to employers.

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate William McPherson, of the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Manufacturers' Association, the Mine Owners' Association and other organizations opposed to organized labor and all that organized labor stands for, have and maintain in their employ an army of spies and gunmen; and,

WHEREAS, The spies are used in the large industrial and manufacturing centers to prevent, discourage and disrupt labor organizations; and,

WHEREAS, In recent industrial struggles, such as have taken place in West Virginia, Michigan and Colorado, armed thugs, criminals and gunmen have been used and are being used to crush organized labor; and,

WHEREAS, These armies of spies and gunmen, operating in the guise of detective agencies, do all in their power to promote and prolong industrial strife, in order that they may furnish an excuse for their existence and enrich themselves; and,

WHEREAS, These so-called detective agencies have grown in size and number until they constitute a nuisance that is a stench in the nostrils of all honest men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., through its national, international, State and central bodies, conduct an energetic campaign, to the end that laws may be enacted by both the nation and the States limiting the activities of all detective agencies to the tracing of crime and criminals and barring them out of all lawful organizations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the A. F. of L. appoint a committee of five, whose duty it shall be to study and investigate the methods and tactics used by detective and strike-breaking agencies and devise a definite program of action which can be carried out by all labor organizations in such a manner as to counteract effectively the efforts of spies and gunmen to tear down the structure of unionism; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all national, international, State and central bodies render all assistance possible to this committee; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this committee render a report to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. not later than August 1, 1915, and that copies of said report be transmitted to all national, international, State and central bodies.

Your committee offers the following as a substitute for Resolutions No. 7 and No. 68:

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be, and is hereby, instructed to appoint a committee whose duty it shall be to prepare and submit to the Executive Council a report upon the activities of private detective agencies whose services are secured by employers to prevent trade-union organization, destroy it where it

Digitized by Google

exists, if possible, and serve as mercenaries during industrial disputes, and that upon the receipt of this report the Executive Council shall cause to be prepared a measure or measures to be introduced in Congress and the State Legislatures which will prevent the granting of Federal or State license to any private detective agency whose employes can be secured in any effort to disrupt or prevent trade-union growth, or serve in any capacity as strike-breaking agencies.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Secretary Lennon: The Commission on Industrial Relations has made, and is making, an exhaustive investigation of this very subject, dealing with all the detective agencies in the country. If the representative of the committee will appear at the office of the commission he will find the investigation quite largely made. It will be finished in a short time.

Delegate McPherson condemned the use of private detective agencies in the manner they have been used during strikes, and in disrupting organizations of labor.

Delegate Cannon strongly opposed the police power of the nation, the States, the counties and municipalities being in private hands, and described in detail many of the methods of private detective agencies during strikes and at times when it was sought to form organizations among non-union workers.

Vice-President Perham, in discussing the question, spoke of the abominable spy system of the private detective agencies. He stated that all the officials of his organization were being constantly shadowed and that the same was true of the officials and members of other organizations.

Delegate Griffin referred to the system under discussion as a national disgrace, and stated that such a system could be found in no other country in the world. He referred to the character of the private detectives, and quoted William J. Burns' statement that a majority of the men connected with private detective agencies were crooks.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate F. W. Wilson, of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee:

WHEREAS, The cardinal principle of the American Federation of Labor is that the workers should organize irrespective of their creed, color, nationality, sex, or politics; and,

WHEREAS, Section 8 of Article III of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor says: "Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor"; and,

WHEREAS, The right of fraternal representation from religious organizations at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor is not in the interests of the true spirit of organized labor; and,

WHEREAS, Fraternal delegates representing religious organizations have in the past and will in the future appeal to religious prejudices which will, unless checked, result in disrupting the ranks of organized labor, and ultimately defeat the whole purpose of the American labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee that the delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention, which convenes at Philadelphia, November 9, 1914, is hereby instructed to oppose and vote against the seating of any of the fraternal delegates representing religious organizations.

Inasmuch as this resolution is an instruction to the delegate from the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee to this convention, relative to the manner in which he shall cast his vote, your committee submits that this convention has no right to interfere with or take any action whatever upon the instructions which the delegate received as to how his vote should be cast.

Delegate Wilson: Do I understand the report of the committee will preclude any possibility of discussion?

President Gompers: The delegate has been recognized for that purpose.

Delegate Woll: I arise to a point of order. The question before the house, as I understand from the reading of the resolution and from the committee's report, relates to the question of how a delegate should vote on some proposition which might come before this convention. My point is that the merit of the question upon which the instructions were given to this delegate by the central body he represents is not for discussion in this convention; it relates purely to instructions to himself and no general discussion may be indulged in as to the merits of the question that prompted the instructions.

President Gompers: Had the sense of the resolution been in the possession of the chair at the time of its introduction it would have been returned to the delegate. The reason

Digitized by Google

and cause for it would have been that it is an instruction to him as to his course upon a certain question which was likely to come up before this convention and with which the convention has nothing to do and could have no jurisdiction. The committee so reports. The question is as to whether the delegate will be true to his instructions or faithless to them. The question is not subject to discussion of any sort by any delegate in the convention, and the secretary will make a minute of the report of the committee. The committee will proceed.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate James F. Morris, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The following resolution, having been introduced at the 32d Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and referred by that body to its delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention, is herewith laid before this convention, along with an excerpt from the proceedings of the Illinois State Federation of Labor showing action on same: "To the Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, Peoria, Illinois:

"WHEREAS, The lines are being closely drawn between capital and labor; the capitalists of the country have organized the National Manufacturers' Association and other large employers' organizations, very compact, cohesive bodies, having for their purpose the destruction of the trades union movement, and, realizing that in unity there is strength; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That, in order to combat these compact and powerful organizations of employers of labor, this convention endorses and adopts the plan of organization by industries instead of by crafts, which often divides the forces of labor, and that the officers of the State Federation be instructed to use every effort to influence and mold sentiment along these lines; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That the delegate from the Illinois Federation of Labor to the A. F. of L. be instructed to use his vote and influence for the industrial form of organization.

"Presented by the delegates from the Tri-City Federation of Labor (Moline, Rock Island and Davenport).

"Delegate Neer: The committee recommends non-concurrence. A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

"Delegate Carlson: The reason this resolution is put in here is because we have in the Tri-City district a number of large shops that employ from 5000 to 10,000 men, and it is impossible for us to organize them under the different card system. There is only one way to organize them, and that is into an industrial organization, with the assistance of the State Federation of Labor in doing so. We want the cooperation of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

"Delegate Nockels: Why instruct the delegate to the American Federation of Labor? Our delegate will have but one vote. Why not leave it with the international organizations to take up with our central bodies representing all kinds of organizations?

"Delegate Willis: I move as a substitute that the resolution be referred to the delegate of the American Federation of Labor. (Seconded and carried.)"

The substance of this resolution relates to the action taken by the Illinois State Federation of Labor and its instructions to its delegate seated in this convention. It is therefore not a subject properly before this convention.

President Gompers: Are these proceedings of the State Federation of Illinois made part of this resolution?

Secretary Frey: The substance of this resolution relates to action taken by the Illinois State Federation of Labor and its instructions to its delegate seated in this convention. It is therefore not a subject properly before the convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 49 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 49—By Delegates Ed. J. McGovern, Peter Cook, Joseph McDermott, Chas. Smith, of the International Association of Operative Plasterers:

WHEREAS, Section 5 of the manual of information, "Panama Canal Service," provides as follows: "All persons employed in the Panama Canal service who receive $75 a month, or 40 cents an hour, must be citizens of the United States or of the Republic of Panama, and such citizens will be given preference for employment in all grades;" and,

WHEREAS, The facts as they have been authentically demonstrated to us are

Digitized by Google

that in hiring in the canal zone the practice prevails that alleged plasterers, natives of the West Indies, are given preference over practical journeymen plasterers, natives and citizens of the United States, that these alien alleged plasterers, are paid a wage ranging from 20 cents to 30 cents per hour, while the wages of the American plasterers are 75 cents per hour. We feel that this discrimination works a hardship on our skilled American mechanic, and that it is an unwarranted injustice to the citizens of the United States; and,

WHEREAS, It may be true that there is an apparent saving of money, but it is not a real saving that preference in the employment of alien alleged plasterers is but an incentive to teach these men the trade at the expense of the people of our country, and to supplant the American skilled mechanic; and,

WHEREAS, In addition to this supplanting of American citizen mechanics. the policy, if continued, will drive American citizen workmen from the Canal Zone, and have it inhabited by aliens; and,

WHEREAS, The budget which the Canal Commission has submitted to Congress, asking for an appropriation of $64,800, is based upon an estimate of 100 plasterers at a wage ranging from 20 cents to 30 cents per hour; and,

WHEREAS, If that appropriation were made upon the basis of payment to plasterers, it simply means the employment of alien alleged plasterers exclusively, and the discharge of the American citizen skilled plasterers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to protest to the Governor of the Canal Zone and to take other suitable action against this unwarranted, un-American practice being continued; and be it further

RESOLVED, That it use such means as it deems best to bring about the termination of the evil complained of at the earliest possible date.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The comittee amended Resolution 52 to read as follows:

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate G. W. Perkins, of the Cigarmakers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Many non-union manufacturers and captains of big industries constantly declare and in glowing affirmations say: "There is plenty of room at the top; save your money and become capitalists," and then directly charge that trade unions are a hindrance and a subversion of the achievement of such elevation; and,

WHEREAS, It is a self-evident fact that if we could all get to the top there would be no top as it is now known, and we declare that all such platitudes have no social value; that they are not fundamentally correct; that they are valueless and really meaningless; and that they are a snare and a delusion, calculated to catch the unwary and to deceive the non-unionist, in the hope of thereby forestalling and checking the growth, development and increased usefulness of the trade-union movement; and,

WHEREAS, The trade-union movement is the principal means in the economic field whereby the wage earners, the workers, as a whole, can maintain and advance wages, shorten hours of labor, improve factory, mine and other working conditions, and otherwise safeguard the interests of all wage earners; and

WHEREAS, The trade-union movement does nothing to prevent the natural advancement to positions of power and eminence of any of its members, it nevertheless holds that as an economic truism the elevation, advancement, and well-being of the great mass of workers is paramount to the advancement of a few. It seeks to impress the real fundamental truths upon the minds and in the hearts of all workers, to the end that they may have a growing knowledge of the power and usefulness that lie behind united effort, and to now and for all time elevate the economic, social and political well-being of all working men and women; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates in the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., that we denounce as false the oft-repeated assertion of non-union manufacturers and the captains of big industries, as stated in the foregoing, and that we re-declare our former declaration and assertion, that in the trade-union movement lies the only true hope, solution and means by which the wage earners, the workers, can successfully work out upon the economic field their own destinies, and in compliance with trade-union philosophy, which is grounded upon experience, up-to-date, definite, and correct political economy; and,

RESOLVED, That we declare against so-called caste in the labor field, and denounce the false assertion that there is plenty of room at the top as a subterfuge set up to mislead, befog and dissuade wage earners from joining trade unions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the primary purpose of the trade-union movement to elevate and advance the economic, social and political well-being of the working class as a whole, and in the accomplishment of this we are conscious of the fact that we are working for the real best interests of humankind as a whole, and the advancement of true civilization.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, Upon the plea of econ-

Digitized by Google

omy, the Postoffice Department has requested Congress to revoke the present law which insures postal employes a day of rest weekly; and

WHEREAS, The House Post Roads Committee, in part compliance with the department's recommendation, has reported out as a section of the Moon bill (12,473) a provision which permits Sunday work to be rebated within thirty days instead of the present six-day rebate limit, thus making possible continuous work without relaxation of a day's rest for thirty days; and

WHEREAS, Release from toil one day in seven has always been organized labor's tenet, and this attempt of the Postal Department to deprive employes of an assured day of rest is deserving of the condemnation of the organized labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled instruct the Executive Council to assist in every way possible the officers of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in combating this or any attempt to alter, amend or revoke the present satisfactory law which insures all postal employes a weekly day of rest.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President Valentine in the chair.

The committee amended Resolution 61 to read as follows:

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Henry Nolda, of the Central Labor Union, of Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The question of housing facilities in the cities of this country has, owing to the congested population, become a problem of obtaining comfortable sanitary houses for the working people at a reasonable rental, and has reached an acute stage, so as to demand that necessary measures must be taken through our various State and city governments to correct this fast-approaching evil; and

WHEREAS, Efforts are being made to solve the problem in other countries through Government aid, in the form of Government loans, under proper safeguards, to enable the working people to build houses of their own and Government-owned houses which are rented at a reasonable figure; and

WHEREAS, The health of the whole community is best conserved through the proper sanitary living of its people, which can be brought about through sanitary dwellings; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, record itself as being in favor of the passage of laws that will bring about a system of Government loans of money for municipal and private ownership of sanitary houses, and that we request the United States Government at Washington to pass such legislation as will serve as a model to the various cities of this country.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

Delegate Nolda, in discussing the resolution, described housing facilities in Washington and other cities, and spoke briefly of the work being done in European countries to improve housing conditions of the working people.

Delegate Scharrenberg described briefly the work being done in California to improve the housing conditions of working people. He stated that conditions had been very much improved in the labor camps where migratory workers were compelled to spend a great deal of their time.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, Many clerks are compelled to work nights in the postoffices at high tension and under conditions that impair their mental and physical well-being; and

WHEREAS, The Postoffice Department grants no recognition either by a wage or a time differential to the clerks working nights; and

WHEREAS, The British postal service has long recognized a seven-hour tour for night workers, and our Government, in its printing office in Washington, grants night workers a 20 per cent. wage differential; and

WHEREAS, There is pending before Congress the Palmer-Lewis bills, which seek to grant a time differential of fifteen minutes in every hour worked by postal employes between 6 p. m. and 6 a. m., and which will operate to minimize night work by confining it to the distribution and dispatch of important mail; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, indorse the Palmer-Lewis bills and instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the officers of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in urging the enactment of this legislation.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

Digitized by Google

WHEREAS, The slogan of "safety first" has been adopted by many employers of labor and by the government in some of its industrial plants; and

WHEREAS, The health of the people of this nation, and especially the postal clerks, is menaced by the filthy, dusty and germ-laden mail equipment used in the transmission of the mails, and because of the insanitary conditions of many of the workrooms in the large postoffices; and

WHEREAS, Tuberculosis is prevalent in the service largely on account of these conditions, thus constituting a danger to every one using the mails; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in its efforts to have mail equipment properly disinfected and cleansed and to improve the sanitary conditions of the overcrowded postoffice workrooms.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate J. G. Brown, of the International Union of Timber Workers:

WHEREAS, The lumber industry is the third largest industry in America, more than one million workers being employed therein; and

WHEREAS, Various attempts have in the past been made to organize the wage-earners in this basic industry with but temporary and usually local success; and

WHEREAS, In the spring of 1913 the International Union of Timber Workers, supported by the American Federation of Labor, began a general campaign to organize the lumber workers, which, in spite of unfavorable industrial conditions, has made considerable progress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. commends the action of the Executive Council and recommends that such efforts be continued as energetically as possible, to the end that all the workers in this important industry be brought into the fold of the American labor movement in the near future.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates M. G. Scott, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, Hugh Stevenson and T. W. McCullough, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, Recent experience has demonstrated that the public interest in the warfare against tuberculosis has not been maintained at that pitch of enthusiasm which marked its beginning, evidences of apathy being apparent in the failure of many well-founded plans having for their purpose the betterment of conditions under which people are compelled to live, these conditions being in themselves the most prolific and fruitful source of this scourge of humanity which has been called, and rightly called, "The poor man's plague"; and

WHEREAS, The workers of America are entitled to greater support than they have yet received in their efforts to bring about such conditions as will make for the complete prevention of danger of contracting tuberculosis, either in factory, workshop, store, office or home; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge upon all affiliated bodies, together with their locals, and especially upon the State and city central bodies, that they bring before their legislatures or other law-making bodies the necessity of better provisions for the prevention and cure of tuberculosis; that more rigid inspection of housing conditions be insisted upon, with more adequate provision for the sanitary conditions of places in which men and women are called upon to toil for their livelihood, and that more extensive and more suitable provision be made for the proper care and treatment of those who have fallen victims to tuberculosis, to the end that the ravages of this disease may be checked, and that it may be ultimately extinguished from among the list of plagues from which humanity suffers.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 86 to read as follows:

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate H. O. Gossett, of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, This country is in many places overcrowded with unemployed men and women, and from such unemployment the price of labor is held at a minimum, and for the want of statistics of numbers of workers unemployed, the surplus is increased to the maximum; and

WHEREAS, The armies of unemployed are of no value to themselves, their neighbors, or the commercial world; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., in convention assembled, indorses and urges the suitable establishment and maintenance by State legislation of labor bureaus in each State in our Union, with branch offices located in every city therein, for the purposes of aiding the unemployed in securing positions at the prevailing rate of wages, the investigation and abolition of shark employment offices, and the furnishing of statistics of value to labor.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

Digitized by Google

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Treasurer Lennon: I move, as an amendment, that the words "and national legislation covering the subject of interstate commerce" be added. The Commission on Industrial Relations is giving this matter consideration, and we are going to recommend measures for the national Government and the State Governments. (Seconded.)

Delegate Furuseth, in discussing the question of public and private employment agencies, said in part: We have had those things on the statute books of the United States since 1872, and I will say without the slightest qualification that they have been a never-ending curse. They might be all right if you could place them in charge of the right kind of men or women; they are all wrong when you have placed in charge of them people who have no sympathy with the struggling toilers. I do not believe in that kind of establishment; it has never resulted in anything but evil. I believe there should be some means of ascertaining on the part of those who are seeking work where work can be obtained; there should be some means for those who seek workers to let it be known, and I think such things can be done with but small expense, if there is any expense at all. The Secretary of Labor has under consideration a proposition to make use of the postoffices of the country for the purpose of advertising the labor conditions in different localities in a way similar to the gathering and disseminating of information by the Weather Bureau.

Delegate Furuseth spoke of the way in which bulletins might be displayed outside of postoffice buildings telling where workers are needed, how many are needed, the wages, class of work, etc., and in closing moved that the subject-matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to investigate further and report to the next convention. (Seconded.)

Delegate Brown, in discussing the question, said in part: I do not think there is any State in the Union where the problem has caused more hardship to the workers than in the State of Washington. There have been repeated attempts made at the different sessions of the Legislature to meet the problem. In the last session bills were introduced, one for the purpose of abolishing private employment offices and the other for the purpose of creating public employment offices. Our chief difficulty arose in our inability to satisfactorily work out the details of public employment offices. The initiative and referendum were adopted in the last session of the Legislature, and we initiated a measure to prohibit the charging or collection of any fee for giving information that would lead to securing any private or public employment in the State. In doing that we put the matter up in its simplest form to the voters of the State, in order that the necessity of abolishing those employment offices would force upon those who have better success in securing legislation than organized labor has the providing of some substitute. The law goes into effect on the third of next month, and a very remunerative graft from which a lot of particularly undesirable citizens have fattened for a number of years in Washington will terminate.

Treasurer Lennon: The proposition before the Industrial Commission now is that the matter be placed under the charge of the Secretary of Labor, and that in the different States it be placed under the departments of labor in its entirety, and legislation also that will look toward in some way furnishing transportation, securing the facts and the publication of bulletins of information by the Labor Department of the United States and of the various States.

Delegate Furuseth urged that the Industrial Commission give careful consideration to the matter, particularly to that phase of it which deals with transportation.

The motion offered by Delegate Furuseth to refer to the Executive Council was carried by a vote of 97 to 31.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth, of the International Seamen's Union:

WHEREAS, Periodical unemployment is growing; and,

WHEREAS, This enforced idleness has its origin in the employment of women and children in industry, made possible by our discovery and control of natural forces and their application to machinery and to our system of land tenure; and,

WHEREAS, These conditions are de-

Digitized by Google

structive of the individual, the family, and our race; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we do our very utmost to restore individual, social and racial health by restoring the woman to the home and the children to the school and to such play as shall help them to grow up to become efficient men and women.

RESOLVED, That to this end the land be restored to the people and made available without paying of tribute to so-called land owners; and, therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That we give our greatest attention to the organization of the so-called unskilled in every field of labor.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution when amended to read as follows:

WHEREAS, Periodical unemployment is deplorable; and,

WHEREAS, This enforced idleness is partly traceable to the employment of women and children in industry, made possible by our discovery and control of natural forces and their application to machinery; and to our system of land tenure; and,

WHEREAS, These conditions are destructive of the individual, the family and our race; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we do our very utmost to restore individual, social and racial health by making the employment of women as congenial as possible, and sending children to the school and to such play as shall help them to grow up to become efficient men and women; and be it further

RESOLVED, That to this end the land be restored to the people and made available without paying unjust tribute to land owners; and, therefore be it further

RESOLVED, That we give continued attention to the organization of the unskilled in every field of labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the resolution as amended by the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, in discussing the report of the committee, said in part: I do not think there is any tribute to private land owners that is just; I do not think land has any more right to be owned privately than air or water. I protest against anything that recognizes that some figure is just when paid to people who have obtained somehow, in some way, title to land.

With reference to the employment of women, I want to say that the employment of women in the store and in the factory, while it may be very congenial, is extremely undesirable. I believe the woman should be restored to the home and that a man should get enough wages to take care of a woman and some children. I believe that the family is the corner-stone of society, and that the present condition is utterly and absolutely destructive of it.

Delegate Furuseth discussed at some length the evils of placing women in competition with men, thereby lowering the wages of the men.

Delegate Melinda Scott, in discussing the question, referred to the large number of working women who would have no homes if they did not provide them for themselves. She stated there was never a time when women did not work; that formerly they worked in the homes, but with the introduction of machinery they had been obliged to go out from the homes, not from choice, but from necessity. She protested against the statement that women going out into industries unfitted them for wifehood and motherhood, and made the assertion that it was not so under normal conditions; that it made women broader in their views and better helpmates to their husbands when they married.

Vice-President Duncan, in discussing the question, said in part: We have to meet these conditions as they are and not as we would like them to be. If conditions were such as we would like them to be, the need, perhaps, of such magnificent conventions as this would be somewhat shorn of its pith. We have to deal with conditions as we find them, and one of those conditions is the employment of women in the industrial field. How can this convention, by resolution, however well intended, take women out of factories and workshops and send them back to the home? What is to become of them if we do? How are we to support them? It is very well to sentimentalize upon such questions and say what should be, but if the report is not correct then tell us where it erred, offer your amendment to it and let the convention do its very best upon the subject.

In discussing another portion of the resolution, Vice-President Duncan stated that the committee recommended that unjust tribute be not paid to land owners, and that there were certainly some just payments in the purchase of land.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The committee recommended that

Digitized by Google

Resolution No. 124 be referred to the Committee on Law. The request of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate McCarthy, for the committee appointed to collect funds for the striking textile workers of Atlanta, Ga., reported that $384 had been collected, and that the committee would continue its work and make a final report later.

At 12.30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p. m. of the same day.

Digitized by Google

NINTH DAY—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Wednesday, November 18, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees: McPherson, Wenneis, Holpern, Polakoff, Gehring, Johnston, Clark (T. G.), Carrigan, Graves, Conlon, Young, Keppler, Walck, Lowe, Kay, Bradley (J.), Dunn, Hannon.

Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Schwarz, for the committee, reported as follows:

"Philadelphia, Pa.,
"November 18, 1914.

"To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

"Your Committee on Credentials desires to report that it has received a communication from Secretary-Treasurer Homer D. Call, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, advising that it is necessary for him to leave the city and requesting that the alternate delegate of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, H. L. Eichelberger, be seated in his place. We recommend that H. L. Eichelberger be seated.

"THOMAS S. KEARNEY,
"Chairman.
"P. J. McGRATH,
"LOUIS A. SCHWARZ,
"Secretary."

The report of the committee was adopted.

Report of Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Delegate McCullough (T. W.), chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

We have carefully examined the various captions of the report of the Executive Council which were referred to us for consideration, and have carefully considered the resolutions introduced at this convention, given full, free and patient hearings to the parties at interest thereto, and now present the result of our deliberations to this convention for its consideration and disposition.

In the report of the Executive Council will be found a most comprehensive and carefully prepared review of the activities and achievements of the American labor movement during the past year extant.

It is with pleasure we note the progress that has been made both in the economic and political fields of labor's endeavor. Not only has labor won important and decisive victories in the economic field, securing improved conditions, shorter hours and better wages for the men and women workers of North America, but it has been able to secure the enactment of laws long waited for, which laws bring to labor relief from oppression that could not otherwise be obtained. In addition to these, victories in court proceedings have been won, the service of which is inestimable because of the fact that they are useful in establishing the rights of labor more firmly in the laws of our country and through the application of these laws into the very life of the country.

These achievements and accomplishments are all carefully reviewed and succinctly recapitulated in the report of the Executive Council, and we earnestly commend this report to the careful perusal and study of all who are connected with or interested in the American labor movement. And, with this record of achievement before us undisputed, who will say that the cause of labor as represented by the American Federation of Labor has not made progress and is not still making progress? We do not perhaps sweep on to the goal of human achievement with that impetuosity apparently necessary to satisfy some of our more ardent members who advocate that we follow the shorter but unexplored paths, at the end of which may lie the jewel of human freedom or may lie destruction for the labor movement.

Experience is the only lamp by which we can guide our progress into the future, and it is vital to the labor movement, as it is to all other great and important enterprises or undertakings, that the result of experience be applied at all times and under all conditions, to the end that foreseen disaster may be avoided and unnecessary blunders be not committed.

The labor movement, as such, is not a creature of impulse, nor has it attained its present position and standing by the operation of any process of magic or hocus-pocus. Firmly founded on demonstrated fundamentals, its growth has been slow, and therefore sound, and it is not likely at this time to be swept away from its foundations by the presentation of any plan, however attractive, that proposes to accomplish all that labor hopes for by revolutionary methods. Evolution is the law of nature, immutable and unchanging, operating with exactitude and inexorable certainty. All that ever was, or is, or ever shall be, is subject to the operation of this law; so, therefore, the American labor movement is subject to the operations of the law of evolution, and its progress is necessarily the result of the changes brought about by the application of those slow but certain mutations that make for permanent and lasting achievement.

We bid the toilers of America to be of good cheer, for their cause is advancing. They are gaining in all respects, in all ways, that make for better and fuller and freer life of the human race. Their hopes, their aspirations, their disappointments, their struggles, find expression

Digitized by Google

through the utterance of the American Federation of Labor, and it is fitting that this body give at this time a renewal of the expression of hope and promise of betterment that it has made from time to time in the past, and along which it has secured the many benefits and advantages that have come to improve the conditions of the working people of the North American continent during the years that the American Federation of Labor has existed as the mouthpiece for these workers.

We desire to call attention of the convention to the fact that the increasing importance and steady growth of the American Federation of Labor has brought with it an equal increase in the work that devolves upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and we would suggest to the affiliated national and international unions, State and city central bodies and directly affiliated unions the desirability of so regulating their affairs that they bring to the attention of the Executive Council no greater proportion of their own troubles than is absolutely necessary, to the end that the Executive Council be not so overburdened with work that it will be humanly impossible to accomplish all that is requested of it.

The record of its work, as reported to this convention, shows that the Executive Council has diligently and faithfully applied itself to the consideration of the many topics that were presented to it, some of them being subjects that called for world-wide inquiry and investigation.

We desire to congratulate the American Federation of Labor upon the consummation of a very considerable part of the legislation which was requested of Congress under what is known as the "union program," but in this connection we wish to call attention to the fact that some of the measures included in this "union program" have not been as yet enacted into law. The three important measures still pending before Congress, and which will be referred to in the report of this committee or other committees of this convention, are: The seamen's bill, the immigration bill and the convict labor bill. These constitute the unfulfilled demands of the Bill of Grievances presented to the Congress of the United States by the American labor movement, and we now renew our demand that these measures be speedily enacted into law, that the public be afforded the fullest measure of protection to be accomplished under the operation of these much-needed remedial statutes.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

National and International Unions.

Under the above caption of the Executive Council's report will be found reference to the activities of the several national and international trade unions of America. We heartily endorse the sentiments expressed by the Executive Council and commend the efforts of the Executive Council in the way of assistance and advice to the various national and international unions during the year just ended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Co-operation in Related Industries.

Under the above caption of the Executive Council's report is given succinctly a report of the action taken by the Executive Council in pursuance of Resolution No. 72, adopted by the Seattle convention, instructing the Executive Council "to extend its good offices in the establishment of the federation agreement between all unions in a given industry."

We commend the action taken by the Executive Council during the year and suggest that it continue its efforts along this line.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Better Co-operation in Strikes and Lockouts.

On pages 62 to 65, inclusive, will be found an exhaustive report and summary of correspondence had by the Executive Council in pursuance of Resolution No. 111 adopted by the Seattle convention. Your committee desires to commend the Executive Council for its activity along the lines laid down by the Seattle convention referred to and to call attention of the delegates to the value of the report made as representative of the sentiment of the labor movment of America on the subject referred to by the Seattle resolution.

We recommend that no further efforts along this line be made at this time.

The recomemndation of the committee was adopted.

Social Insurance.

On pages 66 to 68, inclusive, of the Executive Council's report will be found reference to work in pursuance of Resolutions Nos. 144 and 162 adopted by the Seattle convention. Accompanying this report is a table of much detail giving information as to the experience of the several national and international unions of America in connection with the question of social insurance. We commend this table to the attention of the delegates as of great assistance in their study of the question involved.

We commend and endorse the conclusions of the Executive Council as to the desirability of the establishment of a social insurance plan by the American Federation of Labor and recommend that the Executive Council proceed with its inquiry and investigation to the end that it may later report to a convention of the American Federation of Labor definitely as to whether the plan is to be adopted and the department of insurance established and put into effect.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

"Freed from Trust Law—Injunction and Contempt Abuses"—Clayton Anti-Trust Act.

On pages 68 to 73 of the Executive

Digitized by Google

Council's report will be found a clear, concise report on this subject.

Sections 6, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 and 25 of the act are given in full. We recommend that the report be adopted by the convention and that it be given careful and painstaking consideration by the entire membership of organized labor.

Section 6 of the act gives a clear distinction between persons and things, between the laborer and the product of his labor, and exempts the laborer from the operations of the anti-trust law. Your committee is satisfied that there can be no excuse in the future for any effort on the part of anybody to make any mistake on this question.

Section 20 regulates the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes, and we regret that the distinction between property rights and personal rights is not as clear as those who believe in government by law had hoped for. We would demand of Congress that the law be so amended as to remove any question on this point, to the end that the clear return to government by law be made complete. The right of one free man to persuade another is a fundamental right and any breach of the peace in connection therewith is a matter entirely apart and comes within the scope of police regulations.

The trial of contempt cases by jury should operate to place the decision of this form of judicial abuse where it properly belongs and should bring relief from much of the oppression heretofore complained of. The declaration "that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce," taken in connection with other provisions of the law, should serve to bring about a complete and clear distinction between property relations and personal relations.

Your committee is aware of the contention that the sale of property is held to be a property right, and in a limited sense this is no doubt correct. The right to dispose of property is an indispensable and absolute element of ownership, but it assumes a willing purchaser, who is free and therefore of right may be persuaded to use the own judgment and his own discretion, so that in a larger sense the relation between the patron and the institution patronized is a personal relation, and as such falls without the provisions of equity intended to protect rights that are exclusively property rights. Your committee is of the opinion that the law should be amended so as to make clear this distinction and to prevent confusion when cases coming under it are presented to court.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Massachusetts' Model Labor Law.

On pages 73 and 74, under the above caption, the Executive Council reports on the adoption by the Legislature of Massachusetts of a model labor law based on the Pearre bill or Wilson bill. Your committee desires to commend and endorse the action and report of the Executive Council in this matter, and to further recommend to all affiliated organizations that they use this bill as a model for the enactment by their several Legislatures of a law to express the rights of labor and govern procedure in courts in connection with labor disputes.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers: Our organization, threatened with procedure under the Sherman anti-trust law, having evaded that prosecution, we were then subject to prosecution under the State laws of New York. While it is true we are now exempt from Federal legislation, so far as the Sherman anti-trust law is concerned, we are not as yet free from prosecution under State laws. Under the State laws of New York our organization was forced into the Federal courts. The jurisdiction of the Federal courts, as defined, gives any employer the opportunity of going into the Federal courts, providing the concern in question is of an interstate character or if the ownership or stock of the company is divided by ownership in other States. All they need to do is to prove a diversity of interests or citizenship in various States, and then the Federal courts may assume jurisdiction, not only for the purpose of enforcing the Federal laws, but also for the purpose of enforcing State laws. Therefore the need of the various State and central bodies endeavoring to amend the laws in the various States so that we may be exempt from prosecution therein.

President Gompers, in discussing the question, said in part: Since the report of the Executive Council has been prepared attorneys who have been employed by the American Federation of Labor to defend several cases have advised that some further legislation should be sought, or some amendment or some bill passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts in addition to the present law, which would make it effective in bringing the question of property and property rights to their proper distinction; and the chair suggests to the committee that it might be well to add to the recommendation that the matter be referred to the Executive Council for such amendments as may be necessary, and the amended form of the model labor law of Massachusetts sent to the various State federations and city central bodies.

Digitized by Google

Chairman McCullough stated that the committee had no objection to adopting the suggestion of the chair.

The report of the committee was adopted when amended by the suggestion offered by President Gompers.

Wage Increase for Postal Employes.

Under the above caption of the Executive Council's report will be found a resume of its action in pursuance of Resolution No. 12 of the Seattle convention.

Your committee desires to commend and endorse the action of the Executive Council in this matter, and recommends that it be instructed to continue its activities along this line.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Seamen's Legislation.

Under this caption of the Executive Council's report is recounted the efforts made to pass the seamen's bill through the last session of Congress and giving the present status of the bill.

Your committee desires to commend and endorse the action of the Executive Council in connection with this matter, and to instruct the Executive Council that it continue its activities. We also wish to urgently impress upon the delegates to this convention, and through them the several organizations they represent, the necessity of immediate action in order to accomplish the passage of this very desirable and much-needed law. Effective assistance can be given by the immediate writing of letters to the several members of Congress and the Senate from your home districts and States calling their attention to the bill and making request that they give it their earnest and purposeful support, to the end that it be passed at once and sent to the President for his signature.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Immigration.

Under the caption of "Immigration," the Executive Council reports on the progress made in the efforts to secure the passage of an Immigration bill containing restrictions proper to the safeguarding of the interests of the American continent. This deals especially with the efforts to secure the passage of House bill 6060, offered by Representative Burnett, of Alabama, chairman of the House Committee on Immigration.

We desire to commend and endorse the action of the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor in pursuance of the efforts necessary to secure this important and much-needed legislation, and we recommend that the Executive Council and Legislative Committee be instructed to continue without cessation the work so well begun, and request that the delegates, and through them, their various national and international organizations, State and city central bodies and directly affiliated unions take cognizance of this matter and write to and interview their representatives in Congress, both in the House and Senate, impressing upon them the demands of the workers of America for the enactment of this law, and especially of the desirability of the so-called "literacy test."

In this connection, your committee desires to call your attention to and impress upon you the almost assured certainty that the cessation of the present war in Europe will be followed by a flood of immigration from those military-dominated countries such as the world never witnessed in the change of a people from one home to another. The war itself has done away with the sophistries that were used for years to support the military establishments of the great nations of Europe, and the people thereof can no longer be deceived by the fallacious arguments that have been now so thoroughly exploded. It is established beyond question that preparation for war in one necessarily means preparation for war in another, and that war is more horrible than ever because of the devilish ingenuity and infernal efficiency of the weapons used in the prosecution of war.

These reasons are the most potent for support of the belief that as soon as the way is clear those people in Europe who can will fly with whatever speed they may to escape the conditions that have brought about the dreadful consequences of the present struggle, and which may be depended upon to renew at some future time the awful carnage the world now shudders in the presence of.

It may be well understood that the governments of Europe will exert themselves to the utmost to the end that those who are fit and who survive the destruction of the present conflict will not be permitted to leave their native countries, but will be seduced by whatever promises are necessary to remain and aid in the restoration of those countries to their lost position in commerce and industry, at the same time offering whatever inducements or assistance they may to the migration of the unfit to the United States, Canada or any other country that may receive them, in order that their native land be relieved of the burden of support of those who have been incapacitated or rendered inefficient by reason of the war. Therefore, it is the duty of the workers of America to see to it that they be protected in every possible way, to the end that they will not be forced into competition with these bits of wreckage tossed on our shores or left stranded in Europe when the wave of war recedes. For this, if for no other reason, the organized labor movement of the North American continent should devote without cessation its most earnest endeavor to secure the speedy passage of the Burnett bill, containing provision for the literacy test.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Digitized by Google

Government Construction of Railways in Alaska.

On pages 85 and 86 of the Executive Council's report will be found a report of the action taken in pursuance of the terms of Resolution No. 150 of the Seattle convention, together with the enactment into law of the bill that had been requested.

We endorse and commend the activity of the Executive Council in dealing so efficaciously with this matter.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Hetch-Hetchy Bill.

On page 87 of the Executive Council's report will be found a record of the action of the Executive Council taken in pursuance of the provisions of Resolution No. 171 of the Seattle convention endorsing the Hetch-Hetchy bill, the Executive Council reporting the passage of the bill by Congress and its signature by the President.

We commend and endorse the activity of the Executive Council in connection with this bill.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Conciliation—Mediation—Arbitration.

On pages 88 and 89 of the Executive Council's report will be found a record of the activity of the Executive Council under instructions of the Seattle convention in dealing with the report made to that body by the Executive Council concerning the passage of the Newlands bill to replace the Erdman Arbitration Act.

We desire to commend and endorse the action of the Executive Council in connection with this important phase of labor legislation and wish to emphasize, if possible, the warning given in the Executive Council's report to members of organized labor throughout the United States, of the danger that lies in the so-called Esch-Townsend bill and recommend that the delegates to this convention and through them the unions they represent take such action as may be done to prevent the enactment into law of measures which insidiously destroy the right of labor to take what action is needed in extremity to protect itself against the greed and rapacity of unfair employers.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Connors, in discussing the question, stated that the Erdman law was better than the Newlands law; that some meetings had been held under the provisions of the new law and awards handed down by the Board of Arbitration that had not been carried out by the corporations except in a few instances, and suggested that if the Executive Council continued to strengthen the laws they should see to it that some provision is placed in the law to compel corporations to put into effect any award that may be handed down by a board of arbitration.

Chairman McCullough, in defense of the report of the committee, said in part: If the law contains a provision that tends to enforce the decision or award of a board of arbitration, then that law provides for compulsory arbitration and contains in itself exactly what we are trying to avoid in seeking the defeat of the so-called Esch-Townsend bill, a condition of compulsory arbitration that will tie the hands of the labor movement or any of the unions connected with the labor movement.

Chairman McCullough discussed at some length the question as it affected the railroad organizations.

Delegate Conners stated that he had no objection to adopting the committee's report, but wished to impress upon the committee the need of a stronger law, so that the men affected might get some substantial benefit from it.

Delegate Furuseth and Vice-President Perham spoke in support of the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Citizenship for Porto Ricans.

On page 89 of the Executive Council's report is found a record of the progress of the bill for the purpose of granting full citizenship to the people of Porto Rico.

We endorse and commend the activity of the Executive Council in connection with this measure and recommend that the Executive Council and Legislative Committee be instructed to continue their efforts to the end that the speedy enactment of this measure into law be brought about, and we urge upon members of organized labor throughout the jurisdiction that they lend whatever assistance they can to the consummation of this much-desired undertaking.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Employment of White Women in Asiatic Cafes and Stores.

On page 90 of the Executive Council's report will be found a paragraph dealing with instructions given the Executive Council under Resolution No. 126 of the Seattle convention. The Executive Council recommends that this is a question to be considered by the State Legislatures and City Councils in the States affected by the con-

Digitized by Google

dition complained of and that the organizations of labor in the Pacific and intermountain States are doing their utmost to carry out the purpose of the resolution.

Your committee desires to commend and endorse the attitude of the Executive Council and urgently recommends the State and city central bodies in the Pacific and intermountain States to be vigorous and energetic in their efforts to secure the enactment of such legislation as will do away with the abhorrent condition of the employment of white women by Asiatics under any circumstances.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Treasurer Lennon in the chair.

The Danbury Hatters' Case.

On pages 91 and 92 of the Executive Council's report will be found a complete review of the progress of the Danbury hatters' case since the Seattle convention. This very important case will come on for a final hearing before the Supreme Court early next month, being set down on the calendar for the first Monday in December. Your committee recommends that this convention endorse and commend the action of the Executive Council for its activity in connection with this case during the last year and instruct the Executive Council to continue its efforts in behalf of the United Hatters.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Printing Trades Unions' Litigation.

On pages 92 and 93 of the Executive Council's report will be found a record of action taken by certain employers in New York city against unions engaged in the printing industry, which actions in the Federal Court under the Sherman anti-trust law resulted in victory for the unions involved.

We congratulate the unions involved on their victory and the labor movement on the report of the Executive Council that "it is most gratifying to report that the legal presentation of labor's enemies did not weaken labor's position. On the contrary, efforts to establish union standards proceeded with renewed zeal and resulted in victory."

We endorse and commend the activity of the Executive Council in connection with these cases and call attention to the concluding sentence of this section of the Executive Council's report:

"The experiences of these trades were but further proof of the necessity for the remedial legislation which organized labor made a special political issue."

The report of the committee was adopted.

The Contempt Case.

On pages 94 and 95 of the Executive Council's report will be found a record showing the conclusion of the celebrated contempt case in which Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison were singled out to be made the victims of the wrath of Judge Daniel Thew Wright, of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. While it is to be regretted that the final disposition of this case left undetermined some of the more important points involved therein, yet we desire to congratulate the defendants in this case on their unflinching attitude when before the court, where their dignified determination to uphold and maintain the rights of man as against the arbitrary power of a prejudicial and biased Judge gave a splendid example for all right-thinking people, whether in or out of the labor movement.

We congratulate the defendants and all their associates in the labor movement that this case has been terminated and will no longer stand as it did for so long as a possible bar or at least a hindrance to efforts in other directions. It served well a purpose which was hardly in the mind of the prosecuting Judge at the time he began his ferocious and unmitigated onslaught against Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison. He served to call attention of the public to certain abuses in a way more emphatic and more convincing than had ever been attained and the result of this discussion has certainly been advantageous to the labor organizations of America and of the world, and now, at the end of this year, we find that neither Gompers, Mitchell nor Morrison were called upon to serve one day in jail as the result of the desire for vengeance on the part of this judicial tyrant, but on the contrary they stand before their fellow-men vindicated in their course, while the Judge himself stands before his fellow-men disgraced and on the way to that oblivion from which his only possible escape will be that he may be remembered as the man who tried, but failed, to put three labor leaders in jail.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The Law and Just Judges.

On pages 95 to 97 of the Executive Council's report will be found two matters of paramount interest to the workers of America concerning steps taken to remove Daniel Thew Wright, of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and Alston G. Dayton, of the Federal District Court of the Northern District of West Virginia, from the Federal bench under charges carrying accusations of most serious offences.

Judge Wright resigned as a result of an investigation by the House committee having the matter in charge, while the case of Judge Dayton has not as yet been reported upon. The impeachment of Judge Archbald and the resignation of Judge Hanford, while under investigation, are also referred to. These evidences that there is a power to reach the unjust Judge and a

Digitized by Google

means whereby that power may be called into action is a subject for proper congratulation not only of the men and women of organized labor, but of all the people. We can find no pleasure in the failure of any man at any time to measure up to the full standard of manhood or to the realization of his opportunities, nor do we rejoice at the downfall of any one, but as we breathe easier and feel safer when the presence of immediate and impending danger is removed, so do we feel in regard to the removal of Daniel Thew Wright from his position as a constant menace on the Federal bench, and so do we hope that Judge Alston G. Dayton will yet be overtaken by the consequences of his own maladministration of justice in West Virginia.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Legal Department, A. F. of L.

On page 97 of the Executive Council's report will be found a paragraph setting forth what action was taken in pursuance of the instruction of the Seattle convention which authorized the Executive Council to establish a legal department of the A. F. of L.

We recommend that the Executive Council be requested and instructed to continue its activities along the line of carrying out the instructions of the Seattle convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Seizure of Michigan Copper Lands.

On page 103 of the Executive Council's report will be found a record of action taken in conformity with the instructions of Resolution No. 170 of the Seattle convention.

We commend and endorse the activity of the Executive Council in this connection and express the hope that the special committee of Congress which made the investigation called for will find it expedient to report upon the matter at an early date.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The Situation in the Mining Field.

Under the caption "The Situation in the Mining Field," the Executive Council sets forth in a clear and understandable manner the activities of the miners' organizations in the unorganized fields of West Virginia, Colorado and Michigan.

In considering this subdivision of the Council's report, we especially direct attention to the recital of the almost insurmountable difficulties encountered by the miners' organizations in the mining fields referred to. The remote location of mineral deposits naturally means the complete isolation of many mining towns and villages. Frequently they are far removed from community centers where political and industrial independence more or less prevails. This enables the corporations which own the mining properties to exercise dominion and control over the industrial and political affairs of these mining sections. The ownership of the land and the homes in which the miners live enables the mining corporations to select and control their employes.

By owning the church properties and the schools, they dictate the character and form of religious and educational training to be employed in the churches and schools. Evidently they proceed upon the theory that if they can supervise and control the source of life and action they can control life itself, and if they can do this, they can make each and every employe and his family subservient and helpless.

The complete control by great corporations over human affairs in manufacturing and mining centers is the outcome of our industrial development. Such power is destructive of independent action and thought. There can be no such thing as human liberty and human freedom where such power and control are exercised. In the light of these facts, the basis of the bitter opposition to the organization of the miners is made quite clear. The mine owners want no interference with their so-called vested rights, nor interruption with their exercise of industrial tyranny.

We concur in the statement and recommendation of the Executive Council that "the use of armed troops by mine operators and the power resulting from ownership of large tracts of contiguous territory and the subversion of civil government to military rule, are some of the most serious of modern industrial problems. We recommend and urge that the various State federations of labor endeavor to secure legislation prohibiting this brutal practice, which is subversive of all industrial justice and freedom."

The report of the subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate, which investigated conditions prevailing in the Paint Creek and Cabin Creek coal fields of West Virginia, and to report whether the laws of the land had been violated, shows the existence of a deplorable condition of affairs and a total disregard for either statutory law or the constitutional rights of American citizens. The facts developed sustained practically every charge made by the representatives of the Mine Workers' organization and fully justified the universal demand of organized labor for a Federal investigation of the facts and circumstances surrounding this historical struggle. It is gratifying to know that, in spite of martial law, the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and the denial of constitutional guarantees, this bitter industrial struggle was ended by an agreement with the coal operators in which the United Mine Workers' organization is fully recognized.

It is doubtful if history records a more intense or brutal industrial war than that which has taken place during the year in the mining districts of Colorado. The power of organized wealth seems to have been concentrated in a determination to prevent the organization of the miners. Here it seemed all the pent-up forces of corporate greed, brutality and oppression joined together in carrying forward a campaign of barbaric and uncivilized warfare. The men against whom this war of

Digitized by Google

extermination has been directed had for years faithfully served those who owned these mining properties. Far removed from the light of day and the health-giving properties of pure air and sunlight, in the darkness, dampness and gloom of their employers' mines, they performed each day their allotted tasks. They were "faithful employes" and "loyal citizens" so long as they uncomplainingly rendered their best and most capable services, but when they asked for the enforcement of the mining laws of Colorado and the correction of intolerable working conditions they and their families, in the midst of a driving storm of sleet and snow, were thrown out of the corporation-owned homes in which they lived, and left upon the prairies without either protection or shelter. For months these miners and their families have been living in tents supplied by the United Mine Workers' organization. It is difficult to comprehend the sacrifices they have made or the suffering they have endured.

The climax was reached in the tragedy of Ludlow. On this occasion, apparently all the unrestrained passion and fury of inhuman gunmen were given full sway.

Not satisfied with riddling the tents in which the miners and their families lived with the deadly fire of high-power, quick-firing machine guns, with savage instinct they applied the torch and murdered and burned the women and children. This awful massacre has left a stain upon the record of Colorado which neither time nor eternity can ever remove.

The President of the United States has submitted a basis of settlement of the struggle, which has been accepted by the mine workers. The coal companies have thus far refused to agree thereto. Can the coal companies ignore the request of the Chief Executive of our nation? If they are permitted to do this, we, as a nation, admit that we are incompetent to deal successfully with domestic problems.

We recommend that the convention approve the Federal plan of settlement, and urge the President of the United States to require the coal corporations of Colorado to comply therewith at once, using such moral and legal methods as may be necessary to carry the plan into effect. We further recommend that the Executive Council confer with the President of the United States and adopt such other means as it may deem practicable for the purpose of bringing about acceptance by the coal companies of the plan of settlement proposed by the President.

The striking miners employed in the copper mines of Michigan deserved to win because their cause was just. They were paid insufficient wages and the conditions under which they worked were intolerable. They asked for a reasonable minimum wage, an eight-hour workday and recognition of their organization. The righteousness of their demands cannot justly be denied. In fact, the congressional committee which investigated the strike gave to the public sufficient facts and information upon which to determine the fairness and justice of the miners' claims. The powerful corporations which own the copper mines of Michigan refused to either settle with their employes or arbitrate the questions in dispute. They evidently decided to crush them regardless of whether or not their cause was right or their claims were just. In the accomplishment of this purpose they enlisted the support of the military authorities of the State and community. Your committee finds that the Executive Council not only gave to this struggle its moral and financial support, but in addition made special efforts to bring this struggle to a successful termination. While lack of funds, coupled with determined opposition, naturally forced a termination of this unequal contest, in the language of the report of the Executive Council, "the strike was not in vain. During the time it was in progress the company established an eight-hour workday, raised wages and set aside a day of each week to hear the grievances of employes. Recognition of the union is yet to be attained, but maintenance of the present organization and constantly increasing its power in the field will secure recognition in the end."

The situation at Butte, Montana, is deplorable indeed. It shows that the real danger to the organized labor movement lies within, rather than without. The destructive forces of disruption operating within the Butte miners' union has proved to be more effective than the combined opposition of all the mine owners. The spirit of unionism, fraternity and brotherhood must be re-established in Butte before the local organization can be rehabilitated. Your committee recommends that the Executive Council render all assistance within its power toward the restoration in Butte of industrial amity and union solidarity.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Carpenters—Sheet Metal Workers Building Trades Department.

Pages 139 to 143 of the Executive Council's report contain a record of its transactions in connection with this important controversy, the entire subject-matter of which has been dealt with by a special committee appointed under the instructions of this convention, and your committee does not therefore feel called upon to deal with the proposition further than to commend and endorse the action of the Executive Council in providing for and bringing about the conference of the parties on the committee referred to.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Bricklayers and Affiliated Building Trades.

On pages 144 to 150 of the Executive Council's report will be found the record of transactions and correspondence of the Executive Council and the

Digitized by Google

unions involved in this important controversy.

Your committee desires to commend and endorse the activity of the Executive Council in connection with this controversy.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Printing Pressmen—Chicago Newspaper Publishers' Association.

On pages 155 to 160 of the Executive Council's report will be found a record of the correspondence and other transactions in connection with the subject-matter suggested in the foregoing caption.

We desire to commend and endorse the activities of the Executive Council in connection with this controversy and recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to continue the effort to bring about an adjustment and settlement of the differences between the Printing Pressmen and the Chicago Newspaper Publishers' Association.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Unfinished Business.

On page 176 of the Executive Council's report will be found a paragraph referring to the inability of the Executive Council to accomplish during the last year all the work that was expected of it. As is set forth by the Executive Council, the Seattle convention was one of unusual activity and it referred an unusual number of questions, important in their scope, as well as in their application, to the Executive Council for investigation, inquiry and action, and it was found humanly impossible to achieve within the year all that had been requested.

The Executive Council asks that the several matters referred to be continued in the hands of the Executive Council, and your committee recommends that this permission be granted. We also desire to commend and endorse the Executive Council for its efforts to accomplish the impossible by attending to everything referred to it at the Seattle convention.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Canada.

On pages 192 and 193 of the Executive Council's report will be found the report of P. M. Draper, Secretary of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, submitted to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

We desire to commend the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress for its unremitting activity and to congratulate through it the members of organized labor of our northern neighbors on the splendid progress they are making, on the results they have achieved and on the bright hope the future holds for the consummation of their most ambitious aspirations.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Appendix.

In the appendix to the Executive Council's report on pages 178 to 181 will be found the report of Wm. J. Spencer, secretary-treasurer of the Building Trades Department; on pages 181 to 186 will be found the report of Secretary-Treasurer Albert J. Berres, of the Metal Trades Department; on pages 189 to 190 will be found the report of John Scott, secretary-treasurer of the Railroad Employes' Department; on pages 191 and 192 will be found the report of James Lord, president of the Mining Department.

Your committee desires to call the attention of the delegates to this convention to the amount of information concerning the detailed operations of the several departments of the American Federation of Labor during the last year, which operations need no review at this time.

The matters that properly are subject for legislation or review by this convention have been presented to its in other form by the parties most at interest.

We desire to congratulate the departments and the several unions affiliated therewith on the success attained during the last year and commend them for their activity, with the promise of a continuation of their efforts for the future.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution 91 by inserting the word "affected" in line 10 of the resolve.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate William Green, of the United Mine Workers:

WHEREAS, For the past fourteen months a strike has been in progress in the coal fields of Colorado, which strike is due in great measure to the non-enforcement of the laws of that State; and

WHEREAS, This strike and the causes leading up to it have been thoroughly investigated;

First, by a joint committee, appointed by the Legislature of 1913, which committee reported that practically all of the laws pertaining to the mining of coal in the State of Colorado were being violated by the operators.

Second, by a Federal Grand Jury sitting at Pueblo, Colorado, December 1, 1913, which found that

"State laws pertaining to the mining of coal have not been enforced.

"Coal companies controlled the State and county officials.

"Camp marshals, whose appointments were dictated and salaries paid by coal companies, have established arbitrary and illegal control over the miners and their rights and liberties.

"For the past ten years the coal miners of Colorado have been working

Digitized by Google

under conditions of duress and intimidation, the coal companies having established a private army practically throughout the whole mining district. In the recent strike this proprietary guard has been superseded by the militia of the State, which has been still more destructive of civil liberty, in that the military commission, acting under orders of the Adjutant General, has set aside the writ of habeas corpus and trial by jury."

Third, by a committee appointed by the State Federation of Labor, at the solicitation of Governor Ammons, to inquire into the alleged overt acts committed by the militia. This committee found that the militia, individually and collectively, has acted with the most brutal and wanton license, committing with impunity numerous crimes, from murder of women and children down to petty larceny.

Fourth, by a committee appointed by Congress to inquire into the strike and the causes leading up to it, which has disclosed a system of active peonage, through armed despotism, whereby the miners in many instances have been reduced to a condition of practical slavery; and

WHEREAS, Repeated solicitation on the part of the miners, of committees of citizens representing the general public, and of State and congressional committees appointed to investigate these conditions, have completely failed in their efforts to bring the contending interests together, the operators ever maintaining that there was nothing to arbitrate notwithstanding the fact that the State has been brought to a condition bordering upon civil war, in which the Governor has been obliged to call upon the President to send federal troops into Colorado, thereby admitting that the State itself is incapable of dealing with the situation; and

WHEREAS, On September 7, 1914, President Wilson submitted a proposal for a three-year truce as a basis of settlement, the terms of which were simply that each party to the controversy observe and obey the laws of the State of Colorado. This proposition was heartily accepted by the miners and just as summarily rejected by the operators, who insist now that their case might not be determined by the laws of the State or nation, but by the court of public opinion. Since then, and in fact for months previous, the coal companies have been conducting a campaign of publicity through such newspapers as they own and control, both inside and outside of Colorado, and through the medium of a number of bulletins mailed in great quantities to almost every community in the country, the sole purpose of which is to deceive the general public and create a hearty public opinion in favor of the operators.

We have examined these bulletins in the light of the evidence compiled by the Congressional Committee and have no hesitancy in saying that from the first to the last there is not a grain of truth in them that has not been distorted into a perversion of fact. As a case, to wit:

Mr. Welborn, president of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, in a letter addressed to President Wilson, said: "I can state unequivocally that during the seven and one-half years I have been president we have not knowingly violated a single constitutional law of the State." And yet, on the witness stand, before the Congressional Committee, this same Welborn admitted that the law against the payment in scrip had not been enforced by his company; that the semi-monthly pay day, which became a law in 1901, had not been put into effect; that the eight-hour law, enacted in 1905, as well as the laws pertaining to the check weighman, were also ignored by his company; and notwithstanding these facts, the operators continue to send out these bulletins, the sole purpose of which is to poison public opinion, while the great mass of refutative evidence gathered by the Congressional Committee remains buried in undigested and unobtainable volumes.

In the light of the history made in this strike, we deem it high time that the Government, which is in possession of all the established facts; facts which will prove:

First—That the operators of Colorado have not only violated every statutory law pertaining to the mining of coal, but that they have ruthlessly trampled in the dust every right and guarantee of citizenship as well.

Second—Ninety-five per cent. of the coal production of Colorado is controlled by a small group of operators, who exercise an absolute and oppressive monopoly and fix at will the price at which the public may obtain coal.

Third—The public is so thoroughly in the grip of this oppressive and extortionate price-fixing monopoly, that during the strike a committee representing the operators publicly advertised over their own signatures that, if the people of Colorado would help them put down the strike, they would, in turn, reduce the price of coal; and

WHEREAS, The President's proposal for a three-year truce simply means the operation of the mines of Colorado in conformity with the laws of that State, which proposal has been ignored by the operators, by which act the operators have declared that it is their purpose to force upon the American people the absolute predominance of the interests they represent to rule industrially, irrespective of the statutory laws of both State and nation; and

WHEREAS, This conflict has now become paramount in its importance, national in its scope and character, and a menace to peace and liberty; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, calls upon the President of the United States to insist that the Colorado coal

Digitized by Google

operators immediately comply with the federal plan of settlement, and in the event they refuse that he take such steps as are necessary to have a receiver appointed for the purpose of taking over the mines affected and operate them in the interest of the people, under federal supervision, until such time as the civil and political rights of the people are established.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution, and that the president and secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to immediately forward to the President of the United States and the Attorney General of the United States copies of this resolution, together with the transcript of the record of this convention in dealing with the same in order that they may be early and properly apprised of the attitude of the American Federation of Labor on this most vital question.

Your committee is of the opinion that the action outlined in the resolution, drastic thought it may seem, is the final avenue through which to reach the establishment of constitutional government in the State of Colorado. For longer than a year the public has been shocked by the state of anarchy that prevails in this great Commonwealth of Colorado as the immediate and inevitable result of the attitude assumed by some of the coal mining operators of that State coming under the leadership and guidance of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, which is controlled by the greatest of all the inflated private fortunes of America. It is unnecessary here to enter into the details of the struggle that has been made in Colorado by the United Mine Workers of America and those associated with them in the effort to establish tolerable conditions of life in the mining districts of that State, but we would be remiss in our duty if we did not at this time renew our expressions of sympathy with and pledges of support to those men and give them whatever assurance we may that they do have the support of the American labor movement, and that no effort will be spared that will serve to bring about such settlement of conditions in Colorado as will establish order in the government, justice in the courts and the proper and equal enforcement of the excellent laws now on the statute books of Colorado, but which are ignored and rendered nugatory by the autocratic, arbitrary action of those domineering corporations that are themselves but creatures of the law they so flagranty violate or persistently ignore.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Unwarranted Extension of Jurisdiction and Title—Journeymen Tailors.

Under the above caption on pages 138 and 139 of the Executive Council's report will be found a report of the action of the Journeymen Tailors' Union in changing its title to "The Tailors' Industrial Union" and extending the jurisdiction of that organization to include all workers employed in the garment or needle industries. The Executive Council firmly and strongly rebuked the Journeymen Tailors' Union for its unwarranted action and unjustifiable assumption of extension of jurisdiction.

Your committee heartily concurs in the action of the Executive Council and fully endorses the rebuke therein contained for the Journeymen Tailors' Union, and we would further recommend that the Journeymen Tailors' Union be directed by this convention of the American Federation of Labor to immediately resume its former title, that of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, and to cease at once all its efforts to operate under its unwarranted and unjustifiable assumption of extended jurisdiction, and that the Executive Council be instructed to notify all the affiliated national and international organizations and through them the local unions of the country and the State and central bodies and directly affiliated organizations of this action to the end that the American labor movement be apprised of the attitude of the American Federation of Labor in regard to this unjustifiable action of the Journeymen Tailors' Union, and thereby afford the greatest publicity possible, to the end that the other national and international organizations of garment or needle workers will not suffer by reason of the course pursued by the Journeymen Tailors' Union.

In connection with this section of the report of the Executive Council, your committee considered the following resolution by the delegates of the Journeymen Tailors' Union:

Resolution No. 98—By Delegates E. J. Brais, John B. Lennon and C. N. Bolander, of the Journeymen Tailors' Union:

WHEREAS, Numerous changes have occurred in the production of custom tailoring during recent years, such as specializing, subdivision of labor, introduction of machinery and different business methods, the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, in order to keep up with the development, found it necessary at its convention, held August, 1913, to change its name to the Tailors' Industrial Union; and

WHEREAS, This action was submitted to referendum vote of the membership and was likewise adopted by them; and

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America now makes a formal request that it be officially recognized under the title of Tailors' Industrial Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, grants the request of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, and instructs the proper officers to make

Digitized by Google

the necessary changes and issue a charter to the Tailors' Industrial Union.

Your committee recommends nonconcurrence in the resolution, but recommends that the Executive Council take such steps as lie within its power to bring together the representatives of the various unions engaged in the needle working or garment industry, to the end that a better understanding and closer relationship be established between the several unions employed in that industry.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Brais: In view of the recommendation of the committee, we desire to take this up with our organization.

Treasurer Lennon: I have been a member of the Tailors' Union since 1870, and, like membership in any union brings to a man, there have been many times brought to me in my connection with the union that which I approved and that which I disapproved; but I stayed with the union whether I approved or disapproved. Whatever opportunity I have had to make for myself a reputation in the labor movement came to me because the tailors of this country presented the opportunity.

At the convention where this change in title and extension of jurisdiction was made I used all the influence I had to try to prevent its being made; subsequent to that I tried as best I could to prevent its being adopted. But it was adopted, and as a member of the union I am bound by that adoption as well as any other member. Nevertheless, if I understand correctly the report of the committee, it is that the organization under the name of the Industrial Union shall make the effort to induce the membership to rescind the change of name and assume the old title and jurisdiction again. If that is not a fair inference from the report of the committee, I would like to have the committee so state.

I can say this, that, in so far as my influence goes with the organization and with the membership, I will endeavor to have the wishes of this convention carried out and the name and jurisdiction changed to what it originally was; first, because I am proud of the name, and always have been. I know, as do perhaps a few other men here know, that the tailors were the pioneers of the labor movement not only of the Old World, but in this country. We have older unions now in our organization, I think, than has any other trade union on the North American continent. I mean longer in continuous existence, and a great many of the members, like myself, are proud of the old name under which some degree of standing in the labor world was secured.

There is one sentence in the report of the committee I do not quite comprehend the intent of. In one line they use the words "at once." I want to say to the committee and to this convention that if they mean that the change back, or the attempt to change back, to the old title is to be done at once, it is impossible and cannot be done.

Chairman McCullough: The committee says: "To immediately resume its former title, that of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, and to cease at once all its efforts to operate under its unwarranted and unjustifiable assumption of extended jurisdiction."

Treasurer Lennon: That recommendation is impossible for the officers of the organization—I am not an officer now—to at once comply with, because of the fact that the membership, having made the change by referendum vote, a change cannot be made by the officers until by a referendum vote they are authorized to do so. And I ask the committee, and I ask this convention, to give the organization that chance, which is essential, and which is proper and right, a period of several months wherein the membership may be reached and the subject properly submitted to them, which I believe ought to be done. Then, if the membership of the organization does not accede, it will, like any one else that does not accede to the laws of an organization, have to take the consequences.

I want to say this because I know there has been a great deal of talk about the country on this subject, and I believe now that, with the action of this convention before the membership of the organization, it is within reason to expect that the new name of the organization may be rescinded and the old title again taken. I do not promise that, have no right to promise it, and no power to exercise the right, so far as I am concerned; but we have a right to ask, and do ask, that sufficient time be given to allow the organization to act. All the membership of the organization should be reached with arguments either for maintenance of the present name or a return to the old name. I

Digitized by Google

ask the committee if their interpretation of the report does not warrant this conclusion: That the drastic action which is to follow the refusal shall not be operative before the first of April of next year, in order that there may be ample time for the membership of the organization to give consideration to this most serious matter.

Chairman McCullough: The purpose of the committee was not to work an undue hardship on the Journeymen Tailors' Union, but was to, if possible, bring about a cessation of a condition in the garment-working industries that was brought to the attention of the committee in connection with this resolution, and of which other unions in the needle-working industry made complaint. They come to us and complain that if the Journeymen Tailors are allowed to continue as they are doing a hardship will be worked upon them. We did not expect the Journeymen Tailors would immediately, or at the conclusion of the convention today, resume the title, but that within the shortest time possible they would resume the title. But it is possible for the international officers of the Journeymen Tailors' Union to cease at once to operate under the extended jurisdiction they assume, and that jurisdiction was simply control of the entire garment-working or needle industry. If the Journeymen Tailors will cease to operate under that extended jurisdiction, and will cease to confuse the needle-working industry, and through that confusion affect the balance of the American labor movement, I can see no serious reason against allowing them three months, or six months, or until the next convention, if they will resume the old title of the union.

The title of the union is not so vital to the point to be considered as is the unwarranted assumption of extension of jurisdiction by the organization, and it is not against the title the complaint is made; but it is against the operation of the union under its assumed jurisdiction over the entire garment-working industry. If it will be helpful to the Journeymen Tailors' Union, I will cheerfully amend the resolution to give them as long as their officers will say to this convention they believe is reasonably necessary for presenting to the membership the matter of resuming their former title; but I do think this convention should insist at this time that they begin to check their operation under their unwarranted assumption of title.

Delegate Bolander: I have no intention of entering into a long discussion of this subject. I am willing to recommend to our union that we cease to operate, so far as jurisdiction squabbles are concerned, or encroach upon the other unions. I also want this convention to recommend to the other unions that they do likewise towards us.

Delegate Keep: As a member of the Tailors' Industrial Union I will say that the convention held in Bloomington took action, that action was referred to a referendum vote, and the only time it has been possible to bring it before the American Federation of Labor is this time. I doubt if it is the intention of the men who voted for that in the Bloomington convention to cause any trouble. When they ask that the matter be referred to the Executive Council for a general conference, I think—and I know some of the tailors throughout the country, as I am a working tailor and not an officer—it will tend to settle the matter. I think the last part of the report, that the matter be referred to a conference, will settle the whole thing.

President Gompers: In order that the matter may be better understood by the delegates and the chair, I will ask whether April 1, 1915, is acceptable to the committee?

Delegate Rickert: I would like to ask the secretary of this organization if he will agree to cease all effort to organize the workers that properly belong in either of the other clothing organizations in the meantime.

Delegate Brais: I want to say to the chairman, and to be understood by all concerned, that we propose so far as we can to organize our industry as rapidly as possible in our trade. You can take that to mean what you please; but so far as the development in the trade goes on we propose to organize the custom trade.

President Gompers: The question is that the time within which the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America is expected to comply with the recommendation of the committee be set for April 1, 1915. All in favor of that particular question will signify by saying aye.

The suggestion of President Gompers

Digitized by Google

was carried, and the recommendation of the committee as amended was adopted.

Resolution No. 1—By the Delegation of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, The seamen are still subjected to involuntary servitude, being compelled, in contravention of fundamental Christian ethics and American policy, to fulfill any contract to labor; and

WHEREAS, This system, together with withholding from them not only all but even part of wages earned in ports of call, is driving from the sea its most efficient men; and

WHEREAS, This condition, accentuated by the absence of any standard of efficiency in the men employed, is the direct cause of such manslaughter at sea as took place in the wrecks of the Titanic, Volturno, Monroe, Empress of Ireland and others, amounting to more than 5000 persons within the last five years in passenger vessels alone; and

WHEREAS, It is now admitted by shipowners, foreign and American, that our present treaties and the laws made to correspond with them are driving not only the American but all white men from the sea; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we urge upon Congress and the President the immediate enactment of S. 136 into law, to the end that this crying evil may be abolished and the pledges made to the people be redeemed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the leader of the Senate, Senator Kern, the chairman of the Senate Committee of Commerce, Senator Clarke, and Senator La Follette.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution and urges upon the delegates, and through them the several organizations they represent, the urgency of the case and the need of immediate action. We especially request that the letters and messages be written and forwarded to members of Congress and the Senate asking for the passage of the seamen's bill without further delay.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, in discussing the question, said in part; There are sixteen treaties between the United States and foreign nations which will have to be changed according to this resolution. That has been taken advantage of by the shipowners of this country, who are in partnership with the shipowners of Europe, to raise a tremendous ruction here in this country through the adoption of resolutions by all kinds of commercial organizations. These things have been forced into the press, being sent into the business offices of the press in many instances. The shipowners have, through their tremendous influence, caused the different European governments to protest against this legislation. I ask you to take all the steps you can to assist us in this coming session of Congress, because in this session it will be finally determined whether the white man is to go to sea or not, whether America will have its flag on the ocean or not, because without the white man it cannot remain there.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Vice-President Perham in the chair.

Resolution No. 21—By Gas and Water Workers' Union, No. 9840, San Francisco, Cal.:

WHEREAS, Gas and Water Workers' Union, No. 9840, San Francisco, does hereby appeal to the convention of the A. F. of L. from the decision rendered by the Executive Council of A. F. of L., May 11, to 16, 1914, held at Washington, D. C., which reads: In the matter of Gas and Water Workers' Union, No. 9840, and Plumbers' Local, No. 442, San Francisco Gas and Water Workers' Union, No. 9840, shall apply to the International Association of Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters for charter for work done in laying of mains and running of services to gas meters other than high-pressure salt-water mains, which shall come under the jurisdiction of Plumbers' Union, No. 442, and in the meantime Gas and Water Workers' Union, No. 9840, and Plumbers' Union, No. 442, shall meet to determine their respective jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, A committee from our local and like committee from Plumbers' Union have met and have been unable to reach any agreement, on the ground that Plumbers' Local, No. 442, claims all pipe work now being done by members of our local; and

WHEREAS, Our members have no desire to claim jurisdiction over any work other than work at which our members are regularly employed, namely, laying and caulking of gas and water mains and running of services to meters; and

WHEREAS, We are compelled to protest against any union which may try to claim jurisdiction over any portion of the work our members are regularly employed at; and

WHEREAS, Charters have been issued to various unions throughout the country for the same class of work our members have been doing, and it seems

Digitized by Google

no complaint has been made against them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, We be accorded the same treatment as the other unions whose members are doing the same class of work as our members.

Your committee recommends that the subject-matter of the foregoing proposition be referred to the Executive Council, with the recommendation that it take steps to secure obedience to the decision of the Executive Council therein quoted, and that if necessary a further conference of the parties at interest be called, to the end that a speedy adjustment and settlement of the differences may be had.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Max Zuckerman, of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America:

WHEREAS, The millinery industry, consisting of ladies' cloth and straw hats, has by the force of a natural evolutionary development become a part of the cloth hatmaking industry, and was so acknowledged by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor as far back as 1903, when the jurisdiction over that trade was granted to the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America; and

WHEREAS, The United Hatters of North American claim jurisdiction over a small but important branch of that trade, in consequence of which the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, in order to avoid jurisdictional disputes and fights in the ranks, not only is kept back from systematic and complete organization work in that trade, but is also confronted with difficulties in times of strikes, when involuntarily one branch acts as a strike-breaking agency and assists the employers to break legitimate strikes; and

WHEREAS, In addition to that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has granted a few Federal charters to organizations in that trade, thereby creating jurisdictional disputes and causing a state of chaos to prevail in that trade; and

WHEREAS, The thousands of workers in that trade cannot be organized and their conditions improved until the question of jurisdiction is settled so that all branches of the trade are united; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to call a conference of the representatives of the United Hatters of North America and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America at its first meeting after the adjournment of this convention, and to settle once and for all the question of jurisdiction over that branch in order to make possible the effective organization of the millinery trade.

Your committee recommends that the entire subject-matter of the foregoing be referred to the Executive Council, with the instruction that a conference of the parties at interest, together with the Executive Council, be called for the earliest date possible after the adjournment of this convention, to the end that an agreement may be reached and a speedy adjustment of the differences be had.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 28—By the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters:

WHEREAS, The various national and international unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor have complete autonomy over their respective crafts; and

WHEREAS, Under this system of organization there has been no end to the number of disputes over the question of jurisdictional rights; and

WHEREAS, All such disputes could be prevented by having the workers of all crafts in an industry, under the jurisdiction of one organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of organization by industry, and take whatever steps that may be necessary to bring about such change.

Your committee recommends nonconcurrence in the foregoing resolution.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher, of the San Francisco Labor Council:

Mr. John A. O'Connell, Secretary, San Francisco Labor Council, San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sir and Brother: The Newspaper Solicitors' Union has for the past six years been like a football, kicked all over a ten-acre lot—and at the same time not kicked exactly over the fence surrounding said lot. The treatment received has measured exactly with the progress of the union—that is, the opposition within the labor movement as well as lack of co-operation, has prohibited the progress of the union. In fact, the conditions for solicitors are far worse to-day than six years ago.

Therefore, it is time this union be given official information as to its exact status from every standpoint. For the purpose of ascertaining this knowledge the Newspaper Solicitors' Union submits the following for this Council's delegate to the Philadelphia American Federation of Labor Convention to place before that body and receive the convention's reply thereto:

1. What is the status of Newspaper Solicitors' Union, No. 12,766, as an affiliated union of the A. F. of L.?

2. The Publishers' Association of San Francisco has for six years refused to deal with or recognize the

Digitized by Google

Newspaper Solicitors' Union. Resolution No. 29, Atlanta convention of the A. F. of L., in 1911, demanded that the Publishers' Association of San Francisco deal with and recognize the Newspaper Solicitors' Union. Written requests by the A. F. of L. to the Publishers' Association relative to this demand have received no consideration. What is the A. F. of L. going to do to bring about compliance with these demands?

3. The Allied Printing Trades unions, some of them singly, or through their affiliations, have at all times opposed and retarded any action of the Newspaper Solicitors' Union tending to coerce the Publishers' Association into recognizing the union. These unions have never assisted or co-operated with the Newspaper Solicitors' Union for the purpose of assisting this union, working in the same industry with them, to gain union recognition and conditions. What is the A. F. of L. going to do to stop this opposition and to gain the co-operation of these unions to assist the Newspaper Solicitors' Union in unionizing the newspapers of the Publishers' Association of San Francisco?

4. The directly chartered unions of the A. F. of L. pay a large percentage of the operating expenses of the A. F. of L. and receive practically no support in return from the A. F. of L. What is the A. F. of L. going to do to correct this existing condition?

Sincerely and fraternally yours,
Newspaper Solicitors' Union, No. 12,766.
(Signed) WILLIAM T. BONSOR,
President.

The questions propounded in the foregoing, having been brought to the attention of this convention through the proper official channels, it but accords with the dignity of the convention that a categorical answer be furnished, although the tone of the letter itself seems such as would justify the convention in ignoring the communication.

In answer to the first question propounded your committee begs leave to report that the writer of the letter may obtain information as to the exact status of his organization by making inquiry at the office of the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

In regard to the second question, your committee begs to report that the same be referred to the Executive Council as the proper and only body to give the information requested.

In regard to the third question, your committee begs leave to report that the action requested is beyond the power of the American Federation of Labor and that therefore it cannot state that the relief requested will be granted.

In regard to the fourth question, the premise thereof is incorrect and, being incorrect, no answer is needed.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Mahon asked the chairman of the committee to state the number of members in the Newspaper Solicitors' Union of San Francisco.

Chairman McCullough stated that the secretary informed him that the Solicitors' Union of San Francisco paid per capita tax upon 22 members, and that he had been assured by the executive officer of at least one of the printing trades of San Francisco that the Newspaper Solicitors of that city had but two members. Delegate Gallagher requested the chairman to state the name of the officer who had stated there were but two members. Chairman McCullough stated that the officer he referred to was George Tracy, president of Typographical Union No. 21.

The question was discussed by Delegate Gallagher, Chairman McCullough, President Gompers and Delegate Furuseth.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers in the chair.

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Thomas Conway, of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, The United States Steamboat Inspection Service, a bureau of the Department of Commerce, is required by law to provide for safeguards to life and property in the navigation of steam vessels; and

WHEREAS, Organizations of the maritime workers, particularly the International Seamen's Union of America, have found that the Steamboat Inspection Service has failed in its duty to the public under previous national administrations, and that it has not been improved since the inauguration of the present administration; and

WHEREAS, A number of the marine disasters which have occurred recently could have been prevented, or the losses minimized, if the United States Steamboat Inspection Service had performed its full duty under the law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Hon. Wm. C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, is hereby requested to cause an investigation to be made of the said Steamboat Inspection Service with a view of making such changes in the methods of that bureau as to make it serviceable to the general public.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing and asks that the convention instruct the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor to immediately communicate to Hon. Wm. C. Redfield, Secretary of Com-

Digitized by Google

merce, a copy of the foregoing resolution, with the request that he give it his favorable consideration, and that he take action in compliance therewith.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Thos F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, The principle of old-age retirement for superannuated civil service employes is now generally recognized in every country in the world; and

WHEREAS, The conpensation of the Government employes in the United States is insufficient to permit of adequate savings against old age; and

WHEREAS, The retirement of the aged Government employes of this country is desirable from a humane as well as a business standpoint; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the movement among the organizations of Government civil service employes to secure the enactment of a satisfactory retirement law for superannuated Federal workers; and be it further

Resolved, That the Legislative Committee be instructed to confer with affiliated bodies of Federal civil service employes to aid in the passage of a suitable retirement measure.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution and that the convention instruct the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to take whatever action is necessary or possible to secure the enactment of laws making suitable provision for the retirement of superannuated Federal employes.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, A bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman David Lewis, of Maryland, provides for the reclassification of salaries of postal clerks and letter carriers, increasing the maximum to $1400 per annum in first-class postoffices and to $1300 in second-class postoffices; and

WHEREAS, The salaries of postal employes have not been increased proportionately with the higher cost of living, nor do they receive a wage commensurate with the important, exacting duties they are required to perform; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse the Lewis bill and instruct its Legislative Committee to co-operate with the officers of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks to secure this wage increase for the postal employes.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the above resolution and that the convention instruct the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to co-operate with and assist the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in securing the wage increase asked for the postal employes.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended the following resolution to read:

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate Henry Nolda, of the Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, Legislation has been enacted by several of our States commonly known as employers' liability and workmen's compensation act; and

WHEREAS, The city of Washington, District of Columbia, is governed by the House and Senate of the United States, whose duty it is to pass laws affecting the interests of its citizens; and

WHEREAS, The city of Washington is without this humane and much-needed law at the present time; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed through the Executive Council to lend its aid toward the passage of legislation that will bring about a model workmen's compensation law for the working people of the District of Columbia.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended, and that the efforts to secure the passage of a workmen's compensation law that will properly provide for and protect the workers of the District of Columbia be endorsed.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate Henry Nolda, of the Central Labor Union, of Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The splendid growth and the high standing of the American Federation of Labor in this country has been brought about largely through the intelligent leadership of the president, Samuel Gompers, and the indefatigable work on the part of its secretary, Frank Morrison; and

WHEREAS, The salaries paid these officials in comparison with salaries paid to officials occupying positions of far less importance and responsibility in our industrial establishments is much too small; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That on and after January 1, 1915, the salary of the president of the A. F. of L. be made $7,500 per year, and that of the secretary of the A. F. of L. be made $5,000 a year.

Your committee returns this resolution to the convention without recommendation, feeling that whatever action is taken on this topic should come

Digitized by Google

from the floor of the convention and not from a committee.

Delegate Kirby, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters: I move you, Mr. Chairman, that the resolution be concurred in and the salaries of our officers increased. (Seconded.)

President Gompers made a brief statement, in part as follows: When in the first five years of the existence of the Federation I gave service without any compensation or salary, then when the question was that a salary of $1,000 be paid, then the question of raising it to $1,200 three or four years later came up, and so on, I never remained in the convention hall while a question of that character was up. I always thought I ought not embarrass the delegates of the convention in discussing the question. In 1907 you raised the salary of the president to $5,000 and the salary of the secretary to $4,000. The constitution provides that the salary shall be determined at the convention of the American Federation of Labor. It has never been broached since the Norfolk convention; it has simply been taken as a matter of fact that that salary, unless it was otherwise determined, should continue. When I was in Europe as a fraternal delegate five years ago one of the biggest things that was hurled against our movement and against me in Paris was the idea of a man in the labor movement getting 25,000 francs a year. We have a great mass of men and women of labor who are yet unorganized, and while you who have worked with me so long would understand, to them a salary of such character would be appalling, and it is my earnest wish, and I say it to you in all candor, that you do not do it.

Delegate Scott, of the International Typographical Union, in the chair.

Delegate Gallagher, of San Francisco, spoke in favor of the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Furuseth stated that he was opposed to increasing the salaries, not that the officers did not earn more than their present salary, but the millions of unorganized people throughout the country who were being appealed to would take the view of it that President Gompers had stated.

Delegate Kirby and Delegate Nolda spoke in favor of the adoption of the resolution.

The motion to adopt the resolution was carried by a vote of 150 in the affirmative to 33 in the negative.

President Gompers stated that one of the vice-presidents who usually presented gifts from the delegates in the convention to the fraternal delegates was absent on committee work, and had requested that the chairman of the convention make the presentation of a gift to Fraternal Delegate Rigg, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

President Gompers made a brief address, in which he expressed the pleasure of the convention in having present a delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, and in behalf of the delegates presented to Delegate Rigg a handsome gold watch, suitably inscribed.

Fraternal Delegate Rigg expressed his appreciation of the gift, and spoke briefly of the pleasant relations existing between the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers stated that Delegate Barnes, of the Cigarmakers' Union, and Delegate Shanessy, of the Barbers' International Union, had been selected as a committee to ask the delegates to subscribe to the fund for a gift for the fraternal delegate; that they had done so and selected the gift, and the balance of the fund, $116, would be sent to the non-combatants and sufferers in Belgium through the relief committee in Philadelphia.

President Gompers: I am in receipt of a letter from a gentleman by the name of John Moreland, who says he is so impressed with the attitude of this convention of the American Federation of Labor as he has read it in the press that he would have liked to shake the hands of a number of the delegates, the names of whom he gives, and as an evidence of his feeling he says that he transmits a check to me to the amount of $28.97, 5 per cent. of what he owns, and asks that it be made a contribution to the strikers in the textile industry at Atanta, Ga.

At 6 o'clock the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9.30 a. m., Thursday, November 19.

Digitized by Google

TENTH DAY—Thursday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m. Thursday, November 19, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Wenneis, Rosenberg (E.), Wilson (J.), Watt, Clark (T. G.), Carrigan, Horton, Conlon, Greener, Young, Keppler, Galloway, Cahalane, O'Dell, Walck, Reinhard, Lowe, Marcusy, Kay, McGrath (R. J.), Laylor, Bradley, Butler, Newberry, Kelly (E. H.), Forker, Collmer, Duddy, Givens.

Report of Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Delegate Furuseth, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 94—By Delegates G. W. Perkins, T. F. Tracy, J. Mahlon Barnes, Phil. H. Mueller and Samuel Gompers, of the Cigarmakers' International Union of America:

RESOLVED, That the editor of the American Federationist be and is hereby instructed to contribute, bimonthly, articles in the American Federationist bearing upon the subject-matter of the resolution adopted by the Seattle convention.

Such resolution known as Resolution No. 34, page 163, Proceedings of the Seattle convention.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing, and that the editor of the American Federationist be instructed to carry out the purpose of the resolution in such way as shall appear to him prudent or expedient.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate William McPherson, of the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, A great number of vehicles, both horse-drawn and motor-driven, are used and owned by the United States Government for service in its various departments; and

WHEREAS, None of these vehicles are made in union shops or under anything approaching union conditions, to our knowledge; and

WHEREAS, We do positively know that such firms as the Armleeder Company, of Cincinnati, Ohio, has received contracts for such work, and has done such work on a ten-hour basis, with the added piecework features; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested by this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention to take this matter up with the proper authorities in Washington, D. C., at its earliest convenience and endeavor to bring such pressure to bear as will eliminate this condition of affairs and will result in having this work, both new and repair work, done in union shops or factories by union labor and under union conditions.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take whatever steps it may to accomplish the purpose of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegates A. P. Sovey, Alfred Bieber and Mary R. Sullivan, of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has on two occasions rendered decisions which gave to the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders jurisdiction over single wrapping in all binderies; and

WHEREAS, The Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor confirmed by a unanimous vote the decision of the Executive Council in this regard; and

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union has persistently ignored and openly defied the plain intent and purpose of the decisions of the Executive Council and the American Federation of Labor, which awarded jurisdiction over single wrapping in all binderies to the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; and

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union is affiliated to and subordinate to the American Federation of Labor, and must, therefore, abide by the decisions of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, It is imperative that discipline be maintained and the judgment of the American Federation of Labor recognized as supreme and its decisions accepted as final; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the international unions forming the International Allied Printing Trades Association, and all other unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, be instructed to

Digitized by Google

recognize and respect the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders over single wrapping in all binderies, as decreed by the Executive Council and the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Typographical Union be and hereby is instructed to immediately relinquish all claim to jurisdiction over single wrapping in binderies, and to surrender at once to the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders such single wrapping as it may now control, in accordance with the decision of the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event the International Typographical Union fails to fully comply with these decisions of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and of the American Federation of Labor itself, or seeks to evade a complete compliance with these demands and instructions, the Executive Council is authorized and instructed to use all powers vested in it and in the American Federation of Labor to command enforcement of the decisions of the Executive Council and the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that the entire subject-matter of the foregoing resolution be referred to the Executive Council for such action as it may deem proper.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Sovey, of the Bookbinders, in discussing the question, said in part: I am merely asking that the authority of the American Federation of Labor in disputes of this kind be recognized. A decision was rendered twice by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The first time different interpretations were placed upon the decision by the representatives of the International Typographical Union and the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders. In order to set this straight, the Board of Governors of the Allied Printing Trades Association reported this matter to the Executive Council and asked that body to render a clear and unmistakable verdict—in other words, to interpret its own decision—which it did in terms that cannot be misunderstood. Even then, when the Executive Council interpreted its decision, our friends of the Typographical Union refused to accept it. The matter was brought before the American Federation of Labor in Seattle through another resolution, and the Seattle convention adopted the report of the committee, which was that single wrapping and all binding belonged by right to the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders. This matter has been referred to the Executive Council again, or the committee so recommends. With the report of the committee I am perfectly satisfied. We have never brought the matter to the attention of the American Federation of Labor because we never doubted that we had complete control over this work. It was brought here by the Typographical Union, and I think it ought to in good faith accept the verdict of the court of its own choosing.

Delegate Scott, of the International Typographical Union: I am in favor of the report of the committee. I shall not take up any of the time of the convention in presenting arguments or references here this morning, because you have matters of great importance to consider; but I do not believe that any decision ever handed down by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was intended to be construed to give a license to any members of any union to seek the places of members of another union at a lower rate of wages.

Delegate Sullivan (Mary), in discussing the question, said in part: The statement of the former speaker is not true. I represent the lady bookbinders, and I know we have always done this work. In my childhood days we did it. It is not true that we do it for lower wages. The mailers do it by day's work for three dollars; the girls do it piecework, and have been known to earn four and five dollars. I object to any woman doing work if she does not receive the same wages as the men receive for the same work.

Delegate Sullivan, in concluding her discussion, stated that the Typographical Union was not to blame for the conditions that were complained of, but the mailers' organization, affiliated to the Typographical Union, had formed a dual organization to the bookbinders in New York city, and described at some length the methods employed by that organization.

Delegate Stevenson discussed the question briefly. He referred to the fact that in former years all the printing trades were in one organization, and as they became dissatisfied with the affiliation they were allowed to go; that the International Typographical Union had organized the mailers, and if the time came

Digitized by Google

when they wished a separate organization they would be allowed to go.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers, stated that he did not desire to discuss the merits of the case, but, as a representative of one of the allied printing trades, he felt it ought to be adjusted as soon as possible; that it not only affected the two organizations involved, but the five other organizations in the Allied Printing Trades Association especially in dealing with the question of the label.

Delegate McCullough, chairman of the committee: I would like to say a word for the information of the delegates. The committee understood from the frank statement made to it by Brother Sovey, president of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, that he would be satisfied with reference of this matter to the Executive Council, as the committee recommends, for such action as it may deem proper. That is why the committee made the recommendation.

Delegate Freel, Stereotypers: As a representative of one of the international printing trades, I favor the committee's report, believing that if it is referred to the Executive Council the matter will be finally settled.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.) discussed the matter at some length, dealing principally with the situation in New York.

Delegate Bieber discussed the New York situation briefly. The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 106—By Delegates A. P. Sovey, Alfred Bieber and Mary R. Sullivan, of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union is, in an indirect manner, fostering and maintaining in New York city a dual organization of women bindery workers, known as Women's Auxiliary of Mailers' Union No. 6; and

WHEREAS, Members of the International Typographical Union have been active in distributing printed circulars to the membership of the New York Bindery Women's Union, No. 43, of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, which teem with false and malicious statements against the officers of said Bindery Women's Union; and

WHEREAS, The intent and purpose of this infamous work is unquestionably to encourage secession and to deprive the women members of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders of their jurisdictional rights to single wrapping in the binderies of New York; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has had presented to it on two different occasions the claims of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders and of the International Typographical Union to this particular character of work, and in each instance has decided that aside from the single wrapping of newspapers all mailing done in binderies rightfully comes under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; and

WHEREAS, The Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor unanimously concurred in the decisions of the Executive Council in this regard; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the International Typographical Union be instructed to dissolve immediately the dual bindery women's organization in New York city, known as Women's Auxiliary of Mailers' Union, No. 6; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Typographical Union be instructed to refrain from aiding or abetting any further dual movement among men and women workers who of right belong under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

The foregoing resolution is identical with Resolution No. 121, introduced at the Seattle convention, there referred to the Committee on Adjustment, and by that committee reported back to the convention with the recommendation that the entire subject-matter be referred to the Executive Council. The matter is yet in the hands of the Executive Council as unfinished business. Your committee therefore has no further report to make upon this proposition.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegate Sovey, of the Bookbinders; Delegate Scott, Typographical Union; Delegate Sullivan, of the Bookbinders; Treasurer Lennon and Delegate McCullough, chairman of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, J. H. Fricke, E. H. Foley, A. J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, It is essential that all unions engaged in the transportation industries be organized into a joint defensive central body; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be instructed to organize a Transportation Department within the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that the foregoing be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions that it take

Digitized by Google

whatever action it may deem wise or expedient in connection therewith.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 127—By Delegates J. E. Giles, Local No. 11,773, of Washington, D. C.; Mary Galvin, Local No. 12,755, Chicago, Ill., and Alice S. Bean, Local No. 12,646, New York:

WHEREAS, The stenographers, typewriters, bookkeepers, accountants and office clerks generally throughout the country are now and always have been compelled to work for very meagre wages, and under unfavorable conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Philadelphia convention of the American Federation of Labor urges the organizers of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the affiliated national and international unions to use their best efforts and render every assistance possible in organizing the stenographers, typewriters, bookkeepers, accountants and office clerks throughout the country; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor designate one of its special organizers to work among the office employes of the country as long as practicable during the coming year.

Resolution No. 142—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, During recent years office workers in Washington, New York, Indianapolis, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Denver, San Francisco and other cities have organized into local unions; and,

WHEREAS, The need of organization among office workers is as great as in any other calling, and many of the office workers are coming to a realization of the fact that no short-cut road will bring them to better wages and conditions; and,

WHEREAS, Nearly all of the above-named local unions have expressed themselves in favor of forming a national union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to make an investigation into existing organizations of office workers, the need for such organizations, the field for further organization and the whole question of the advisability of organizing a national union, and to make an early report of its findings; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the meantime the general organizers of the American Federation of Labor, in connection with the central labor bodies, be instructed to begin the organization of office workers wherever possible in any of the cities of the United States having a population of over 100,000 inhabitants.

The subject-matter of the foregoing resolutions being practically identical, your committee considered them together and recommends concurrence in the purpose of these resolutions, and that they be referred to the Executive Council with instructions that it give whatever assistance it may to the furtherance of the organiation among office workers throughout the country.

Your committee is not clear, however, that the activity of the Executive Council in this direction should stop at cities of 100,000, for the reason that in many of the smaller cities of the United States many organizations employing a large number of office workers will be found, and these office workers are just as much entitled to the attention and assistance of the American Federation of Labor as are those who spend their lives in the huge office buildings of the larger cities.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Scharrenberg: The figure is given for the very obvious fact that in the larger cities an organization of that kind will be able to maintain itself. In a smaller city it will probably be up against difficulties that will necessitate the services of an organizer for a long time. That is why 100,000 is used; not to deprive the smaller cities of the benefit of organization.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 140—By Delegates J. C. Williams, Jos D. Cannon and Jas. Shea, of the Western Federation of Miners:

WHEREAS, All the workers are familiar with the long-drawn-out struggle which was waged by the copper miners of the State of Michigan and the fact that the fight was declared at an end by them because of the inability of the international organization to further provide the necessaries of life for its striking members and those dependent upon them. In addition to the many hardships imposed upon the striking miners, 631 arrests were made, the offenses ranging from making a noise in the streets to the crime of murder. Many of these cases found their way into the court, but out of the entire number only two convictions were recorded on minor offenses, but there are yet three men confined in the jail of Houghton, Mich., charged with a crime which we are convinced we will be able to prove to a fair and impartial jury was committed by gunmen in the employ of the Waddell-Mahon and Ascher strike-breaking agencies. These men have been incarcerated since the early part of March, and are now being transferred to Marquette County, Mich., to be tried on a charge of murder. In addition to the direct charge of murder against these three men, 36 members of

Digitized by Google

the miners' organization, including all of its officers and Executive Board members, have been indicted by a Grand Jury as accessories, and, in fact, are facing trial for the same offense should convictions be obtained in the cases of the three men now on trial.

WHEREAS, The Western Federation of Miners, because of the long and expensive conflict in Michigan, which caused that federation to incur considerable indebtedness for commissary supplies to the families of the strikers, followed by a suspension of operations in the metal mines throughout its jurisdiction, owing to the depression brought about in the metal market through the European war; and,

WHEREAS, The aforesaid conditions, coupled with the efforts now being made by many of the larger employers to disrupt the miners' movement, leaves us in a position which renders it impossible for us to finance the defense of the men now on trial; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that all affiliated bodies be called upon to render all possible financial assistance, by making such appropriations from their treasuries and otherwise as all may be able to give.

Your committee concurs in the foregoing and recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to take whatever action it may under the law to secure immediate assistance for the Western Federation of Miners.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 153—By Delegate Elisabeth Christman, of the International Glove Workers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, Fifteen hundred glove cutters have been on strike since August 21 in Gloversville and Johnstown, N. Y., the great fine glove centre of this country, to secure an increase in wages, as no increase in wages has been received for the past seventeen years and the New York State Mediation Board reported after their recent investigation into the causes of the strike that the average wage of the cutters for 52 weeks was $13.30; and,

WHEREAS, The employers have rejected the recommendation of the abovenamed board for an increase of 15 cents per dozen, while the strikers voted to accept it. This refusal means a determination on the part of the employers to continue the fight, and our strikers are equally determined to hold out, as they must have an increase in wages to meet in some measure the increased cost of living of to-day; and,

WHEREAS, The glove trade being the only industry in that locality, nearly all the workers are engaged in some branch of the trade, so that in all about 8000 are involved in the strike, making the need for relief especially great; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, vote to assist the glovemakers in this strike by directing the officers to issue an appeal to all affiliated organizations for funds, and that the delegates, upon their return home, urge upon their members the need of their generous assistance in this strike.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution and that the appeal for assistance be sent forward through the proper channels at the earliest possible moment, to the end that these unorganized workers who are making a desperate struggle to better their conditions and are standing firmly against the rapacity and greed of unscrupulous and dictatorial employers be given the material assistance they are so urgently in need of, together with the assurance that the moral support of the American Federation of Labor is always behind any body of workers, organized or unorganized, who are seeking to improve their conditions and better their surroundings in life. We also recommend that a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor proceed immediately on the adjournment of this convention to Gloversville and Johnstown, there to confer with the employers and the workers who are now out on strike, to the end that an adjustment, if possible, be speedily brought about, and we further desire to express our condemnation of the unreasonable attitude assumed by the glove manufacturers of Gloversville and Johnstown in refusing to listen to the views of the New York State Board of Mediation and the influences that have sought to terminate this bitter industrial struggle.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Christman: I hope this will go out as soon as possible, because the need for funds is so great. These people have been on strike for fourteen weeks. The average wage of the men when working is $13.30. You will realize their great need after being on strike for fourteen weeks.

Delegate Frayne spoke briefly of the strike in Gloversville, of the efforts that had been made to organize the glove workers and the difficulties that had been encountered, owing to the

Digitized by Google

fact that entire families worked in the industry, and if one member became interested in organization all the members of that family were discharged. In closing, he expressed the hope that a generous response would be made to the appeal.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The committee read the following portion of the proceedings of the eighth day when the appeal of the Western Federation of Miners, the glove workers and textile workers were discussed:

"Secretary Morrison spoke at some length of the assistance that had been given the textile workers, the glove workers and other organizations that have been on strike, and moved: 'That the appeal be referred to the Committee on Report of the Executive Council, to be considered with the appeal of the glove workers and the appeal of the Western Federation of Miners, to allow the committee to bring in a report of such character as would meet with the approval of the delegates, and in that way be able to give the assistance that is required to the Atlanta, Gloversville and Calumet people who are in distress.' (Seconded.)"

Your committee recommends that the entire subject-matter contained in this motion be referred to the Executive Council with instructions that it take whatever action it may looking to the relief of the textile workers.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

In conclusion, your committee would like to again recommend to the delegates to this convention and to all who are interested in the labor movement of America, a careful study of the report of the Executive Council made to this convention. As stated in the introduction, your committee gave full consideration to all matters laid before it either by the Executive Council or by the convention itself and in submitting these matters to the convention for a final disposition we have done so with the firmest conviction that the judgment of the committee has been reached and is here expressed after fully hearing and carefully giving an impartial consideration of the merits of all matters presented to it.

We again bid the workers of America to be of good cheer, for their cause is right, and right will ultimately prevail. Very respectfully submitted,

T. W. McCULLOUGH,
Chairman,
JAMES WILSON,
ANDREW FURUSETH,
WM. GREEN,
T. V. O'CONNOR,
MARTIN LAWLOR,
THOS. F. TRACY,
HOMER D. CALL,
T. W. ROWE,
J. J. SWEENEY,
JERE L. SULLIVAN,
FRANK X. NOSCHANG,
GEO. W. BOPE,
EDW. F. GREINER,
FRANK M. BUMP,
Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Chairman McCullough: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as amended as a whole. (Seconded and carried by unanimous vote.)

Delegate Gallagher, San Francisco, obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution and submitted the following:

Resolution No. 163—By Andrew J. Gallagher, San Francisco Labor Council:

This convention of the American Federation of Labor notes with the deepest regret the untimely demise of our beloved brother and fellow delegate, Louis W. Kemper.

We, who have been closely associated with Brother Kemper, can testify to his devotion to the cause of organized labor, which he so loyally and efficiently represented during the many years of service as an officer of the International Union of United Brewery Workmen, where he insisted that throughout the land there should be an active and practical service on the part of all brewery workmen to the principle that "an injury to one is the concern of all."

We keenly feel the loss of Brother Kemper, and until his place shall be filled we know that his loss will make the burden a little heavier and harder; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fourth Annual Convention assembled, that the president of this Federation is hereby

Digitized by Google

requested to convey to the relatives of Brother Kemper an expression of our deep regret and sorrow at his untimely death; and that these expressions of our sentiments be engrossed and presented to the family of Brother Kemper, who feel his loss more keenly even than do we.

Delegate Gallagher: I move the adoption of the resolution by a rising vote of this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous rising vote.

Report of Committee on Adjustment.

Chairman O'Connell: The Committee on Adjustment is presenting its report in accordance with the manner in which it was submitted to us—first, on the portions of the Executive Council's report in rotation. Resolutions that have been introduced by the delegates to this convention bearing upon any portion of that report or having to do with any subject pertaining to the Executive Council's report are moved forward to that part of it. Resolutions that have no connection with the Executive Council's report will be reported in their numerical order. We give this information so that the committee will not be charged with giving preference to some cases.

Delegate Golden, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Shingle Weavers—Change of Title.

Page 112, Executive Council's report. The action of the Executive Council in granting the International Union of Shingle Weavers, Saw Mill Workers and Woodsmen a change of title to the International Union of Timber Workers, without any extension of jurisdiction, is approved.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President Alpine in the chair.

Glass Bottle Blowers—Extension of Jurisdiction.

Page 112, Executive Council's report. The action of the Executive Council was approved.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Railroad Telegraphers—Application for Extension of Jurisdiction.

Pages 112-113, Executive Council's report. Denying extension of jurisdiction by Executive Council is approved.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Longshoremen—Application for Extension of Jurisdiction.

Page 113, Executive Council's report. The International Longshoremen petitioned for extension of jurisdiction over men employed in marine warehouses. The subject- matter is referred to the Executive Council with instructions to have a personal investigation made as to whether the Brotherhood of Railroad Freight Handlers has or is organizing marine warehousemen, or is, under its jurisdiction now held, prepared to organize such workmen. If not, the Executive Council is authorized to extend jurisdiction over marine warehousemen to the International Longshoremen's Association.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Amalgamation of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men.

Pages 114 to 124, Executive Council's report, and Resolution 115, by delegation of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegates Matt Comerford, R. G. Moser, John J. Glass, Jas. G. Hannahan, of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, The Steam Shovel and Dredge Engineers are a part of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineeers, and known in that organization as Local Union No. 440; and,

WHEREAS, A joint conference was held in the city of Chicago by the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, officers of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor, officers of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and officers of both factions of existing Steam Shovel and Dredgemen's organizations; and,

WHEREAS, It was agreed at this conference by unanimous vote that all engineers following this line of industry must hold membership in the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and,

WHEREAS, Later a conference has been held without representatives of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor or representatives of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers being present, resulting in a proposition of granting the two organizations a charter by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

Digitized by Google

RESOLVED, That this charter be not granted and jurisdiction over this work be granted to the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

Your committee approves of the plan as outlined by the Executive Council for the amalgamation of the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and recommends that when such organization is perfected the Executive Council render such assistance as it can in the matter of bringing about an adjustment or working agreement with such organizations as may be closely allied with the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

The committee has been informed by wire that the plan of amalgamation as outlined heretofore was adopted by both organizations by an overwhelming majority.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Comerford, Engineers, in discussing the question, said in part: At the Seattle convention the delegates representing the engineers protested against the issuance of this charter. We are here to-day to again protest against its issuance. If this charter is placed in the field, which it seems you are about to do, the members of our organization will regard it as nothing less than a raid on our membership, and we are here to tell you we will not work in harmony, nor will we tolerate such organizations being placed in competition with our hoisting engineers if we can prevent it.

Some three years ago we attempted to bring about settlement of this dispute between these rival organizations and issue this charter to the International Brotherhood; and we have succeeded in getting a great many men into that body and had our hoisting and portable locals turn over a number of engineers to that organization. Now we find that as soon as they have some reasonable assurance that a charter will be granted by the American Federation of Labor, our Local, No. 440, or what is known as the International Brotherhood, immediately discontinued the payment of per capita tax on these men, which proves conclusively to us they intend to become a rival organization of our hoisting engineers.

We intend to fight any such organization to the very limit of our endurance. Yesterday a telegram was sent to the President of the American Federation of Labor, read here, and I find it embodied in the proceedings this morning, from our friend, Mr. Dolan. He has told the American Federation of Labor that Comerford went to New York and threw a monkey wrench into the machinery of amalgamation. Mr. Dolan could not pay me a higher compliment, because I did go to New York and agree with those men to grant them a charter, and a charter will be delivered to them within a week. I might remind Mr. Dolan, and perhaps the convention, that it did not require any such heavy tool as a monkey wrench to upset his plans in New York—a feather would have accomplished the purpose, because he had a very weak institution in that city. These men met in the largest meeting they have held, without any representative of our organization being present, and unanimously voted to request us to give them a charter. We intend to grant it and give those men every support in our power, whether you issue this charter or not.

These raids upon our organization have made our membership sick and tired of it, and some of them even went so far as to say to us, "Why should you stay inside an organization that is trying to dismember you?" We have said to those fellows, "We will not get on the outside; we will stay inside and fight it out as long as we can," but you can take it from me when this charter is issued we will disturb the peace as much as we can here inside so long as any organization attempts to take engineers away from us.

Delegate Furuseth: Certain dredgemen, the men engaged on certain vessels, are, according to the law of the United States and according to Supreme Court decisions in the eight-hour case, seamen, and therefore were refused the benefit of the eight-hour law. I am only reminding you that there are certain dredgemen who are compelled to sign articles as seamen, and those, of course, you will have sense enough to leave alone.

Vice-President O'Connell, chairman of the committee, in discussing the question, said in part: The committee having this under consideration was governed largely by the action of several previous conventions of this body. The subject of amalgamating these

Digitized by Google

two bodies of the steam shovel and dredgemen has been a matter of controversy in our conventions for several years. The last two or three conventions have ordered an amalgamation into one organization. The claim for a certain portion of the members of these organizations by the engineers, of course, was not the question for consideration by the committee, because of prior action of the American Federation of Labor.

The statement in the resolution introduced by the engineers that they were not present at the last conference held, nor was the Mining Department represented, is true; but the records show that at the conference held prior to the time at which the engineers and the representative of the Mining Department were present, at that conference was worked out a plan of amalgamation which was agreed to by all parties present. The last conference held was purely for the purpose of working out the details of the constitution to govern the amalgamated body, and hence no one was interested except the two parties at war. The committee has been governed by the action of the American Federation of Labor heretofore, to amalgamate these two organizations into one organization, and that a charter be granted.

Delegate McCarthy (P. H.), in discussing the question, said in part: I never understood, and I do not now, from the report of the committee, that we are going to indulge in the peculiar method of bringing about a number of international organizations of engineers. I have always understood that when they were brought together they would be under the one roof of the engineers of this country. Do I understand from the report of the committee that they are at some later date to be chartered as a separate international? If that is going to be the program you can rest assured you will have trouble and the labor movement is not going to be benefited by a few gentlemen coming together and calling themselves an international association of dredgemen, or whatever name you may assign to them.

Delegate O'Connor (T. V.) spoke in support of the report of the committee. He stated that the Engineers had not organized the steam shovel men; that they had been organized before an agreement was made between that organization and the steam shovel men; that the agreement had been carried out faithfully by the Brotherhood of Steam Shovel Men, but it had not been carried out by the Engineers.

Delegate O'Connor referred briefly to the history of the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, stating that they had had an organization for sixteen years before the dual organization was formed on the Pacific coast, and the time had arrived to make an organization out of the factions of the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

Delegate Hannahan, of the Engineers, stated that he concurred in what Delegate Comerford had said, but desired to call attention to the importance of the report of the committee in regard to granting a charter to the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen. He stated that if the American Federation of Labor seated another organization of engineers every organization would be liable to have the same proposition confronting it in the next convention; that the greatest possible mistake that could be made by the convention would be to grant a charter and give further consideration to dual organizations.

Vice-President O'Connell, chairman of the committee: There is this point in connection with the subject that must not be overlooked. Previous conventions have ordered an amalgamation, and if that was brought about the Executive Council was instructed to issue a charter to the Amalgamated Association. This subject comes here only in the report of the Executive Council as a part of the business of the year. Had the two organizations by vote agreed to the proposition prior to this convention going into session, the charter would have been granted by the Executive Council on authority of the American Federation of Labor.

Treasurer Lennon: In your report, what is signified as to the continuation of steam shovel men who are not members of the Stationary Engineers? What is the status of that phase of the case?

The chairman of the committee stated that no phase of the question that might be controversial had been touched upon by the committee.

Delegate Gallagher, San Francisco: In

Digitized by Google

Atlanta I introduced the resolution which brought about this amalgamation. When I introduced the resolution in Atlanta I had this in mind, and this alone: That these men would be chartered as a separate international union; and they should be. I have just one more idea, and it is this: That this proposition of internationals finding men organized and going after them to grab them, when the field is open all over the country to organize other men, does not set well with me at all.

President Gompers, in speaking on the question, said in part: I cannot understand quite clearly the position taken by Delegates Comerford and Hannahan, of the Engineers, upon this question. There was a conference in the early part of the year, in which the representatives of the Engineers and Longshoremen were present and participated, in addition to the representative of the two steam shovelmen's organizations and the representative of the American Federation of Labor. In those conferences the matter was discussed, and it was finally decided by agreement—which all parties agreed to and signed—that this charter would be issued by the American Federation of Labor. Nothing has arisen since then to change the situation. It seemed as though the two organizations would drift apart, in spite of the agreement. The agreement provided that either the President of the American Federation of Labor, or a representative appointed by him, should attend any further conference and act in that capacity. Mr. Perkins, president of the Cigarmakers' International Union, was appointed, and gave many days' service, to the satisfaction of both parties concerned. They failed to agree upon a few fundamental points, and the Executive Council directed that I try my hand at it again. I did, and the result of it was that an agreement was reached as to the internal affairs of the organization when amalgamated, and nothing has been changed so far as the agreement is concerned, as to the relations of the Steam Shovel Men and the Engineers. The action of the Executive Council, approved by the convention of the American Federation of Labor, protects the relations of the two organizations, and there isn't anything in the agreement which in the slightest degree changes those relations.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Cigar Makers—Stogie Makers.

Pages 124-125, Executive Council's report. The plan is approved by the committee, and we express the hope that it will be carried into effect.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Brewery Workers—Coopers.

Pages 125-126, Executive Council's report. All parties in interest appearing before the committee agreed that this subject-matter be left in the hands of the Executive Council for adjudication during the coming year.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Kugler, of the Brewery Workers, in discussing the question, objected to the telegram sent by the coopers' international organization, printed in the proceedings of the convention, stating that the agreement that had been voted upon by the brewery workers, and ratified by them, would not be ratified by the coopers' international organization. He stated that the brewery workers did not like to see language of that kind embodied in the records of the American Federation of Labor; that the organization he represented was willing at all times to give every possible assistance to the coopers, and he did not like to have it appear that the brewery workers were trying to take possession of the coopers by might.

Vice-President O'Connell, chairman of the committee: We did not go into the case at all. We reported what both delegations agreed to—that both organizations would take it up during the year. The committee gave the telegram no consideration.

Delegate Kugler: I understand that very well, but it may leave a wrong impression that the coopers will go home and expect an agreement from the brewery workers, because the proposition came from their delegation asking that it be held in abeyance for another year.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Plate Printers—Printing Pressmen.

Pages 126-127, Executive Council's report. The plan outlined is approved

Digitized by Google

by the committee and it expresses the hope that the same will be carried into effect.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Stove Mounters—Sheet Metal Workers.

Pages 127-128, Executive Council's report. Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to continue its efforts in the direction of securing an amalgamation of the organizations at interest.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Machinists—Elevator Constructors.

Pages 128-129, Executive Council's report, and Resolution No. 151.

Resolution No. 151—By Delegate Wm. H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor unanimously adopted the following report of the Adjustment Committee:

"The Committee on Adjustment wishes to make the following declaration and recommendations: Whatever argument or excuse there might have been in the past for the existence of two organizations of the one craft, we now believe that such argument or excuse is absent. It is the unanimous opinion of the Committee on Adjustment, many of whose members have had to deal with disputes caused by the existence of two organizations of one craft for many years, that the time has arrived for the American Federation of Labor to openly and emphatically declare itself to the effect, that, large as this country is, it is not large enough to hold two organizations of the one craft. Therefore, your committee recommends that this Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes squarely on record in favor of the above declaration, and your committee further recommends that this convention instruct the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to carry into effect the principles and purposes involved in this declaration: 'One craft—one organization'"; and

WHEREAS, This declaration and principle has been reiterated and put into full force and effect in the case of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Woodworkers' International Union, also the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, the United Association of Plumbers and the International Association of Steam Fitters. In addition to these specifically mentioned cases the records of the American Federation of Labor are replete with many instances relating to the amalgamation of organizations whose relations were such that it was mutually to the advantage of those directly concerned; and

WHEREAS, This policy has without question resulted very materially to the advantage of all organizations directly concerned, and the movement in general; and

WHEREAS, A similar condition relating to two organizations—namely, the International Association of Machinists and the International Union of Elevator Constructors—now exists and favorable action has been taken at the Toronto, St. Louis and Atlanta conventions of the American Federation of Labor looking toward the amalgamation of these two organizations; and

WHEREAS, The plan of amalgamation as submitted by the International Association of Machinists has been declared to be eminently fair and among the most liberal propositions ever offered; and

WHEREAS, The good offices of the President and Executive Council, together with the favorable action of the conventions above referred to, have, up to the present time, failed to bring about the amalgamation, as a result of which a most serious state of affairs exists, interfering with and mutually detrimental to both organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instructs the President and Executive Council to arrange a conference between the representatives of the organizations in interest, within ninety days, for the purpose of bringing about the amalgamation of said organizations.

The committee recommends concurrence in Resolution 151, with instructions that if the International Union of Elevator Constructors holds a national convention during the year, President Gompers shall attend such convention, with a view to encouraging such amalgamation.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Feeney, Elevator Constructors, opposed the report of the committee, and said in part: In so far as the committee's report refers to President Gompers' visit to our convention, we will feel honored—highly honored—any time President Gompers comes to our convention on any mission. With regard to our amalgamation with the Machinists, the events of the past make that an impossibility for the future, and we propose to prove to you, as we have done in the past, that our contention is justifiable. The Machinists' resolution speaks of amalgamation, but the Machinists' intention is annihilation. The Machinists say that on

Digitized by Google

previous occasions several other conventions have voted that we should amalgamate with the Machinists. If that is true, why have we not amalgamated? There are many delegates in this convention who know that is not a statement of fact; but, on the contrary, that we won our case every time it came on the floor of the American Federation of Labor convention. The Machinists have repeatedly made statements that our organization was so potent it would mean much to them were we amalgamated with them, in the way of organizing the unorganized machinists. We agree that our little organization is a potent force, and we have stood ready at all times to do whatever lay in our power to help the Machinists organize where we were in a position to do so.

Delegate Feeney referred to a building in course of construction in Philadelphia where the Elevator Constructors were instrumental in compelling the settlement of a strike and a continuance of the work under union conditions. He stated that when the Machinists were admitted to the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor they agreed to relinquish all claims to the elevator work, but had not carried out that agreement.

Delegate Feeney referred at length to the character of work done by the Elevator Constructors, the different lines of work performed by them, and the contention that had existed between the two organizations of Machinists and Elevator Constructors for a number of years. He read letters and documents to support the statements made by him.

Delegate Johnston, of the Machinists, in opening his discussion, quoted at length from the proceedings of the convention of the American Federation of Labor of 1909 and 1910 in relation to the matter of the dispute of the Machinists and Elevator Constructors, and in referring to the statement that the Machinists had relinquished all claim to elevator construction when they affiliated to the Building Trades Department, said, in part: Our organization had applied for affiliation to the Building Trades Department, and there was a contest on; there was some objection. In order to get into the Building Trades Department, realizing as we did that this matter was in the hands of the Council and we hoped they would bring about amalgamation at an early date, we did agree in the Building Trades convention not to trespass on their jurisdiction, with the distinct understanding that the matter was still in the hands of the Executive Council. If we thought for a minute the Council was going to accept that statement made in the Building Trades as disposing of the case finally we would never have agreed. We did not want jurisdiction controversies; we want to eliminate controversies. This movement of ours is passing through a crisis, and unless men here representing international and national unions get their thinking caps on and devise some way of eliminating jurisdictional controversies, some of the organizations will be wrecked. Do not accept the statement that we ever relinquished jurisdiction. We made the first elevators, and we make them to-day and erect them to-day.

Delegate Johnston referred to the situation in Chicago and to the causes which led to the Machinists being outside of the Building Trades Council in that city. In speaking of the desire of the Machinists to have the Elevator Constructors amalgamate, Delegate Johnston said in part: The Machinists do not propose to destroy the Elevator Constructors; we offered a plan which the Council said was eminently fair. Is it for the sake of getting 2000 or 3000 additional members? No, we can go out and organize 2000 or 3000 men without a great deal of effort; but we do want to control our output; we want to control the things we make and build so that we can use that power in organizing the shops. When the elevators were made by a number of individual employers or independent concerns we had very little difficulty in organizing the shops, and the same is true of the molders and all the other trades in the shops; but when the industry became trustified and in the hands of a few men we found they opposed the organization of the shop men. Where the molders, the machinists and other organizations were once organized in the shops we find they are unorganized now. If we can control our product, the machines we build, we can say to Mr. Otis and every other employer, "You have got to treat with your men in the shops, numbering thousands where the elevator constructors number hundreds, the men who make up the parts of the elevator; we will not erect or per-

Digitized by Google

mit to be erected, if we can stop it, your product, unless you treat your employes in the factory with as much respect and consideration as you do the few men on the buildings."

Delegate Johnston spoke in detail of many phases of the question, and dealt briefly with the controversy that had been existing for years with the elevator constructors.

At 12.30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p. m. of the same day.

TENTH DAY—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Thursday, November 19, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Wenneis, Holpern, Polakoff, Bope, Clark (T. G.), Carrigan, Burns (G. F.), Gabert, Short, Iglesias, Pennebaker, Conlon, Young, Keppler, Lowe, Johnson, Feehan, Marcusy, Kay, Laylor, Bradley Butler, Newberry, Kelly (E. H.), Bueche, Collmer, Duddy, Givens, Lyons.

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

San Francisco Cal., Nov. 18, 1914.
American Federation of Labor in Convention, Philadelphia, Pa.

Greetings: Postoffice Clerks' Union, No. 2, National Federation Postoffice Clerks, extends cordial invitation for convention to meet here 1915.

JOSEPH A. BURNS,
President.

JOHN GILMORE,
Secretary.

Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 18, 1914.

Hon. Frank Morrison,
Secretary, American Federation of Labor,
Horticultural Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mr. Morrison: In the name of the Ancient Order of Hibernians of Philadelphia, a fraternal organization that was among the first to recognize unionism, going so far as to declare that every printed document issued from the National Board down, including State, county and division bodies, should bear the union label, I have the honor to invite the delegates to your convention to visit our Philadelphia club house, 1616 North Broad Street, on Friday night, November 20, between 8 and 12 o'clock p. m.

Hoping your convention will be the most successful in all the splendid history of the Federation of Labor, I have the honor to remain, very truly yours,

JOSEPH McLAUGHLIN,
National President Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram from Delegate Frank Gehring, of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association: "Unable to be present. James M. O'Connor will take my place."

Secretary Morrison: I move that Mr. James M. O'Connor be seated as the delegate from the Lithographers' International Union. (Seconded and carried.)

Discussion of the question at issue between the Machinists and Elevator Constructors, continued from the morning session, was resumed.

Delegate Watt, Pattern Makers' League, opposed the recommendation of the committee, and stated that he felt the position of the Elevator Constructors was the correct one.

Delegate Kirby: In case this convention acts favorably upon the report of the committee, does the chair interpret that as instruction to revoke the charter of the Elevator Constructors?

President Gompers: Any resolution or law already passed by the convention it is within the province of the presiding officer to interpret; but any question which is not determined and passed upon by the convention it is not within the province of the presiding officer to place any construction upon. I will say, if I may be permitted, that it does not seem to me the language of the report of the committee carries with it, to my mind, the instruction to revoke the charter, nor does it involve anything of the character.

Vice-President Duncan: I rise to offer a substitute for the committee's report. I move that the present status of the Elevator Constructors to the American

Digitized by Google

Federaion of Labor and its Building Trades Department be continued, with the understanding that the Elevator Constructors, by and with the assistance of the Machinists, other allied trades, and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, will endeavor to the extent of their organized power and authority, in their agreements and otherwise, to have the material they erect manufactured by union men. (Seconded by Treasurer Lennon.)

Vice-President Duncan, in speaking in support of the substitute, said in part: Apart from the details which have been rehearsed by the representatives of the Elevator Constructors and the representatives of the Machinists, the most salient point, as it affects all other organizations, that was brought out was the organization of the unorganized men in the industry in question.

Delegate Daly, of the Metal Polishers: The amendment offered by Delegate Duncan is one we have been looking for for years. We did not introduce it ourselves because we are such a small part of the whole; we felt, unless those interested in the great organizations would take it up, it would only meet with failure. If the Elevator Constructors accept the amalgamation proposition offered by the Machinists, will that eliminate the jurisdiction claim of the pipe fitter, the electrical worker, the carpenter, the iron worker or the common laborer, to say nothing of several other interests involved?

Vice-President Alpine: As one of the representatives of one of the trades mentioned by the last speaker, since he asks for an opinion, I will offer this: That, in my judgment, if amalgamation were to ensue between the Elevator Constructors and the Machinists, such amalgamation would necessarily abrogate the provisions contained in the charter now held by the Elevator Constructors, and I have no hesitation in saying that in the event of such amalgamation the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters would lay claim to the pipe-fitting upon elevator construction.

Delegate Kirby: Let me say that if the present members of the Elevator Constructors who are carpenters affiliate with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, the Machinists will not have very many left. We have no quarrel with the Elevator Constructors now, and do not propose to have any.

Delegate McNulty: Should an amalgamation appear between the Machinists and the Elevator Constructors, as far as our organization and the Machinists are concerned, we are working under an agreement which defines the demarcation lines of the respective work of the organizations involved so that no controversy would arise between us and the Machinists. In all work that both organizations are brought in contact with, the machinists' work is done by the machinists, and the electrical work is done by the electrical workers, and that would prevail under any circumstances.

Delegate McCarthy (P. H.) spoke in favor of the substitute offered by Vice-President Duncan. In discussing the non-union men employed in the various shops, Delegate McCarthy said, in part: We are told, and, I believe, truthfully, by Delegate Johnston that he meant absolutely what he said; that his intentions and the intentions of his colleagues in this particular controversy were directed along the line of unionizing those who are as yet unorganized. If that is true, then the whole problem is solved. Delegate Gallagher said this morning, if we are honest, if we are desirous of doing the thing that is right, let us go into the ranks of the unorganized and endeavor to get them, rather than grab up the organized men. Is it because some men or set of men have by their energy, grit and determination brought forth one of the most beautiful organizations, from the standpoint of usefulness, in the trade union movement in America—an organization that is now perfect—that we must take it over to ourselves, in the hope that it will be useful to us tomorrow and the day after? I say to you men and to you women, vote for that proposition presented by Delegate Duncan; preserve the units that are assembled in the labor movement; preserve the units that are legitimate—and surely no one will deny that the Elevator Constructors is a legitimate institution in the movement of labor—and then you will be doing something for the uplift of the unorganized, as well as those who are organized today.

Delegate Van Lear, Machinists, opposed the substitute offered by Vice-President Duncan, and stated that the International Association of Machinists had consist-

Digitized by Google

ently been on record since the granting of the charter to the Elevator Constructors as opposed to it, and had protested the granting of the charter in the beginning. He stated that the Machinists' organization had always endeavored to stop war between the two organizations, and the only logical way it could be stopped was by amalgamation; that for five years the conventions of the American Federation of Labor had gone on record declaring that amalgamation was the thing that ought to be brought about; that it would be beneficial to all concerned, and that it had done the same thing through the Executive Council. Delegate Van Lear expressed surprise that a substitute should be offered by a member of the Executive Council that did not provide for amalgamation after he had gone on record as a member of the Executive Council in favor of amalgamation when the matter was before the Executive Council for adjudication.

Delegate Van Lear, replying to the carpenters' delegate, called attention to the number of organizations the United Brotherhood of Carpenters had taken into its ranks. He referred to a report of the Adjustment Committee in a former convention recommending that there be but one organization in each craft, and asked that the same principle be carried out in the future.

Delegate Feeney stated that the Elevator Constructors were perfectly willing to abide by the plan suggested in the substitute offered by Vice-President Duncan. He referred to several statements made by other speakers, and referred in detail to previous negotiation to settle the disputes between the organizations.

Delegate Hynes, of the Sheet Metal Workers, discussed briefly the policy of his organization, and said in part: We fabricate the work and we erect the work, and we receive the same wages for making it and putting it up, and if one of the contractors is wrong at Philadelphia he is wrong all over the country. Those are the conditions we fight for and we are going to continue to fight for them. When I asked Delegate McCarthy a question I was not taking the Machinists' part in this dispute, nor the Elevator Constructors' part; I wanted to bring it out so that the delegates in the convention who do not know will realize there are many building trades councils in the United States and Canada that will simply say in the regular meetings of the councils and the regular meetings of the boards of business agents: "We have unionized the job, but we cannot unionize the shop."

The question was further discussed by Vice-President O'Connell, chairman of the committee, who said in part: The Committee on Adjustment ordinarily in its work tries to keep as consistent as possible with work carried on in former conventions and with the policy that is laid down by the American Federation of Labor. Our report in this respect is in conformity with that idea. At former conventions a similar resolution, having for its purpose the bringing about of amalgamation, has been introduced before similar committees and almost an identical report made. And for several years the reports of the Adjustment Committee on this proposition have been adopted, so that the committee in this case has kept simply in conformity, as we hope we have been doing on other subjects that have been referred to us.

The committee had in mind in the consideration of this matter, as I believe former committees had in mind, that there was a large number of wage workers, a hundred, two or three hundred or a thousand to one, almost, on the inside building and working on this machinery as against the number that were engaged in its erection. The committee had in mind that there is or has been an opportunity for the building trades organizations, and particularly that portion of the building trades organizations made up in the elevator erectors' organization, an opportunity to extend a wonderful service, a tremendous assistance to the tens of thousands of men working in the elevator shops of this country. The elevator erectors' organization can be of tremendous service to the metal trades. The Machinists never had in mind the severing, the separating, in any sense of the word, of the elevator erectors' association; they had in mind the keeping intact of that organization because of the immense power it could be, not to the Machin-

Digitized by Google

ists alone, but to the several metal trades organizations of this country.

Upon motion debate was closed.

Secretary Morrison read the report of the committee and the substitute offered by Vice-President Duncan.

Delegate Feeney asked for a roll-call vote upon the substitute. The request was supported by a sufficient number of delegates to require the calling of the roll.

Secretary Morrison proceeded with the rollcall, which resulted as follows:

Rollcall on Substitute Offered by Vice-President Duncan for the Report of the Adjustment Committee on the Dispute of Elevator Constructors and Machinists:

Ayes—Mullaney, Noschang, Fischer, Felder, Foley (C. F.), Shanessy, Lowery, Sovey, Sullivan (Mary), Bieber, Tobin (J. F.), Bump, Karney, Cohan, Butterworth, McClory, Cunnane, Walters, Boyer, Kirby, Duffy, Metz, Howlett, McCarthy, Cosgrove, Swartz (A. M.), McPherson, Gengenback, Goellnitz, Perkins, Gompers, Tracy (T. F.), Hill, Scoby, Doyle, Feeney, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Rickert, Larger, Schwarz (M.), Altman, Daley (Margaret), Hayes (D. A.), Greiner, Ring, Rowe, Leonard, Duncan, Garvey, Sweeney, Lawlor, Shalvoy, Greene, D'Alessandro, Etchison, D'Andrea, Moreschi, Fiore, Sullivan (Jere L.), Farrell, Koveleski, Raleigh, Williams (John), Sullivan (J. J.), Scott (David), McSorley, Taggart, Child, O'Connor (J. M.), O'Connor (T. V.), Fricke, Foley (E. H.), Chlopek, Price, Hogan, Hart, Eichelberger, Daly (T. M.), Leary, Flynn (J. J.), United Mine Workers' delegation (1338 votes), Western Federation of Miners' delegation (93 votes), Valentine, Frey, Torpey, Acton, Painters' delegation (620 votes), Wilson (James), Watt, Hannah, Bergstrom, Alpine, Anderson (Charles), Rau, Kearney, Flaherty, Menge, Mushet, Printing Pressmen's delegation (48 votes), Malin, Perham, Miller (J. F.), Alexander, Soyster, Mahon, Burns, McGrath (P. J.), Mills, Hurley, Furuseth, Pryor, Griffin, Conway (Thos.), Gabert, Gavlak, Hanley, Shay, Barry, Quinn, Freel, Sumner, Griggs, Funder Burk, Heberling, Connors, Sheehan, Lennon, Tobin (Daniel), Hughes (Thomas L.), Gillespie, Neer, Morris (J. J.), Hall, Williams (T. J.), Curtis, Typographical Union delegation (356 votes), Hatch, Jones (Jerome), Morris (J. F.), Gansworth, English, James, Strachan, Goldsmith, Shea, Graves, Puckett, Feron, DeYoung, Schalk, McEachern, Anderson (R. E.), O'Dell, Rosenthal (A. J.), Walck, Reinhard, Kavanagh, Hartman, Miller (E. D.), Bittner, Fahey (C. P.), Lohse, Rosenthal (Henry), Boyle, McGrath (R. J.), Dunn, Canavan, Gallagher, Niven, Quinlivan, Forker, Collmer, Nolda, Scott (J. W.), Higgins, Bean, Clarke, McAndrews, O'Donnell, Scott (Melinda), Bohm, Budenz, Giles, representing 11,590 votes.

Nays—Myrup, Koch, Goldstone, Kline, Kramer, Tobin (J. M.), Franklin, McGowen, Graham, McGuire, Baine, Proebstle, Zepp, Sullivan (John), Kugler, Rader, Barnes, Mueller, Kiernan, Conway (H. J.), Christman (Wm.), Zuckerman, Gurney, Meyer, McNulty, Grimblot, Cullen, Singer, Comerford, Hannahan, Moser, Glass, Schlesinger, Holpern, Polakoff, Kleinman, La Porta, Rosenberg (Elmer), Rice, Ryan (P. F.), Johnston, Wharton, Van Lear, Taylor, O'Connell, Fry, Dorey, Irwin, Hynes, Redding, Frayne, Moriarty, United Mine Workers' delegation (2007 votes), Western Federation of Miners' delegation (276 votes), McMunn, Miller (Owen), Bope, Carey (D. A.), Painters' delegation (124 votes), Schneider, Woll, McGivern, Cook, Smith (Chas.), McDermott, Cleary, Printing Pressmen's delegation (145 votes), Suitor, Ryan (M. F.), McKenna, Adames, Carrigan, Riley, O'Donnell (Thomas), Brais, Bolander, Golden, Brown (J. G.), Evans, Typographical Union delegation (119 votes), Cooke (W. J.), Burt, Birnes, McMahon, Scharrenberg, Keep, Horton, Henderson, Jones (David S.), Smith (John T.), Umstadter, Pennebaker, Gossett, Hughes, Steinacker, Ferguson, Gifford, McGuire (A. J.), Goazion, Harper, Anderson (Stanley), Galloway, Cahalane, Obergfell, Kelly, Wilson (Fred W.), Sauber, McEntee, Bower, Aspengren, Dujay, Kennedy, Brown (Harvey W.), McGovern, Davies, representing 8048 votes.

Not Voting—Wenneis, McKinley, Christman (Elisabeth), Marshall, Bryan, Schwarz (Louis A.), Clark (T. G.), Short, Hayes (Max S.), Donoghue, Iglesias, Paulsen, Conlon, Kobs, Greener, Lynn, Young, Keppler, Lowe, Johnson, Feehan, Marcusy, Mueller (Constantine J.), Kay, Draper, Laylor, Bradley, Butler, Glynn, Newberry, Boyle, Kelly (E. H.), Woodmansee, Bueche, Hannon, Saltus, Voll, Duddy, Fahey (Michael), Givens, Lyons, Schumers, Kline, Galvin, Haley, Rigg, representing 313 votes.

Blacksmiths, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

Pages 129-130, Executive Council's report. Your committee is pleased to report the adjustment of this controversy, as is indicated by the following signed agreement:

Agreement Entered into This Sixteenth Day of November, A. D. 1914, at Philadelphia, Pa., by and Between Representatives of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and Representatives of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers:

In the controversy existing between the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and the International Brotherhood of Black-

Digitized by Google

smiths and Helpers, over a class of workmen employed in structural and ornamental shops, the representatives of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers agree and concede full and complete jurisdiction to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers over all men employed in these shops who handle and use blacksmiths' tools and who heat, bend or shape iron or steel, or who work directly in shops or departments of shops known as blacksmiths' departments, or shops, and we further agree to lend every possible aid and assistance to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers to get such mechanics who are not members of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers to join or affiliate with that organization.

It is further agreed by the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers that they concede full and complete jurisdiction over all tool dressing or tool sharpening on building construction, or other blacksmith work, to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers. It is conceded, however, by the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers that this work shall be done by members of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers until such time as a member of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers shall arrive on the job ready for work.

It is agreed by the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers that they concede full and complete jurisdiction to the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers over the fabrication and erection of all structural and ornamental work done in shops engaged in the structural or ornamental iron business.

It is further agreed by the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers that they will render every aid and assistance to the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers in organizing all men employed in the fabrication and erection of all structural or ornamental ironwork.

J. E. McCLORY,
J. A. JOHNSTON,
D. J. O'SHEA,
M. J. CUNNANE,
For the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.
J. W. KLINE,
JOHN M. TOBIN,
For the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Firemen—Engineers.

Pages 130-131, Executive Council's report, and Resolutions Nos. 117 and No. 121.

Resolution No. 117—By Delegates Matt Comerford, R. G. Moser, John J. Glass and James G. Hannahan, of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, In accordance with action taken by the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor, a conference was held in the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, in Washington, D. C., for the purpose or bringing about an amalgamation of the engineers and firemen; and

WHEREAS, At said conference after general discussion amalgamation was not agreed to by the representatives of the firemen; and

WHEREAS, In order to bring about a peaceful understanding, temporarily, representatives of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers made the following proposition to the firemen, to wit: "That the Firemen's Union would agree to transfer all licensed and bona fide operating engineers to the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, and that the engineers would agree to transfer all members in its organization that were employed as firemen to the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen; and

WHEREAS, This proposition was rejected by the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, grant jurisdiction to the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers over all firemen, helpers and apprentices in power plants or engine rooms or on any other work where engineers claim jurisdiction at this this time.

Resolution No. 121—By Delegates T. Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton, W. J. Brennan, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, Previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor have defined in no uncertain terms the jurisdictional status of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen; and

WHEREAS, The international representatives of the Steam and Operating Engineers assured the Rochester convention of the American Federation of Labor that it was not the intention of their organization to admit to membership any person working under the jurisdiction of the Stationary Firemen or filling positions covered by said jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, The Seattle convention reaffirmed the action of the previous conventions and instructed the respective officers of both organizations to meet in conjunction with a representative of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of consummating a working agreement in the spirit of brotherhood for the best interest of the labor movement; and

Digitized by Google

WHEREAS, Despite the fact that such meeting had been arranged for by the President of the American Federation of Labor and attended by the respective officers and a representative of the Executive Council (Treasurer Lennon), with no cessation of hostilities on the part of the Steam Engineers in their encroachments on the jurisdiction granted the Stationary Firemen; and

WHEREAS, In several cities throughout the country an attempt has been made by the Steam and Operating Engineers to start dual organizations under the guise of branch locals by the false statements made that the American Federation of Labor had granted the Steam and Operating Engineers the jurisdiction over oilers and firemen, providing they came in as branch locals of the Steam and Operating Engineers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to have all men now holding membership in the affiliated locals of that organization who are working as water tenders, oilers or firemen transferred to locals of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen prior to January 1, 1915; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the installation of branch locals, as now practiced by organizers of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, shall be considered as a direct disregard of decisions of the American Federation of Labor and its Executive Council, which, if continued, shall be deemed sufficient cause for such discipline as future conventions may decide.

Your committee is informed that a convention of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen is to be held August, 1915, in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio. We recommend, therefore, that the President of the A. F. of L. attend the above convention for the purpose of laying before the convention of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen the purpose and benefits of amalgamation, and the officers of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen are requested to extend an invitation to the president of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to be in attendance at that convention.

In the meantime both organizations stand instructed not to trespass on the jurisdiction of each other, the jurisdiction to mean that which is recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Lithographers — Printing Pressmen Photo-Engravers.

Page 131, Executive Council's report. Your committee recommends that the Executive Council arrange for a conference of all parties in interest, with a view to encouraging amalgamation of these organizations.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Hod Carriers—Cement Workers.

Pages 131-132, Executive Council's report. Your committee recommends that unless the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers complies with the decisions already rendered by the A. F. of L. by May 1, 1915, the Executive Council is authorized to withdraw the charter of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Gengenbach, of the Cement Workers, stated that he did not see how his organization could abide by the report of the committee; that he had sent a letter to the headquarters of the Building Trades Department asking Delegate D'Alessandro to meet there at a specified time; that Delegate D'Alessandro had failed to do so, and that a proposition made to a committee following the Seattle convention that members turned over by the Cement Workers to the Building Laborers would be accepted upon the payment of fifteen cents a member had not been carried out.

Delegate Gengenbach spoke at length of the work of the Brotherhood of Cement Workers, the manner in which they had conducted their organization, the contention they had with the Building Laborers, and stated if their charter should be revoked they would have to go over to the plasterers' organization.

Delegate D'Alessandro stated that the question had been before the conventions of the American Federation since 1909; that decisions had been rendered in several conventions, but that no effort had been made by the organization he represented to compel the Cement Workers to affiliate. The speaker denied that he had refused to attend a conference with the Cement Workers, but at the time it was called he asked that it be postponed until he could attend to affairs connected with his organization. Delegate

Digitized by Google

D'Alessandro stated emphatically that his organization did not want the cement finishers, but he was willing to take the laborers in without cost. He referred briefly to different negotiations that had been carried on in an endeavor to settle the dispute between the two organizations.

Vice-President O'Connell: Let me say in behalf of the committee that this motion does not revoke the charter of the Cement Workers; it simply requires that they comply with certain decisions rendered by the American Federation of Labor, and leaves the matter in the hands of the Executive Council to decide whether they have complied.

Delegate Gengenbach requested that the committee recommend that Delegate D'Alessandro be compelled to meet the representatives of the Cement Workers in the presence of the Executive Council or President Gompers.

Vice-President O'Connell: I have not the slightest doubt that before the Executive Council would take action to withdraw your charter they would not only ask, but would command, that the representatives of the organizations appear, and if possible the matter will be straightened out.

Delegate Gengenbach: Then I am satisfied.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.): If the report of the committee does not contemplate the revocation of the charter it will not require a rollcall.

Vice-President O'Connell: I did not say it did not contemplate it, I said it did not withdraw the charter; it gives authority to the Executive Council to do it, hence it must require a rollcall.

Secretary Morrison read Section 12, Article IX, of the constitution, and said: If the report of the committee is adopted by less than a two-thirds vote on a rollcall the Executive Council will have no authority to carry into effect the instructions of the convention to recall the charter of the Cement Workers, in my opinion.

Vice-President Duncan stated that, inasmuch as Delegate Gengenbach, after receiving a reply to his question of the chairman of the committee, stated he was satisfied, and as Delegate D'Alessandro favored the report, it would require only formal action by the convention.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Rowe, Delegate Mahon and Secretary Morrison.

In reply to a question by Delegate Mahon as to what constituted the common laborers spoken of during the discussion, President Gompers said: The understanding is that it includes all common laborers in construction and building work.

Delegate Mahon, in speaking of men working on the tracks of street railways said: Delegate D'Alessandro spoke to me yesterday morning and I inferred from what he said that he wanted to organize the men working on the tracks of the street railways. Some of these men have been members of our organization for a long time. On the interurban and other roads they belong to the surface men. That has been recognized by the American Federation of Labor. I say this so that no question may arise between our organizations.

Delegate McGivern discussed the question briefly, and in reply to statements made by Delegate Gengenbach denied that the plasterers had used force to compel cement finishers to become members of that organization, and referred to various cities where the cement finishers had voluntarily affiliated with the plasterers' organization, among them Chicago, Buffalo, St. Louis, Lockport, N. Y., Brooklyn, N. Y., Boston, and stated that the matter was being considered by Kansas City and Syracuse.

Treasurer Lennon: I am opposed to the report of the committee; I am opposed to the withdrawal of any charter unless deliberate scabbing is proved by one organization against another. I do not believe it is the wisest policy when differences arise between organizations that charters should be recalled. That does not settle the controversy. My experience is that it accentuates it. It is indicated by the speaker previous to myself that this matter is settling itself. That is also evident from the talk of Delegate D'Alessandro. The matter is adjusting itself, and I offer this motion:

That the subject-matter of this contention be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to continue its efforts, by conference and otherwise, to make effective the decisions previously rendered. (Seconded.)

Digitized by Google

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Tobin, of the Teamsters; Vice-President Duncan and Delegate Gengenbach. Delegate Gengenbach stated he was not in favor of the report of the committee after hearing the discussion, but favored the amendment.

The amendment offered by Treasurer Lennon was carried by a vote of 121 in the affirmative to 69 in the negative.

Vice-President Duncan: Does that carry with it the previous instruction to the Executive Council in connection with this charter and therefore require a two-thirds vote?

President Gompers: There was no rollcall taken upon the question either at Rochester or at Seattle.

Blacksmiths—Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

Page 132, Executive Council's report. Your committee concurs in the action of the Executive Council and instructs the Executive Council to arrange a conference of the parties in interest for the purpose of carrying into effect the decision of the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Curtis: Is the decision of the Council to the effect that the tool sharpener is to be turned over to the blacksmiths?

Delegate Golden, secretary of the committee: The report of the Executive Council is as follows:

"After several conferences between the representatives of the two organizations and the representative of the American Federation of Labor, and hearings by the Executive Council, it was finally decided that the Executive Council recognizes the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths over blacksmiths engaged in tunnel and subway work. Every effort has been made since that decision was rendered to adjust the jurisdictional controversy upon that basis. Arrangements were made for and a conference was finally held between the representatives of the two organizations and a representative of the American Federation of Labor, at which the entire subject-matter in controversy was fully discussed in connection with the decision rendered by the Executive Council. The Tunnel and Subway Constructors expressed themselves as being willing to turn over to the Blacksmiths the Blacksmiths all blacksmiths who were members of that organization, but declined to relinquish jurisdiction over tool sharpeners. The Blacksmiths rejected this proposition, maintaining that tool dressers or sharpeners are blacksmiths. Our investigation of the matter leads us to express the belief that so-called tool dressers or sharpeners are blacksmiths who are called upon to do all kinds of blacksmith work and the sharpening and dressing of tools.

This disputed point of jurisdiction is now before this convention."

Delegate Curtis: If it is the meaning of the decision that the Tunnel and Subway Constructors are supposed to turn over to the blacksmiths the tool sharpeners, then we are not in favor of that report. If it means that we turn over the blacksmiths who are doing general blacksmith work, we are perfectly satisfied to agree to that decision. A so-called investigation was made in New York city; three jobs were picked out where the men were doing general work and the entire investigation was decided on those three jobs out of 260-odd contractors working in the city of New York. Tool dressing is a business in itself. The tool dresser is just as essential to the tunnel worker as the blacksmith is to the miner; it is impossible for him to do his work unless he has a tool sharpener, and if this decision is carried out it will mean that this organization will have to be dissolved. It will be impossible for us to enforce any of our demands.

Delegate Curtis spoke at length of conditions existing in New York, of the work of the members of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors, and stated that the members of his organization receive higher wages than the general blacksmiths. In closing, he reiterated the statement that his organization was perfectly willing to transfer to the blacksmiths' organization the general blacksmiths in New York and other cities where it is necessary to do so, but they did not intend to transfer tool dressers.

Delegate Kline, in discussing the question, said in part: In the records of the American Federation of Labor nothing can be found to show that the blacksmiths' organization has ever applied for any extension of jurisdiction or has ever made a fight on any other organization for members that are not directly eligible to our organization.

Digitized by Google

We have been on the defensive for several years. We are blacksmiths, and blacksmiths only; our organization is so classified. We have the blacksmiths, we have the springsmiths, the tool dressers, the forging machines, all classified in our jurisdiction claims. In 1910 the Subway and Tunnel Workers applied for a charter, and upon the issuance of that charter from the American Federation of Labor, a letter was sent to this organization, written by President Gompers, part of which reads: "It is clearly understood that in issuing a charter to your organization it shall in no way infringe upon the jurisdiction of any existing national or international union, nor the work that may belong to either."

Delegate Kline spoke briefly of the organization and growth of the Blacksmiths' International Union, stated that when the Subway and Tunnel Constructors were organized it was plainly understood that tool dressers were a part of the blacksmiths' organization, that they were granted to the blacksmiths' organization by a decision of the Executive Council, and since that time various organizations had sought to encroach upon their membership and take part of their work for the purpose of securing enough members to run their organizations. In closing, Delegate Kline stated that he was perfectly satisfied with the report of the committee.

Delegate McPherson stated that to concur in the report of the committee would mean the destruction of a very important organization, the Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

Secretary Morrison announced that the time for adjournment had arrived, and suggested that arrangements be made to hold the session until seven o'clock, or adjourn and reconvene at 7.30 or 8 o'clock. He stated that arrangements had been made for some entertainment to be held in the convention hall on Friday evening, that the arrangements had been made prior to the contract with the convention for the use of the hall, and the custodian stated it would have to be vacated by 2 o'clock Friday afternoon.

After a brief discussion it was decided to suspend the rules and remain in session.

Delegate Tobin, of the Blacksmiths, discussed the question pending. He stated that the Tunnel and Subway Workers, when they applied for a charter, designated themselves as Tunnel and Subway Constructors and Tool Sharpeners; that the president of the blacksmiths' organization protested against their claim to tool sharpeners, and they were informed that before the charter could be granted the tool sharpeners would have to be omitted from their claim.

Delegate Rosenthal opposed the report of the committee, stating that the tool sharpeners were essential to the work of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Curtis, and then he moved to amend the committee's report as follows: That all blacksmiths, members of the tunnel workers, be transferred to the blacksmiths' organization.

Delegate McCarthy, for the committee appointed to raise funds for the Atlanta textile workers, reported that $520 had been collected, and the committee intended to continue its work.

At 5.45 p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9.30 a. m. Friday, November 20.

Digitized by Google

ELEVENTH DAY—Friday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Friday, November 20, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Sovey, Wenneis, Schwarz (M.), Schlesinger, Rosenberg (E.), McSorley, Bope, Schwarz (L. A.), Clark (T. G.), Alexander, Carrigan, Riley, Gabert, Paulsen, Conlon, Young, Walck, Lowe, Johnson, Kelly (T.), Fahey (C. P.), Kay, Laylor, Bradley, Butler, Newberry, Kelly (E. H.), Forker, Collmer, Duddy, Fahey (M.), McAndrews, Davies, Givens, Lyons, Kline.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

New York, November 19, 1914.
American Federation of Labor in Convention Assembled, Philadelphia, Pa.
The Lord's Day Alliance of the United States sends you greeting. You may be glad to know we are interested in the preparation of a bill to be presented to Congress to secure one day of rest in seven to employes of the Government and of interstate commerce.

HARRY L. BOWLBY,
General Secretary.

President Gompers stated that an invitation had been extended to the President and other officials of the American Federation of Labor by the Pennsylvania Prison Labor Commission to address that body. President Gompers stated that as the other officers could not attend he would appoint the president and secretary of the Label Trades Department, Delegate Tobin, of the Boot and Shoe Workers and Delegate Tracy, of the Cigarmakers, to represent the American Federation of Labor.

Vice-President Duffy in the chair.

Report of Committee on Adjustment.

The chairman of the committee stated that at the time of adjournment the question of Blacksmiths—Tunnel and Subway Constructors, was under consideration. The report of the Executive Council, and the report of the Committee on Adjustment were read, together with the following amendment presented by Delegate Curtis:

That all blacksmiths members of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors be transferred to the blacksmiths' organization.

Delegate Kline opposed the amendment offered by Delegate Curtis, and approved the report and decision of the Executive Council and the report of the committee, stating that they were consistent with former action taken by the American Federation of Labor. Delegate Kline discussed at some length the condition of the workers in both organizations, their wages and the character of the work performed by them. He read a portion of an agreement between the blacksmiths and the Bridge and Structural Ironworkers' organization, in which the Bridge and Structural Ironworkers conceded full and complete jurisdiction over all tool dressers and tool sharpeners to the blacksmiths.

Delegate Curtis spoke in support of the amendment, discussed the number of blacksmiths and the number of tool sharpeners and tool dressers in the organization of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors, the character of the work performed by them and the manner in which their conditions had been improved by the organization he represented. He stated that a portion of the time of the men in question was devoted to drilling and a portion to tool sharpening or tool dressing in many instances. He referred to the investigation that had been made, and in doing so made reference to the connection of Delegate Frayne with the affair. He stated the Tunnel and Subway Constructors were satisfied to abide by the decision of the Executive Council to transfer all blacksmiths in that organization to the regular organization of the blacksmiths.

Delegate Frayne replied briefly to the statement made by Delegate Curtis, explaining the part he had taken in the investigation, stated that he had reported to President Gompers and to the Executive Council the result of the investigation, and his report

Digitized by Google

was embodied in the report of the Council and sent out to the representatives of the organization.

Vice-President O'Connell, chairman of the committee: The report of our committee is simply concurrence in the action of the Executive Council; there is nothing new at all in the report of the committee other than affirming the action of the Executive Council to carry its decision into effect, which has not yet been done.

Delegate Tobin, of the Blacksmiths, spoke at length in opposition to the amendment and in favor of the report of the committee. He dealt at length with the question of the wages and conditions of the men in both organizations. He stated that the recommendation of the committee and the recommendation of the Executive Council were satisfactory, and the blacksmiths' organization would abide by them.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The substitute offered by Delegate Curtis was lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors—Compressed Air Workers.

Page 133, Executive Council's report. Your committee recommends that the President have a personal investigation made to ascertain whether there is a sufficient similarity in the work at which the members of these organizations are employed to warrant an amalgamation of the organizations. If such investigation indicates that the two organizations can be successfully operated as one, efforts shall be made to bring about such amalgamation.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Electrical Workers—Theatrical Stage Employes.

Page 133, Executive Council's report. Your committee finds that jurisdiction over moving picture operators was granted to the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes, and such jurisdiction is here reaffirmed.

We find that the claim of jurisdiction over moving picture operators by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers is not well founded, and the same is denied.

We further recommend that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers refrain from organizing moving picture operators, and where it has organized moving picture operators they shall be turned over to the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McNulty: Upon what grounds does the committee bring in the report?

Chairman O'Connell: The report is based upon decisions of the American Federation of Labor. They were conceded jurisdiction over moving picture operators.

Delegate McNulty: Where were these decisions rendered, and when? Where in any convention or Excutive Council meeting was any such decision ever made?

President Gompers: I know of none. But the answer would be inconsistent, however, did I not say that an agreement was reached, to which I was requested to be a party, and was, and that agreement was reaffirmed later. It was reported to the convention of the American Federation of Labor and approved by the convention.

Delegate McNulty: That is entirely correct; that is what I wanted to bring out. Now, Mr. Chairman, I am going to offer a substitute for the committee's report, because I realize that the committee had so much work to perform it was not in a position to get down to the cold facts in this case. There was no decision ever rendered by the American Federation of Labor or by its Executive Council in the premises.

I move, as a substitute, that this question be referred back to the Executive Council, they to thoroughly investigate the contention of both parties thereto, to ascertain which contending party is to blame for the abrogation of the past agreement between the two organizations. The Executive Council to render a decision as soon as possible, and not later than the next convention, which shall be binding upon both organizations. (Seconded.)

Secretary Golden: The report is based on the agreement contained in the Executive Council's report of September 25, 1907, signed by both parties and approved by President Gompers. The word "de-

Digitized by Google

cision" is not used here in either report.

Delegate McNulty: If that substitute is agreeable to the International Association of Theatrical Stage Employes, I will not go into it; if it is not, I will discuss it.

Delegate Shay: The Theatrical Stage Employes are in favor of the report of the committee; they are not in favor of the substitute offered by Brother McNulty.

The question was discussed by Delegate McNulty, who stated that in 1906 the representatives of both organizations in the Minneapolis convention drew up an agreement, and at the next convention of the Theatrical Stage Employes they repudiated the agreement; that through the good offices of the American Federation of Labor and President Gompers a meeting was held on September 15, 1907, but the representatives of the Electrical Workers refused to go into a conference unless the Federation became a party in the agreement, as the Theatrical Stage Employes had abrogated the former agreement. He stated that every point was agreed upon except two, one of which was decided by President Gompers in favor of the Electrical Workers, and the other in favor of the Theatrical Stage Employes; but in the following convention of the American Federation of Labor the Theatrical Stage Employes repudiated that agreement.

Delegate McNulty referred to subsequent meetings held with the representatives of the Theatrical Stage Employes and the representatives of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Shay stated that he objected to the substitute offered by Delegate McNulty because it would bring about a state of affairs in the organization that would be deplorable; that it was a subterfuge to give the Electrical Workers a year and help them destroy the organization he represented. He stated if it were adopted the organization he represented would be injured by it. Delegate Shay discussed at some length the work of the picture machine operators and other theatrical stage employes, over whom, he claimed, no other organization had jurisdiction. He referred especially to the improvement in wages, conditions and hours of the picture machine operators after they became affiliated to the Theatrical Stage Employes. He stated that the intention of the Electrical Workers was simply a raid on an organization that was getting better conditions for its men than those who were trying to procure them had ever been able to secure.

The substitute motion offered by Delegate McNulty was lost by a vote of 38 in the affirmative to 150 in the negative.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Flint Glass Workers—Machinists.

Pages 133, 134, Executive Council's report. The secretary of the committee reported that all parties to the controversy agreed that action be deferred with the hope that they may be able to bring about an adjustment of the controversy during the year, and recommend that it be so deferred.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Teamsters—Brewers—Bakers—Laundry Workers.

Page 134, Executive Council's Report. Your committee finds jurisdiction over bakery wagon drivers and laundry wagon drivers to have been conceded to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, and we find that this jurisdiction has not been fully complied with by the organizations referred to, and in order that there may be no misunderstanding, jurisdiction over bakery wagon drivers and laundry wagon drivers by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers is hereby reaffirmed, and all organizations are required to govern themselves accordingly. The President of the American Federation of Labor is instructed to issue a circular to all central labor unions and State federations with full instructions as to the jurisdiction held by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, giving notice that local unions having within their membership teamsters coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, shall not be seated.

Action upon that portion of the Executive Council's report referring to Brewery Workmen and Teamsters is deferred by mutual agreement between the delegations of both organizations.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Digitized by Google

Delegate Childs, of the Laundry Workers, opposed the recommendation, and stated if the decision were carried out it would injure the small organization of laundry workers already in existence and prevent in a large measure further organization of the women and girls in laundries. He referred to the fact that an assessment had been levied on the members of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor to assist in organizing women workers, and stated if the report of the committee were adopted it would help to disorganize organizations of women already in existence. He stated that many organizations had teamsters in their membership, and they were allowed to hold them, and suggested that the teamsters work among the unorganized men to secure members, not endeavor to take those already organized.

Chairman O'Connell: The committee is not bringing in anything new in its report. The decision that is reaffirmed by the committee is a former decision of the American Federation of Labor. All that is added to it is that the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to notify the central bodies and the State bodies of the jurisdiction of the teamsters and that organizations not complying with the jurisdiction be not permitted to be seated in central and State organizations.

Delegate Scharrenberg: Do I understand, according to the re-affirmation by your committee of the former decision, it will mean the San Francisco Labor Council stands instructed to unseat the Bakery Wagon Drivers' local unless they transfer to the teamsters?

Chairman O'Connell: Yes, when you receive such instructions in those places.

Delegate Scharrenberg: Has that been the attitude of the American Federation of Labor before? Has it been the attitude of the American Federation of Labor in regard to the bakery drivers and the brewery drivers?

Chairman O'Connell: With the bakery drivers, yes. We do not go into the other question because they agreed to defer that. The representatives of the Brewery Workers and the Teamsters said before our committee they desired to have action deferred. We therefore acted on what was before us.

Delegate Myrup, in discussing the question, said in part: I want to say, in behalf of the Bakery Workers, we are not in accord with the report of the committee, especially as it refers to circularizing the various central bodies, demanding that they unseat delegates of organizations that now are in affiliation with those central bodies, delegates of organizations that in many instances have been instrumental in organizing those central bodies.

Delegate Myrup discussed the question at length, referring to the number of drivers now belonging to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers and the number of men who are entirely unorganized. He suggested that organizations cease trying to procure men already organized and affiliated with other organizations, but expend their time and money in organizing the unorganized men of the country. He stated that the report of the committee was not in harmony with the principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Tobin, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, replied to statements made by the former speakers in regard to conditions in Chicago and San Francisco, and in discussing the general question, said in part: It is not a question of one or two drivers that may hold membership in their organization; it is a question of deciding definitely the principle involved. All over the country we have organizers from the Bakery Workers, and one or two from the Laundry Workers, contending for organization of drivers, and our organizers find it impossible to do anything in the premises because the drivers in question say they do not know where they belong. If we are successful in thoroughly organizing these drivers, as we are taking steps to do, we will be of greater assistance to the interior workers than we are now in an unorganized condition.

Delegate Goldstone denied that the Bakery Workers prevented the organization of teamsters. He referrd to the large number of drivers in the Brewery Workers' organization, and suggested that it was due to the fact that the Brewery Workers themselves were thoroughly or-

Digitized by Google

ganized. He stated wherever the Bakers were struggling to improve conditions the drivers in the industry were of the greatest possible assistance to them; that these men who were in their organization had been organized by the Bakery Workers; that the Teamsters had neglected them, and concluded by stating that organizations that are claiming jurisdiction over men already in unions are simply exploiting the labor movement, and, instead of doing so, their duty is to go out and bring into the organization men not already organized.

Upon motion, debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 123 in the affirmative to 60 in the negative.

At this point in the proceedings President Gompers said:

The Executive Council of the American Federation, believing that it interpreted the desire of the American Federation of Labor, as well as organizations of labor throughout the country, in the name of the Federation, extended an invitation to our fellow trades unionist, a former delegate to many conventions of the American Federation of Labor, who contributed much to the thought and the work of our Federation and our movement, and who later in Congress voiced the hopes and the views and gave expression to the wrongs inflicted upon labor, who worked and accomplished much for labor and for the people generally, a man who is now a Cabinet officer of the President and the Government of the United States, the first Secretary of Labor, Hon. William B. Wilson. He is with us this morning, and I ask Vice-President Duncan and former Vice-President John Mitchell to escort Secretary Wilson to the platform.

Vice-President Duncan and Delegate Mitchell complied with the request of the President, and in introducing Secretary Wilson, President Gompers said: "The Secretary of Labor, the Hon. William B. Wilson—Our Bill."

Hon. W. B. Wilson, Secretary of Department of Labor: Mr. President and Fellow Trades Unionists—Immediately following my talk to you at the Seattle convention I was severely criticised by such employers of labor as the president of the Founders' Association and by some metropolitan newspapers because I had addressed you as "Fellow Trades Unionists," and because of some other statements which I had made to you at that convention. I want to say to you now that I would not change one iota or tittle of the statements that I made to you then, from the salutation as "Fellow Trade Unionists" down through to the statement that every title to property is a law-created and a law-protected title. And the same elements that criticised those statements asserted that the Secretary of Labor was partisan to labor.

It will be forty-three years on the 22d day of this month since I became a trade unionist, under our former great leader of the miners' movement, John Siney. In the time that has intervened I have been a member of the various trades unions as they succeeded each other among the miners of the United States, and am to-day a member of the United Mine Workers of America. During those forty-three years' experience, most of it active experience in the trade union movement, I have never understood that the trade union movement stood for anything else than justice to the wage workers. It has never desired to impose an injustice upon anybody else; and if the securing of justice to those who earn their bread in the sweat of their face constitutes partisanship, then count me as a partisan of labor.

The new Department of Labor, when instituted, was directed to utilize its energy for the promotion of the welfare of wage workers and their opportunities for profitable employment. In carrying out the purposes of the Department one of the first steps that we took was to communicate with the other departments of the Government, asking them to make arrangements by which the Department of Labor would be notified of every contract let by them, in order that we might have available for the use of the public, trade unionists and non-unionists included, the information concerning the contracts that were let, and whether or not the eight-hour workday was applied.

We have concluded those arrangements and we are now receiving from the various departments of the Gov-

Digitized by Google

ernment statements relative to the contracts that are being let, and the conditions and terms under which they are let, and the sub-contractors working under them. In carrying through the eight-hour law, while it was pending in Congress, both in its consideration before the committee and its consideration upon the floor, we met with some obstacles, some difficulties that had to be overcome before an eight-hour bill could be enacted.

One of the first difficulties we met in dealing with the eight-hour workday from a general standpoint, as applying to all contracts for supplies for the Government, was the question as to whether it was intended by the eight-hour law to require the eight-hour workday to follow back all of the supplies purchased by the Government to the original point of producing the raw material. For instance, in purchasing supplies of foodstuffs for the army and navy, the question was asked whether it was the intention of the bill to apply the eight-hour workday to the men on the farm, many of them owning their own places, who raised the foodstuffs that were to be purchased. It was thoroughly understood by those who were handling the bill in behalf of labor, and those who were handling the bill on the floor of the House and in committees, that any bill which carried the eight-hour workday back to the farm and the farmer could not be enacted into law. And in that situation the proviso was inserted excluding from the operations of the eight-hour law those things which could be usually bought in the open market.

In interpreting that clause of the amended bill the position by those in charge of it was that the question of whether or not an article could be usually purchased in the open market was not a legal question; it was not a question of law; it was a question of fact, and the department letting the contract was the department authorized to pass upon the question of facts and not the Department of Justice. The Department of Justice passes upon questions of law; the other departments pass upon questions of fact. And I may say to you here that in the debate upon that question it was clearly stated that dressed stone was an article that in the judgment of those in charge of the bill, could not be usually bought in the open market, and consequently came within the operations of the eight-hour law.

A statement has been made with reference to the Lincoln Memorial. Unfortunately for us and unfortunately for the labor movement the decision upon the Lincoln Memorial question was a decision involving a point of law and not a point of fact. And that decision grew out of this situation—that the bill authorizing the appropriation of two million dollars for the building of the Lincoln Memorial, and the actual appropriation of fifty thousand dollars of that amount to begin the work, was made seventeen months before the new eight-hour bill went into effect, and consequently comes under the provisions of the old eight-hour bill. That is the situation so far as it applies to the Lincoln Memorial, and it is an unfortunate situation for us.

In further carrying out the work of the Department we have inaugurated a system of mediation in trade disputes. Section 8 of the organic law of the Department provides that the Secretary of the Department may act as a mediator or he may appoint conciliators in trade disputes. During the year and a half, or a little more, that the Department has been in existence we have handled scores of trade disputes, and out of those scores there have been but three or four in which we have failed of success; there has been the Pere Marquette shopmen's strike, the Calumet miners' strike and the Colorado miners' strike. In those three we have not succeeded in bringing about a satisfactory adjustment of the difficulty. In all of the others, some of them involving many more men than were involved in either of these three strikes, we have succeeded in bringing about an adjustment that was satisfactory to all parties concerned, thereby promoting industrial peace, and at the same time promoting the welfare of the wage workers.

We have taken the ground, and we think justly, that employers and employes have a mutual interest in securing the largest possible production with a given amount of labor; the larger the amount

Digitized by Google

that is produced, the larger the amount that is available for distribution; that their interests only diverge when it comes to a determintion of the share that should go to each and the methods under which the material should be produced. As their interests only diverge at those points, it is the proper thing for employers and employes alike to sit down around the council table and work out the problems they have to deal with on as nearly a correct mathematical basis as possible.

Working from that theory of the mutual interest that each has in production, we have proceeded to the consideration of these problems. And again, Mr. President, we have been criticised as being partisans, upon the theory that the Department of Labor in acting as a mediator performs judicial functions. Now, the Department of Labor, in acting as a mediator, does not perform any judicial functions; what it performs are diplomatic functions, and there is no more reason that the Department of Labor should be debarred from handling trade disputes upon a diplomatic basis because it is interested in the welfare of the workers, than that the Department of State should be debarred from handling international disputes because of the fact that it is a part of the Federal Government and interested in the welfare of the United States.

What we need, in handling trade disputes, and what we have attempted to select in handling trade disputes, is men who have had experience and who are level-headed and understand the technicalities of the subject-matter they are to deal with. You cannot take a man who has had no experience, you cannot take a man who knows nothing about a trade, no matter how big he is, and inject him into the negotiations for the settlement of a trade dispute and expect to get beneficial results from his injection into it. You must take men who have had practical experience.

And so, in carrying out the work of the Department, we have invariably selected one man who had a technical knowledge of the affairs, as seen from the standpoint of the worker; and we selected one who had a technical experience and a knowledge of the standpoint of the employers, and we have sent those two men into the trade dispute conditions with instructions to endeavor to bring about a settlement of the difficulty upon a basis that would be just to all parties concerned; because, after all, while we desire industrial peace, while we want industrial peace, and we want it permanently, we realize that there can be no permanent industrial peace that is not based upon industrial justice.

And so we have gone on with this line of work, and, as I have said, in nearly every instance we have been successful. And those instances where we have been unsuccessful have been principally due to that class of employers, extremists, a class becoming smaller and smaller as the years go by, who look upon their employes as simply a part of the machinery of their establishments, to be treated in exactly the same way as they would treat other machines, with this difference: that the inanimate machine in their shop is so constructed and so standardized that they can calculate with almost mathematical accuracy what the working strain and what the breaking strain of the machine is; and they know that if they crowd the machine up to the breaking strain, and it does break, it will cost them something to replace the machine. Not so with the human being that is employed by them, and that they look upon as a machine. He is not standardized, he is not uniform in his physical and mental equipment; there has been no method determined by which you can calculate the breaking strain or the working strain of a human being. Even the worker himself does not know what his own breaking strain is, and if you crowd that human machine up to the breaking strain, and it does break, then it costs the employer nothing to replace it.

We have held throughout that the human being is an entirely different thing from the machine, and should be treated entirely different from the manner in which you treat the machine. The human being who is employed in the plant is a living, moving, sentient being like themselves, with all the hopes and all the aspirations that God has implanted in the human breast, and is entitled to the same consideration as you would give to any other human being who is not engaged as a wage worker.

During the year we have made at least one great step forward in the passage of the Clayton anti-trust bill, which is also an anti-injunction

Digitized by Google

bill. To my mind it is the greatest step that has been taken by labor and for labor within the past two generations. Since 1878 our courts have been issuing injunctions in trade disputes. These injunctions are based upon the theory that some one has a property right in the labor of an employe. Any lawyer will tell you that the writ of injunction is a writ that issues from an equity court only, and they will also tell you that an equity court deals with property and property rights; and when an injunction is issued restraining Jim from interfering with John, because the interference with John will affect John's employer, it can only be upon the theory that the employer has a property right in the labor of John. Now, the employer cannot have a property right in the labor of John without having a property right in John himself, because labor, as you have so often declared, is a part of man, it is inseparable from him. The moment labor is applied and something results from the application of that labor, the material that results from the application of it is property, it is a commodity, it can be treated as such, but the labor that produces it is a part of the man himself. You cannot have a property right in the labor of the man without having a property right in the man, and a property right in man is contrary to the spirit of our institutions.

And so the Clayton anti-trust anti-injunction bill declared that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce. If that satement alone were all that was in the bill it would still be a big step forward; but that statement is only an interpretation, it is only a means of backing up and making valid the other items in the anti-trust bill relative to the issuance of injunctions. And so labor is now placed in the position that it ought to occupy in that respect, where it is recognized as being a part and parcel of the community instead of being classed as a "brother to the insensible clod that the rude swain turns with his share and treads upon."

We have all along recognized that the employers own the land, that they own the plants, that they own the machines; but we have positively denied, continuously denied, that they own the men, and for the first time in the history of this or any other country we have that idea embodied in legislation—that labor is no longer a commodity or article of commerce, and cannot be any longer considered as such.

So we are making progress, step by step, slowly, it is true, because large bodies move slowly. It has been a gradual evolution. The change from the feudal system to the present system and the removal of those ideas, the removal of those lines of thought that grew out of the feudal system itself, has been a slow process that has only been brought about as a result of the militant organizations of labor.

It is said that the Department of Labor has to deal with others than organized labor; that it represents other workers than organized workers, and that is true. The Department of Labor represents and looks after the interests of all the wage workers of our country whether organized or unorganized. The same may be said of every trade union in our country. There isn't a trade union in existence in any trade or industry that has made progress that has not, in making that progress, also benefited every man working in the industry who is not a trade unionist. So far as the Department of Labor is concerned, it will utilize every force that it finds available to its hands for the purpose of promoting the welfare of those who toil. It will use most those agencies which are most effective; and, in my experience, those agencies which have been most effective in improving the conditions of the wage workers have been the trade unions of this country. I thank you.

Vice-President O'Connell moved that the address of Hon. William B. Wilson be published in full in the proceedings of the convention. (Seconded and carried.)

Vice-President Duncan moved a rising vote of thanks to the Secretary of Labor for his presence and his address to the convention.

Digitized by Google

Seconded and carried by unanimous rising vote.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was made a special order of business at the conclusion of the report of the Committee on Adjustment.

At 12.30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

ELEVENTH DAY—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Friday, November 20, Vice-President Hayes in the chair.

Absentees—Glass, Larger, Schwarz (M.), Schlesinger, Holpern, Miller, Bope, Carey, Clark (T. G.), Malin, Burns (G. F.), McGrath, Gabert, Griggs, Conlon, Young, Keppler, Walck, Miller (E. D.), Johnson (J. L.), Kelly (T.), Sauter, Kay, Laylor, Bradley, Dunn, Butler, Glynn, Newberry, Kelly (E. H.), Bueche, Collmer, Higgins, Duddy, Davies, Givens, Lyons, Kline (E.).

Secretary Morrison read the following credential:

Fort Worth, Tex., October 16, 1914.

This is to certify that Mr. J. H. Kimble, National Legislative Agent, and Mr. J. H. Patten, First Assistant Secretary, have this day been elected fraternal delegates to represent the Farmers' National Congress at the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held in Philadelphia this year.

W. L. AMES,
President.
O. D. HILL,
Secretary.

Secretary Morrison: I move that Mr. Patten be seated as a fraternal delegate from the Farmers' National Congress, without vote. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary Morrison: I would ask at this time that Mr. Patten be given the floor.

No objection being offered, Mr. Patten was introduced to the convention.

Fraternal Delegate Patten: Mr. President and Delegates to the American Federation: I appreciate how busy you are in these closing days of your session. I am sorry to be so tardy in arriving, but it was impossible to get here sooner. I bring with me the most cordial and fraternal greetings from the Farmers' National Congress, held in Fort Worth, Texas, recently, at which you had a fraternal delegate.

The American Federation of Labor has blazed the way for the farmers in one particular, while it seems to some of the representatives of the farmers they have blazed the way for organized labor in another in furnishing some of the first martyrs to be arrested and imprisoned for doing collectively that which was legal individually. I refer to the six men of Dorset, that have come down to us in English history. They attempted to do a little collective bargaining and prevent a reduction from 80 cents to 60 cents a day, and that was an unlawful restraint of trade.

In Grant county, Kentucky, in 1907, the first men convicted under the criminal section of the Sherman anti-trust act were farmers, and all they did was to withdraw from shipment a hogshead of tobacco which had been taken to the station and consigned to a commission firm in Cincinnati. So you see some others have been suffering, as well as organized labor. The farmers, unorganized, suffered, and were the first to be convicted of restraining trade under the criminal section of the Sherman anti-trust act, and that it why they so heartily joined you and did what they could; although it seems to me, from the reports from Washington, you alone are to get the credit for giving you a right to live as an organization.

To illustrate the point of view that is growing among farmers, I will tell you a story. They felt the need of organization. You think you encounter difficulties in organizing the working classes, but you do not begin to be up against it as the leaders in the farmers' organizations, such as the Farmers' Grange, Farmers' National Union and Farmers' National Congress. Some of them are beginning to realize what organization means, as a visitor at an insane asylum realized when he saw conditions there. He saw the inmates walking about the grounds, and noticed there were only a few in control. He asked the superintendent how it was that so few people could control so many of the inmates of the institution, and was told: "We are organized; we

Digitized by Google

have a system." The guest said: "But what if these men should organize?" Here is what the superintendent said: "Crazy men don't organize. Wise men do."

But there is still another class we have to contend with, and, I presume, you may sometimes run across such a man in your ranks. When the Farmers' Union was organized in Arkansas, a majority of the farmers became members of it. One farmer, returning home from the meeting where he had been initiated, rushed into the house, grabbed a lantern, tied a red flannel rag around it, rushed out to the railroad tracks and flagged the fast express. The engineer climbed down and asked, "What is the matter?" "I just joined the Farmers' Union this evening, and I have come down to get my carload of benefits."

I came to extend our fraternal greeting and to express our appreciation of the grand work you have done in Washington through your Legislative Committee and agents and officials in behalf of the producer as well as yourselves; and we thank you for it, and want to help you in our little way as much as we can.

Chairman Hayes: I wish to say, in behalf of this convention, that the greeting of Delegate Patten is highly appreciated, as is also his presence, and his remarks will, of course, be included in the record.

Report of Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Electrical Workers.

Pages 135-137, Executive Council's report. Your committee notes with satisfaction the result of the visit of President Gompers and members of the Executive Council to San Francisco and the success with which they met in the adjustment of the controversy between the Electrical Workers in that city, and approves of the adjustment made.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Brick Makers—Seceding Local Unions.

Pages 137-138, Executive Council's report. Your committee, with a view to an adjustment of this controversy, gave all parties in interest an extended hearing, and we regret to report our failure to adjust the differences between the contending parties.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that these local unions reaffiliate themselves with their international organization by February 1, 1915, and that for the present no further consideration shall be given these seceding local unions by the American Federation of Labor, and after February 1, 1915, if the seceding local unions have not reaffiliated with the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, the President of the American Federation of Labor is instructed to issue a circular to all city central bodies, and State organizations notifying them that the seceding local unions of the internation organization shall be refused further recognition by such bodies.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Sullivan (J. L.): Am I to understand that these seceding locals are now entitled to recognition in the central bodies?

Secretary Golden: They are not entitled to it, but they are receiving it, according to the evidence.

Delegate Sullivan spoke in support of the recommendation of the committee.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate McNulty, Electrical Workers: I would like to ask the Adjustment Committee if the decision this morning on the Moving Picture Operators meant that only one section of that agreement was morally binding upon both organizations, or all of the agreement?

Vice-President O'Connell: The committee had in mind the agreement made between the two organizations. As to whether any particular section had been violated or abrogated, the committee did not give that any particular consideration. The agreement was made between the two organizations, was certified to by President Gompers, was endorsed by a convention of the American Federation of Labor, and upon that the committee based its report. The construction to put upon the report is that if there was an agreement, and apparently there was, between the two organizations, that agreement would be in

Digitized by Google

full force. I do not know the details of the agreement, but that is the sense of the committee.

Resolution No. 22—By the delegation of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 569, Hardwood Finishers, of Boston, Mass., was chartered by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America as the result of the amalgamation of the A. W. W. with the U. B. with the understanding that the granting of said charter was a temporary affair, lasting ony until such time as arrangements could be made to transfer them to the organization to which they properly belonged—namely, the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; and

WHEREAS, We have repeatedly asked the Brotherhood of Painters within the past two years to accept these Hardwood Finishers from us, but up to the present time no definite action has been taken by the Brotherhood of Painters on this matter; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Painters be required to accept these men to membership in their organization and thereby carry into full force and effect the understanding reached at the time of amalgamation.

Your committee concurs in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Hedrick: I am not opposed to the report of the committee, but I believe an explanation is due. We have in our international organization a law that forbids our international officers from issuing a charter to a local union where a local union already exists, and we have for a long time been endeavoring to remove the objection of our locals in the city of Boston to this union. We succeeded about six weeks ago in getting the Boston locals to agree, and since then have offered a charter to the Finishers. To our surprise, they then attempetd to dictate the terms upon which they would come in. We owe to the membership of our organization in Boston a certain amount of protection—that is, to protect the wages they are receiving on the outside. Their wages are far above the wages of the Finishers. This organization that has been affiliated with the carpenters is below the standard; consequently we tried to protect them from coming on the outside and working under those conditions. I believe in the very near future the obstacle will be overcome, and I assure you we will be only too glad to charter the organization in question.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Electrical Workers—Engineers.

Page 134, Executive Council's report. The delegates of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers informed the committee in the presence of the delegation of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers that they did not, or had no intention of infringing upon the jurisdiction of the Electrical Workers, which explanation was satisfactory to all parties concerned. Your committee, therefore, finds no further action necessary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Carriage and Wagon Workers—Blacksmiths—Upholsterers—Machinists Metal Polishers.

The committee reported on that part of the Executive Council's report under the above caption and upon Resolutions No. 10 and No. 112.

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate McPherson, of the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union;

WHEREAS, In the United States and Canada there is estimated to be about 175,000 operatives in the carriage, wagon and automobile industry, who directly gain their support for themselves and families from this industry; and

WHEREAS, The organization of this vast army of workers has not progressed as it should have, and that by reason of this fact compensation to the worker and a fair share of the vast amount of wealth produced in this industry has been diverted into channels directly opposed to the workers in this industry; and

WHEREAS, In organized effort alone lies the hope of the worker to win and to keep all that is coming to him; and

WHEREAS, The realization of these hopes can be better secured under the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union, because it embraces every branch of the industry, consolidating the interest and guaranteeing protection to all workers, specializing none, but accepting every worker in the industry; and

WHEREAS, Efforts at segregation have proved a dismal failure; and

WHEREAS, The Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union of North America is the only organization that is in a position to

Digitized by Google

place and does place carriages, wagons and automobiles on the market bearing a union label (which has been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor) and which guarantees the product to be union made from start to finish; and

WHEREAS, The increase in the membership of the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union for the past year, notwithstanding the exceptionally dull season, distinctly shows that the workers in the carriage, wagon and automobile industry favor the form of organization under which we are instituted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the right to organize the unorganized workers in the carriage, wagon and automobile industry be given to the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union of North America at this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, so that every worker who gains his livelihood in this industry may be brought into the ranks of organized labor.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegates J. W. Kline, John M. Tobin, of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths; Wm. H. Johnston, Thos. Van Lear, J. A. Taylor, of the International Association of Machinists; Jas. Hatch, of the Upholsterers' International Union; John J. Hynes, James T. Moriarty, of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance; James Wilson, John Watt, of the Pattern Makers' League of North America; George Leary, John J. Flynn, of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America; P. H. McCarthy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; F. J. McNulty, S. A. Grimblot, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, The following resolution was introduced at the Seattle convention; and

"WHEREAS, There are over 150,000 mechanics employed in carriage, wagon, and automobile manufacturing plants; and,

"WHEREAS, Efforts made to organize the automobile factories have not been effective on account of the claims made by the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union, which claims jurisdiction over all men employed in the construction and repairing of carriages, wagons and automobiles; and,

"WHEREAS, The jurisdiction claimed by the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union encroaches upon the jurisdiction of all the national unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor whose members are employed in the auto manufacturing establishments; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That this Thirty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor certifies to the fact that the jurisdiction of the organizations whose crafts are a part of the carriage, wagon and automobile industries shall be protected, and the officers of the American Federation of Labor instructed to notify the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union that it is to discontinue in future all encroachment upon the jurisdiction of the unions the names of which are herewith attached, and that the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union be required to turn over to their respective unions all men they have as members of the local unions who lawfully belong to other international unions, and that the Executive Council be instructed to assist the various international organizations whose charters give them the right to organize men employed in the carriage, wagon, and automobile industries, to secure control of the work that properly comes under their jurisdiction. Should the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union fail to comply with the provisions of this resolution, your committee recommends that a report of the facts be made by the Executive Council to the next convention"; and

WHEREAS, In view of the fact that the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union has, since the adoption of above resolution by the Seattle convention, continued its encroachment on the jurisdiction of other national unions by organizing and attempting to organize men in the automobile industry who perform work covered by the jurisdiction of other national unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention order the revocation of the charter of the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union by June 1, 1915, unless it comply with the provisions of Resolution No. 125, adopted at the Seattle convention—to wit, that it be required to turn over to its respective unions all men it has as members in its local unions lawfully belonging to other national unions and in future to refrain from organizing or interfering with the organizing of men employed in the automobile industry who are performing work covered by the jurisdiction of other national unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee, after hearing all parties in interest, finds that the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union has attempted to assume jurisdiction over the automobile industry to which it is not entitled, such jurisdiction properly belonging to several affiliated international organizations.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union discontinue the use of the words "automobile workers" and refrain from attempting to organize workmen in automobile factories properly coming

Digitized by Google

under the jurisdiction of affiliated organizations.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate McPherson discussed the question at length. He stated in detail the conditions existing in the various automobile factories in different parts of the country, approximately the number of men employed at each branch of the work, and the necessity of having them all in one organization. He referred to the large number of unorganized men in the industry and urged that his organization be given permission to organize them.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Fry, of the Machinists.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 23—By the delegation of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen claim jurisdiction over all carpenters, car builders, millmen and cabinetmakers employed in railroad car shops; and

WHEREAS, When said organization was chartered by the American Federation of Labor on August 9, 1910, it was clearly and distinctly specified in a letter to President Ryan, of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen that: "In issuing the charter to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen it shall in no way infringe upon the jurisdiction of any existing national or international union, nor the work that may belong to either"; and

WHEREAS, The claim of jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen is an infringement on the jurisdictional rights of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen be notified by the American Federation of Labor to refrain from encroaching and infringing on work that belongs to the carpenters and belonged to them before the carmen were organized and chartered.

No conference in accordance with the laws of the A. F. of L. having been held in connection with this controversy prior to this convention, your committee recommends that the president of the A. F. of L. be instructed to call a conference of all parties in interest within ninety days from the adjournment of the Philadelphia convention with a view to bringing about a satisfactory adjustment.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Ryan (M. F.) read the first whereas of the resolution, and in discussing the question said in part: I desire to plead guilty to the claims made here, and we have been claiming jurisdiction over these men for the last twenty-five years. We have them organized in our organization and we have them protected in contract negotiations or relations with fifty-two railroads in the United States and Canada. I desire, therefore, to say to this convention that I take the position, and my organization takes the position, that we are not willing to meet the carpenters to discuss whether or not these men whom we have organized for twenty-five years belong to them or belong to our brotherhood, and I am under instructions from our convention not to atend any conference of this kind, because we take the position that the claims of the carpenters are not justified.

The carpenters have no agreements with the railroads of this country, and we are not going to debate whether these men belong to the carpenters' organization or not. They are in our organization now and have been for many years, and whatever conditions they have secured for themselves they have secured through the efforts of our organization and as a result of the time and money spent by our brotherhood.

Secretary Golden: Are we to understand that you would refuse to attend a conference that the president of the American Federation of Labor is instructed to call for the purpose of establishing your claim of jurisdiction?

Delegate Ryan: Over these men mentioned in the first whereas. I am instructed to do it.

Chairman O'Connell: The committee had no other course to pursue. We found no conference had been held, and in accordance with the law asked that one be held. We could not hear the case under the law.

Delegate Ryan: I do not want to place myself or our organization in the position of not being willing to obey the mandates of the American

Digitized by Google

Federation of Labor, but when it is a question of deciding whether or not we have a right to live, I am going to protest.

Vice-President Duffy, in discussing the question, said in part: We have carpenters working on railroads, in shops, repairing cars, and all that sort of thing, and had them before this organization of carmen was admitted to the American Federation of Labor; and when they were admitted it was with the distinct understanding that they would not encroach on the jurisdiction of any other affiliated organization. We claim the carpenters, no matter where they are doing work; they belong to the carpenters' organization. Brother Ryan says he will not meet in conference. I might tell you that I have had this matter up with Brother Ryan as president of his organization. He arranged with me to have a conference when his Executive Board was in session about two years ago. Our Executive Board was in session at that time. President Kirby and myself could not go to that conference, and I so notified Brother Ryan. I told him we would go at any other time he set and we would go into conference at any place he mentioned. From that time to the present he has never indicated when that conference would be held, therefore there was nothing else to do but bring the matter to the floor of this convention. We are willing to meet Brother Ryan at any time or any place in conference.

A viva voce vote was taken on the motion to adopt the report of the committee.

A division was called for, which resulted in 80 votes being cast in the affirmative and 72 in the negative.

Delegate Ryan: Inasmuch as this is practically taking my organization out of the American Federation of Labor, I demand a rollcall.

A sufficient number supported the request to warrant the calling of the roll.

After a brief discussion Delegate Ryan withdrew his request for a rollcall, stating that he did so owing to the lateness of the hour and the amount of business to be transacted by the convention.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Geo. F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp, Wm. Kemp, T. H. Norris, P. H. Triggs, John H. Baker, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Carmen claims jurisdiction over and includes in its membership men engaged in the painting of railway equipment; and

WHEREAS, The Pittsburgh (1905) convention of the American Federation of Labor gave to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America jurisdiction over car and railway equipment painting; and

WHEREAS, When the Brotherhood of Carmen was chartered by the American Federation of Labor, the Brotherhood of Painters called to the attention of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the fact that the jurisdiction claimed by the Brotherhood of Carmen conflicted with the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters as recognized by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The charter of the Brotherhood of Carmen was granted with the specific understanding, as stated by the Executive Council, that "in issuing the charter to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen it shall in no way infringe upon the jurisdiction of any existing national or international union, nor the work that may belong to either"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen be notified by the American Federation of Labor to refrain from further encroachment upon the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

Your committee finds that the organizations at interest for several years have been working under their present jurisdiction without apparent friction or disagreement, with the exception of an incidental case here and there.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that the president of the American Federation of Labor arrange for a conference within ninety days between all parties at interest, with a view to bringing about an understanding or adjustment of the differences between the two organizations.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegates T. M. Daly, John J. Flynn, George Leary, of the International Union of Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers:

WHEREAS, The Pocket Knife Grinders' Union, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, has polishing and buffing in its jurisdiction, and, in fact, its whole union is comprised of metal polishers; therefore, be it

Digitized by Google

RESOLVED, That the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union be allowed its full jurisdiction of metal polishing and buffing on all metal; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, goes on record in regard to our charter rights, and that the incoming Executive Council shall do all in its power to bring the two organizations together, as their interests will be best safeguarded in the one union.

Your commitee approves the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President Valentine in the chair.

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates Matt Comerford, R. G. Moser, John J. Glass and James G. Hannahan, of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association is organizing engineers; and

WHEREAS, It is using said engineers to fill places of members of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers when said members are on strike to better their conditions, this recently happening in the port of Chicago; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Longshoremen's Association be censured by this convention for this flagrant violation of trades unionism; and be it further

RESOLVED That it be compelled to transfer all operating engineers in its organization to the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and stand instructed not to enroll in the future any engineers into its organization.

Your committee recommends that the president of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have a personal investigation made as to the charges contained in Resolution No. 113, and if they are found to be true, instructions shall be given to the offending organization warning them against a repetition of the offense, and, further, if it is found that the International Longshoremen's Association has in its membership, or is accepting to membership, engineers properly coming under the jurisdiction of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, they shall be transferred to such organization at the earliest date possible.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate O'Connor (T. V.) discussed the question, and said in part: I would be perfectly satisfied with the action of the committee, only that the resolution drawn up and presented by the Engineers' delegation places our organization in the light of strike-breakers. I am willing to have an investigation of this matter, but I want the delegates of the American Federation of Labor to understand both sides of the situation.

Delegate O'Connor referred to the organization of the pile drivers by the Longshoremen, the wages received by the men, the improvement in their condition, and their connection with other organizations.

Delegate Comerford, of the Engineers, spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee, and stated that the Engineers would heartily welcome an investigation.

Delegate Chlopek discussed the question at some length, referring to the organization and development of the Longshoremen's organization, its work in organizing pile drivers and the improvement in wages and conditions that had come to the men as the result of that organization.

Chairman O'Connell: There is nothing in this resolution that settles any jurisdiction. It is not adjusting any grievance or deciding any jurisdiction; it simply says an investigation will be made. Then it is up to the Executive Council to decide whether either organization is imposing upon the jurisdiction of the other.

Delegate O'Connor: I move that the word "stationary" be inserted before the word "engineer." I move that as an amendment to the report of the committee. They have no jurisdiction over marine men.

Delegate Comerford: A point of order. If that motion is adopted it will change our title. Our organization is composed of portable as well as stationary engineers.

Chairman Valentine: The point of order is well taken.

Delegate Chlopek: Our organization has a closed-shop contract with every marine pile-driving contractor on the Great Lakes. That contract runs to the first day of May, 1916. We have had jurisdiction over these men for twenty years, and we are going to keep it.

Chairman O'Connell: Again I will say this report does not question the jurisdiction held by either the Longshoremen or the Engineers, and it does not decide the question of jurisdiction.

Digitized by Google

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Lithographers—Lithographic Press Feeders.

Page 131 of the Executive Council's report. We recommend that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor use its best efforts to bring about an amalgamation of the two organizations.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers: I believe that in considering this resolution the committee considered it in connection with one which has been acted upon in this convention, which requires the Executive Council to endeavor to bring about an amalgamation in the lithographic field with the Pressmen and Photo-Engravers. This resolution relates to the same subject-matter, and it was my impression that both were to be brought in as one recommendation, because, brought in as two distinctive propositions, they conflict with each other. It is for that reason I would have the action here considered as part of the action taken previously upon the other report of the Executive Council.

Chairman O'Connell: This would simply carry the instruction, and the Executive Council would naturally consider it in conjunction with the motion adopted in the other case.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 29—By the American Brotherhood of Slate Workers:

WHEREAS, The American Brotherhood of Slate Workers had secured jurisdiction over all slate and jurisdiction having been granted by the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, The International Marble Workers' Association having secured jurisdiction for the setting of slate from the Building Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, The said jurisdiction given by the Building Trades makes the Marble Workers a dual organization to the American Brotherhood of Slate Workers, and conditions are such that the members of the Slate Workers' organization are not allowed to set slate where the Building Trades are working; and

WHEREAS, Through such confliction Local No. 8 of the Slate Workers was refused a seat in the Building Trades of Newark; and

WHEREAS, They secured a seat in the Essex Trades Council in Newark; and

WHEREAS, Through the influence of the Building Trades, Local No. 8 was unseated in the Essex Trades Council on September 11, 1914, for not obeying the mandate of the findings of the Grievance Committee on August 21, 1914, to wit:

"To the Essex Trades Council.

"Your Grievance Committee is of the opinion that the Slate Workers must abide by the decision of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. handed down to this Council, to wit: That the structural setting of slate is in the jurisdiction of the Marble Workers;

"It is the further opinion of the committee that in the event of the continued refusal of the Slate Workers to abide by the above-named ruling, this Council can pursue no other course than to unseat their delegates.

"We also recommend that the whole matter be brought before the next convention of the A. F. of L. for final adjustment"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we appeal to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. against the action of the Essex Trades Council in unseating the delegates of Local No. 8 on a jurisdictional question; and be it further

RESOLVED, That no central body can unseat any organization on the question of jurisdiction, when that organization has secured same from an A. F. of L. convention; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the working of slate in any form and setting of same in building is under the jurisdiction of the Slate Workers; and be it still further

RESOLVED, That at this, the Fifth Annual Convention of the Brotherhood of Slate Workers, we appeal and protest against the action of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in issuing such a decree against the Slate Workers; and be it still further

RESOLVED, That the working of elect delegates to the annual convention of the A. F. of L. each year hereafter.

This representative appeared before your committee and requested permission to withdraw the resolution, which was granted.

The action of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates George Leary, T. M. Daly and John J. Flynn, of the International Union of Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers:

WHEREAS, The Jewelry Workers' organization no longer exists as an international union; and

WHEREAS, During the time that it held a charter of affiliation to the American Federation of Labor, it claim-

Digitized by Google

ed the right to organize metal polishers, buffers and platers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union be allowed its full jurisdiction of metal polishing, buffing and plating on all metal; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, now assembled, goes on record to the effect that our organization's charter, issued by the American Federation of Labor, covers all metal polishing, buffing and plating in its jurisdiction.

Your committee recommends that we reaffirm the jurisdiction granted to the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate P. F. Hanley, of the American Brotherhood of Slate Workers:

WHEREAS, It is universally conceded that the organizations of labor are all striving to the one end, to wit: to better conditions and uplift the toilers; and

WHEREAS, It is further conceded that no organization can sustain a healthy growth with members of its concrete body rent asunder; and

WHEREAS, It is still further conceded that what is a small benefit to one is such a detriment to another that it prevents it from organizing its members under the jurisdiction of the organization which has had the prior jurisdiction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all men employed in the production and the working of slate, to wit: quarry men, sawing, cutting, rubbing, constructing of sinks, wash trays and the setting of blackboards, urinals, wainscoting, treads, platforms, base, etc., and the working of slate in any way, shall be under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Slate Workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That its jurisdiction shall extend to such heretofore mentioned, as this is the only organization that can control the slate industry from its inception to its erection.

No conferences having been held between the organizations at interest prior to the Philadelphia convention, your committee recommends that the president of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to arrange for a conference of all parties at interest within ninety days from the adjournment of the Philadelphia convention, with a view to an adjustment of the claim for extension of jurisdiction by the American Brotherhood of Slate Workers.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 124, introduced by the delegates of the International Association of Marble Workers.

Your committee was of the opinion that it involved a question of law, and therefore the resolution was referred to the Committee on Law.

The action of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 126—By Delegates J. E. McClory, M. J. Cunnane and W. R. Walters, of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers:

WHEREAS, The tendency of the times in the American labor movement is to consolidate and almagamate kindred or closely allied crafts; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers is composed of co-ordinate branches of erection and construction, in which rigging and other apparatus is used; and

WHEREAS, Among the various branches of work in the construction line the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers has a class of workmen known as riggers, machinery movers and house movers, who command the highest wage and shortest hours for this class of work; and

WHEREAS, Our efforts to better organize this class of workmen would be greatly facilitated if the American Federation of Labor would give complete jurisdiction to the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers over this class of workmen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, assembled in Philadelphia, grant complete jurisdiction over said work contained in this resolution to the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

Your committee had a protest from the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union; also from the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders, and from the delegate of the San Francisco Labor Council. We find that no conferences have been held prior to the Philadelphia convention and, therefore, recommended that the president of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to call a conference of all parties in interest within ninety days after the adjournment of the Philadelphia convention, with a view to ascertaining whether the extended jurisdiction of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers can be granted with-

Digitized by Google

out infringing upon the jurisdiction of the other affiliated organizations.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 132—By Delegates John R. Alpine, Thomas S. Kearney, Charles Anderson and Charles M. Rau, of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters:

WHEREAS, Local Union 566, of New York city, is a bona fide local union of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, The International Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union has in the past and still is using every effort to have Local Union 566, of the United Association, affiliate with the International Compressed Air Workers; and

WHEREAS, The members of Local Union 566 are engaged only at pipe fitting as a means of livelihood, and are not in any manner infringing or intruding upon the work or jurisdiction of the Compressed Air Workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the International Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union of the United States and Canada shall discontinue the effort to secure control over Local Union 566, or any other local union of the United Association, and the said International Association of Compressed Air Workers, etc., shall by this convention be so instructed

All parties in interest agreed to the adoption of Resolution No. 132, and your committee therefore recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 138—By Delegates W. V. Price and S. C. Hogan, of the International Association of Marble Workers:

WHEREAS, The International Association of Marble Workers has for the past fourteen months been engaged in a conflict with the Bricklayers and Mason's International Union in defense of its trade and its organization; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has in convention and through its Executive Council repeatedly appealed and urged its affiliated unions to render every assistance possible to the International Association of Marble Workers; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the International Union of Steam Engineers and the Operative Plasterers' International Union have gone on strike to assist the Bricklayers and Mason's International Union in its attempt to control the setting of marble in the interior of buildings and in efforts to disrupt and destroy the International Association of Marble Workers; and

WHEREAS, Such action on the part of affiliated international unions is not for the best interest of our Federation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, condemns such action on the part of affiliated unions and earnestly requests the unions named to cease striking against the members of the International Association of Marble Workers.

Your committee approves the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 150—By Delegate William H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The United Association of Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc., introduced a resolution, designated as Resolution No. 63, at the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor, alleging that the International Association of Machinists was engaged in performing the work of pipefitting; and

WHEREAS, The Committee on Adjustment, in submitting its report, which was adopted, cited that there were technical questions the settlement of which required investigation, recommended that the resolution above mentioned be referred to the Executive Council with instruction to arrange a conference among all organizations in interest for the purpose of formulating an agreement defining the technical questions involved; and

WHEREAS, A conference was held in the city of Washington between the representatives of the organizations in interest, no agreement being reached. The Executive Council, without making a personal investigation of the work involved, which the Committee on Adjustment recommended, rendered a decision affecting the jurisdiction previously recognized as belonging to the International Association of Machinists; and

WHEREAS, We believe a great injustice has been done the International Association of Machinists in the rendering of this decision before such personal investigation had been made; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the president and Executive Council to reopen the question and arrange for a conference to be held between the representatives of the organizations in interest in the city of Chicago within ninety days, where a personal inspection of the work involved shall be made and decision rendered

Your committee gave an extended hearing to all parties in interest and

Digitized by Google

the following recommendation of the committee was agreed to:

The Executive Council is instructed to appoint a special committee of three who shall make a personal investigation of the work involved in the controversy between the International Association of Machinists and the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters, within ninety days from the adjournment of the Philadelphia convention, and that the Executive Council shall decide when the report of the committee is submitted whether the evidence is sufficient to warrant the reopening of the case.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Vice-President Alpine: I favor the report of the committee. I would like to ask the secretary of the committee a question, in order that the matter may be thoroughly understood by myself, my co-delegates and the convention. My understanding of the committee's report is that there is to be an investigation by a certain number of investigators as provided for by the committee; the report to be made to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and that body to determine as to whether the case shall be reopened. So far I am right, am I not?

Secretary Golden: You are right.

Vice-President Alpine: I understand that the committee's report does not in any manner alter or amend the decision previously rendered by the Executive Council, and that there shall be no such alteration unless the investigation warrants it.

Secretary Golden: Your understanding is correct.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 152—By Delegate Wm. H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere, where machinery may be used; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is attempting to do this work and taking advantage of every opportunity to place the members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on same; and

WHEREAS, Numerous protests have been made to the officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of the trespass on the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, and a number of conferences have been held, all to no avail, this resulting in the International Association of Machinists appealing to the Seattle Building Trades Department convention in the form of a resolution protesting against the infringement complained of, this resolution was adopted and the officers of the Building Trades Department instructed to use every means at their command to conserve the rights and jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is fundamentally a craft composed of men skilled in the erecting, forming and assembling of wood materials and has never been recognized as a metal craft organization or granted jurisdiction over the making, repairing, erecting, assembling or dismantling of machinery; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be and is hereby instructed to discontinue the infringement complained of; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the president and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to render every possible assistance in enforcing the intent of this resolution.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President O'Connell stated that Resolution No. 4 had been withheld at the request of Delegate Berry, of the Pressmen, until he could be present. He asked if Delegate Berry was in the convention.

The statement was made that Delegate Berry was not in the convention. Vice-President O'Connell announced the committee had other resolution to report upon than the one in question, and the report would be proceeded with.

Resolution No. 35—By the delegation from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

WHEREAS, Complaint has been lodged with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America that the Brewery Workers at St. Louis, Mo., are infringing on the jurisdictional rights of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America in doing carpenter work, repairing boxes, etc.; and,

WHEREAS, Said complaint was submitted to the Brewery Workers by cor-

Digitized by Google

respondence, but no action was taken by that organization, not even the courtesy of a reply thereto; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Brewery Workers be notified by the A. F. of L. to refrain from doing work which does not belong to them and which cannot be considered in any manner as theirs.

No conference in accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor having been held in connection with this controversy prior to this convention, your committee recommends that the president of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to call a conference of all parties in interest within ninety days from the adjournment of the Philadelphia convention, with a view to bringing about a satisfactory adjustment.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate H. Rosenthal, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, An unfortunate conflict exists between four local unions formerly in affiliation with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, at New York city; and

WHEREAS, The Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity did dissociate the New York Job Pressfeeders' Union No. 1; New York Franklin Union, No. 23, Inc.; New York Web Newspaper Printing Pressmen Union, No. 25, and the New York Printing Pressmen's Union, No. 51, these unions claiming a collective membership of 7000; and

WHEREAS, The Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity is of the opinion that the interests of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America and of the general labor movement can best be conserved by creating harmony between these four unions and the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adopt such measures as will, in its judgment, bring about this desired result, and reconnect these four unions with the recognized American labor movement.

Your committee recommends that no further consideration be given to the seceding local unions above referred to, and that the president of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to notify the officers of these seceding local unions to reaffiliate themselves with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union by February 1, 1915, and that these seceding local unions shall be given no recognition by the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity or by the New York State Federation of Labor until they have reaffiliated themselves with their international organization.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Rosenthal stated that the resolution had been introduced merely to secure the appointment of a committee by the Executive Council to investigate the difficulty between the Pressmen's organizations in New York city and their international union. He discussed briefly the connection of the seceding locals with the New York central body, their withdrawal from that body and the efforts that had been made to secure an investigation of the difficulty.

Vice-President O'Connell: The committee was governed largely by the affiliated rights of our international union. This body is made up voluntarily of international organizations, and the Federation guarantees to the affiliated international organizations that it will not interfere with their internal affairs; that is their business; and it is about time the American Federation of Labor made it known clearly, so that all would know that unions seceding from their international organizations will receive no consideration at the hands of the American Federation of Labor, and that they must adjust their affairs within their own international organizations.

Delegate Eveland, of the Printing Pressmen, proceeded to discuss the dispute between the New York local unions and the international union.

Delegate Woll: I rise to a point of order. As the action taken by former conventions is that the American Federation of Labor will not go into the internal troubles of affiliated international unions, and, if it is the law, we have no right to listen to the internal difficulties of organizations.

Chairman Valentine: The point is well taken.

President Gompers suggested that the subject-matter be laid over until Delegate Berry could have an opportunity to be present.

No objection being offered, further consideration of Resolution No. 4 was postponed.

Vice-President O'Connell: That concludes the matters referred to your com-

Digitized by Google

mittee, with the exception of the deferred action on this one resolution, and, as has been the custom of the committee, we are going to throw a new thought into the convention.

Secretary Golden, of the committee, read the following:

Your committee has devoted the greater portion of eight days to the work assigned to it, thus denying the fifteen members of the committee the opportunity of regularly attending the sessions of the Philadelphia convention, which is a sacrifice that seems to the members of the committee as being avoidable.

We have, therefore, not only given attention to the subjects referred to us by the chairman of this convention, but we have given serious thought to devising some means whereby the work of the Adjustment Committee may be materially reduced and much of the valuable time of the convention conserved.

The Committee on Adjustment has at previous conventions made recommendations which have proven profitable to our Federation. We have agreed upon the following proposition, which we submit to the delegates of this convention for your favorable consideration, and, we trust, your approval:

To Establish a Board of Mediation and Conciliation.

WHEREAS, The rapid evolution of industry and too great a subdivision in a number of trades has and is causing what appears to be unavoidable friction between our affiliated organizations, with the result that we are wasting a large portion of our energy and strength in jurisdictional and other disputes, thus retarding in a measure the more rapid growth and spread of our movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby authorized and instructed to organize and institute as soon as possible after the adjournment of the Philadelphia convention, a department of mediation and conciliation, said department to be made up of three members to be selected by the Executive Council, who shall be members in good standing, selected from three different affiliated international organizations, and who shall give their entire time to the service of the American Federation of Labor, in accordance with the following sections, the compensation of the members of the department to be set by the Executive Council:

First. All jurisdictional disputes arising between conventions of the American Federation of Labor, or those jurisdictional disputes not adjusted when the conventions of the American Federation of Labor adjourn, may be referred to the Board of Mediation and Conciliation by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, when it shall become the duty of this board to undertake the adjustment of such disputes by mediation or conciliation. The board is authorized, as a whole or by subcommittee, consisting of one or more of its members, to make a personal investigation of the work in controversy, in company with at least one representative of all parties to the dispute.

Second. The Board of Mediation and Conciliation shall act as an advisory board upon such question or questions of amalgamating two or more organizations into one, as may be directed by the Executive Council; it may be authorized to make such investigation and research on the subject of amalgamation in the various and kindred trades so referred to it by the Executive Council, and, if required by the Executive Council, to direct its efforts in bringing about, with the consent of all interested parties, such amalgamation.

Third. The board shall organize by selecting one of its members as chairman, one member as vice-chairman, one member as secretary. The board shall be furnished an office for its work at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor.

Fourth. This department and the duties of the board shall at all times be carried on under the direction and supervision of the Executive Council, and the board shall report fully each week to the president and the Executive Council all the work in which it is engaged and the progress and success with which it is meeting.

Fifth. The board shall perform all such other work as may be assigned to it by the Executive Council or the president of the American Federation of Labor when not engaged in the work o fmediation and concillation.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Vice-President O'Connell: The president suggests that this ought to be put in print and the delegates have copies of it so that it can be more intelligently considered. The committee has no objection to that.

Delegate Rowe: I move to amend that definite action on that report of the committee and its recommendations be deferred for one year. (Seconded.)

Delegate Woll: I move as an amendment to the amendment that the entire subject-matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for its consideration, to consider not only the plan submitted by the committee, but such other plan as may be submitted to

Digitized by Google

it, or as may result out of its discussions, and to bring forth a complete report on this subject-matter at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor. (Seconded.)

Delegate Rowe: I will accept that.

The question was discussed at length by Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers; Delegate Keep, Delegate Furuseth, Vice-President O'Connell and Delegate Tobin (D. J.).

Delegate McNulty: I move as an amendment to the amendment that in the future the American Federation of Labor will not undertake to decide any difference that may exist or that may arise between affiliated organizations over jurisdiction of work.

Delegate Woll: I arise to a point of order. The original motion is to adopt the plan, to adopt the report of the committee. A gentleman moved to defer action for a year. The amendment to the amendment is that it be referred to the Executive Council. I do not know what laws you follow here, but an amendment to an amendment to an amendment is certainly out of order.

Chairman Valentine: It is out of order because it is not germane to the question.

The question was discussed by Secretary Morrison, Vice-President O'Connell and Delegate Rowe.

Upon motion, debate was closed.

The motion to refer to the Executive Council was carried.

Delegate O'Connor (T. V.): I move that we suspend the rules and that when we adjourn we reconvene at 8 o'clock. (Seconded and carried.)

Vice-President O'Connell stated that Delegate Berry was in the convention, and Resolution No. 4, upon which action had been deferred, would be considered. The resolution and the report of the committee were again read. The chairman stated that a motion to adopt the report of the committee was pending.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Eveland and Delegate Rosenthal.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Vice-President O'Connell: That concludes the report of this committee, and we desire to assure the convention that we appreciate the courteous treatment of our report, and trust that you feel this committee has given its best thought, best consideration and best effort to the work you have assigned to it.

All of which is respectfully and fraternally submitted.

JAMES O'CONNELL,
Chairman.
MATTHEW WOLL,
MARSDEN G. SCOTT,
C. L. BAINE,
H. J. CONWAY,
D. A. CAREY,
H. C. SHALVOY,
E. LEWIS EVANS,
JOHN T. SMITH,
CHARLES ANDERSON,
EDWARD FLORE,
GEORGE LEARY,
GEORGE J. CLEARY,
WM. McKINLEY, Jr.,
JOHN GOLDEN,
Secretary.
Adjustment Committee.

At 5.30 p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 8 p. m. of the same day.

Digitized by Google

ELEVENTH DAY—Friday Night Session

The convention was called to order at 8 o'clock p. m., Friday, November 20, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Mullaney, McGuire (M. J.), Zepp, Boyer, McPherson, Gurney, Scoby, Doyle, Glass, Leonard, Flore, Dorey, Torpey, Miller, Anderson (C.), Kearney, Clark (T. G.), Malin, Carrigan, Riley, Mahon, Burns (G. F.), Hurley, Curtis, McMahon (M. J.), Morris, Umstatter, Conlon, Young, Keppler, Walck, Lowe, Johnson (J. L.), Kelly (T.), Fahey (C. P.), Marcusy, Sauter, Kay, Laylor, Bradley, Butler, Bower, Glynn, Newberry, Dujay, Bueche, Hannon, Collmer, Duddy, Fahey (M.), Davies, Givens, Lyons, Kline.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolutions No. 144 and No. 149 were acted upon together, and the committee has endeavored in its report to announce the policy of the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 144—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor urged upon all State branches to work for the enactment of laws limiting the working hours of women and children to eight per day, and (where such laws already exist) to begin an agitation for the enactment of a general eight-hour law: and

WHEREAS, During the year President Gompers publicly declared that the American Federation of Labor does not favor a legal limitation of the workday for the adult male workers; and

WHEREAS, Said statement of President Gompers was very effectively used by the opponents of the shorter workday in defeating the eight-hour initiative which was before the people of California, Oregon and Washington at the recent general election; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we reaffirm the declaration of the Seattle convention upon the shorter workday as enunciated in the report of the Committee on Shorter Workday.

Resolution No. 149—By Delegate J. A. Taylor, of the International Association of Machinists; J. G. Brown, of the International Union of Timber Workers; H. L. Hughes, of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The best interests of the workers demand a radical reduction in the hours of labor at the earliest possible date; and

WHEREAS, The increased activities and power of organized employers of this country are making organization work in many industries exceedingly difficult and expensive, if not impossible; and

WHEREAS, A considerable number of States today enjoy the right to initiate and pass legislation by vote of the people; and

WHEREAS, California, Oregon and Washington, at their recent election, endeavored to pass eight-hour-day laws, but were considerably handicapped in their efforts by reason of the fact that the American Federation of Labor was misrepresented by the press of these three States as being opposed to such legislation; and

WHEREAS, The various labor bodies in these three States endorsed and put forth a tremendous effort to pass their several measures; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor went on record in favor of such legislation at the convention of 1913, held in Seattle, Wash. (see page 285, Resolution No. 44, Recommendations of the Committee of Shorter Workday, 1913 Proceedings; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does reaffirm its action favoring the direct-legislation method of shortening the workday in such States as the Federation of Labor in said States shall deem it desirable and expedient to use.

The committee offered the following as a substitute for the resolution:

The American Federation of Labor, as in the past, again declares that the question of the regulation of wages and the hours of labor should be undertaken through trade union activity, and not to be made subjects of laws through legislative enactment, excepting in so far as such regulations affect or govern the employment of women and minors, health and morals; and employment by Federal, State or municipal government.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Digitized by Google

Delegate Taylor, of the Machinists: I am opposed to the recommendation of the committee. The American Federation of Labor went on record, regardless of the interpretation that has been placed upon the resolution passed in Seattle, in favor of and instructing State federations and men belonging to State federations and the labor movement in the different States where the women's eight-hour law had been passed by legislation to immediately enact laws for a general eight-hour day.

The State of Washington passed the eight-hour law for women, and as a result of that law all of the women in the State of Washington are working eight hours a day. It has not been a case of disorganizing the workers, it has not been a drawback to the labor movement, but it has assisted in the organizing of some of the women's crafts in that State. I believe in taking advantage of every opportunity for the working people, both by legislation and on the economic field, and I know when we pass a law it is necessary to have an organization to enforce that law. Practical experience has taught us this much, and it has also been demonstrated in Washington that that is the case; and where the women are unorganized and the employer tries to get them to work more than eight hours a day they come to the Labor Temple, look up the secretary of the Central Labor Council, tell him about the employer having them break the law and ask for some kind of organization to enforce the law. After the law was passed some of the unscrupulous employers in the laundry industry and restaurants discharged the women and hired Japanese and Chinamen, and in some cases boys, so that they could work them ten and twelve hours. Therefore, the men in the State of Washington knew it was necessary to try to make the law universal in that State.

I believe where it is possible to reduce the hours of labor by our organization it is a very good thing to do. The machinists' organization, which I represent, has spent $800,000 in the Northwest since 1910 trying to reduce the hours of labor for the metal trades, and it has not been successful. When this law was placed upon the ballot, or before it was placed upon the ballot, the machinists put an organizer in the field in Washington and paid him a salary to assist in having the law put upon the ballot. After getting 35,000 signatures upon the ballot, one of the main causes of the defeat of that eight-hour measure in Washington was the fact that the statement was circulated that the president of the American Federation of Labor was opposed to legislation for the enactment of an eight-hour law for men. I leave it to this convention whether that is a fact.

This report on page 284 of the Seattle proceedings of the convention of 1913 will bear out the statement I make. This is the report of the Committee on Shorter Workday: "We feel, however, that organized labor should decide for a more general application of the eight-hour workday in all trades and occupations before devoting our energies to the introduction of the six-hour workday. To this end we recommend that renewed efforts be made during the coming year for a more general establishment of the eight-hour workday, and that especial attention be given to the inauguration of three eight-hour shifts in all hazardous industries, whether organized or unorganized." Further on the report says: "Where women's eight-hour laws already exist an agitation should immediately begin for the enactment of general eight-hour laws."

The president of the American Federation of Labor, in speaking before the Resolutions Committee, stated that that meant Government employes, or State employes, or something of that kind. This is not a report of any Government committee, any Federal committee or State body committee; it is the report of a committee acting on the shorter workday in the industries of this country. As a result of the interpretation placed upon that law by the president of the American Federation of Labor, all of the manufacturers' associations, all of the leaders of the employers in the State of Washington,

Digitized by Google

where they have thrown mud and dirt at all representatives of the American Federation of Labor and all representatives of any organization affiliated with this body—all leaders of this movement from the bottom up—used this statement to the detriment of the men and women in the State of Washington and other States on the Pacific coast to defeat that law.

I have here a poster that was put up all over the State of Washington. I wish to read it. I want the delegates of this convention to understand that I am not personal at all; I do not want to be construed in that manner. But I have got to make this statement, because it is a statement of fact and it is necessary to do so. The poster got out by the Manufacturers' Association of the State of Washington and by the Metal Trades in the State of Washington, that the machinists' organization spent hundreds of thousands of dollars to force them to give the eight-hour day, said: "President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, denounces a compulsory eight-hour law, Initiative Measure No. 13. He says that if there were a movement to establish an eight-hour day and a minimum wage he would oppose such policies. Mr. Gompers ought to know, and he does know, and every intelligent laboring man knows, a compulsory eight-hour day will increase living expenses and hurt the laborer more than anything else. Mr. Laborer, do you want eight hours instead of ten, and maybe lose your job altogether? Do you want to quit having overtime? Your employer cannot give you overtime under this law." And there are thousands of unemployed men in the State of Washington and no one should be allowed to work one minute overtime. "Can you pay higher prices for all you eat and wear and still support your family on eight hours a day and no overtime?"

I want to show you the extent to which the manufacturers' and employers' associations went in the States on the Pacific coast to prevent the law from passing. If we are going out to work for the initiative and referendum law, if we are going to spend our time and money and energy going out and speaking for the initiative and referendum, then let us use that to get those laws that will benefit organized labor and unorganized labor as well. We state many times that we uplift humanity, that we help men regardless of whether they belong to the labor movement or not. That is a fact, we do; and I state to you now that we should prevent an organization, if you can pass laws that will reduce the hours of labor so that all the men are employed. It is a great deal easier to go in and organize people when they have jobs and their stomachs are full than it is to go out in the State of Washington at the present time, where there are 30,000 men out of employment, and try to organize unorganized workers.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, that the American Federation of Labor should go on record at this convention in favor of passing legislation for eight-hour laws or any other laws that will benefit men in this organization and men out of the organization as well. There is nothing in this resolution, there is nothing in this recommendation of the committee, that has anything to do with Government employes; it is a clean-cut resolution, and the people on the Pacific coast feel that the American Federation of Labor movement owes it to them to give them the right to go out two years from now and fight for this eight-hour law and pass it with the full consent of this body, with the full instructions to the Executive Council that it will support and uphold them in getting that law passed. If you don't, we will pass it anyway, and the American Federation of Labor goes on record that it does not believe in getting anything when we can go straight across and get it; but we must walk around and around in a circle, instead of taking four or five steps across to get something.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.): I want to ask Secretary Morrrison if there is in his possession here in Philadelphia a pamphlet containing a speech made by President Gompers on this subject?

President Gompers: Do you refer to the abstract of the president's testimony before the Industrial Relations Commission?

Delegate Gallagher: That is not what I refer to. You made a speech, I think, before some Federal committee or Federal employes, I think in

Digitized by Google

Washington, some years ago. I understand it was published later in pamphlet form. If that is here I would like to get a copy of it before the debate closes. It is "The Eight-Hour Work Day: Its Enforcement and Influence," by Samuel Gompers.

Secretary Morrison: I will find out if there is such a pamphlet here.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee: The question raised by the committee's report is not one of an eight-hour or of a shorter workday, but is instead the announcement of the policy of the American trade-union movement as to how we will endeavor to secure a shorter workday. There are but two methods of securing conditions that affect our lives as workers. One is through legislation, State and Federal, and the other through the activities of our trade-union organization. The policy of the American trade-union movement in the regulation of wages, in the regulation of the other terms of employment, has always been to endeavor to secure them through the strength of our unions and through negotiations with employers.

The experience of our movement and of trade-union organizations in Europe has led the American trade-union movement to believe that is the most effective and that it is the safest method of procedure. We have tried in this country, as workingmen have endeavored to do in others, to secure through legislation a guarantee that our rights to organization and to trade-union effort should not be interfered with. That has been one form of legislation which the trade-union movement has most heartily and effectively applied. We have endeavored through legislative enactment to have our rights as freemen guaranteed so that we could then apply our trade-union method to regulate the terms of employment.

There are workmen in this country and in other countries who do not believe the trade-union method is most effective and they have placed their reliance upon the legislative method; and it is the results that have followed their efforts to establish a regulation of wages and hours of labor that have convinced the trades unionists that it is not a safe method. I do not want to weary you with reference to those conditions we so often hear mentioned. Every one of you will recall the reference of the old English Courts of Quarter Sessions, that, after the Black Plague, in the fifteenth century, not only regulated the workman's wages but his hours of labor. It has been the effort of the workmen in Australasia in recent years to secure by legislative methods a regulation by law, or through the machinery established by law, of their wages, their hours of labor and the other terms of employment. And every one of you who has studied what has occurred in that section of the world realizes that through their efforts, which at first seemed so full of promise, they shackled their trade-union movement so that today the trade unionists in Australia and New Zealand work for wages and under the hours of labor a court of arbitration tells them they must; and when they rebel they are put in jail. And there are trade unionists in jail in New Zealand today because they refused to work for wages and hours fastened upon them by the legal machinery which the trades unionists had succeeded in securing.

It was my good fortune to have represented this organization in Great Britain at the British Trades Union Congress in 1909, and at that time I found the minds of the delegates enthused because they had the prospect of Parliament enacting a bill which would establish a minimum wage rate for women and children in the sweated trades. We do not need to discuss the terrible conditions that prevail where women and children are employed; we do not even need to discuss the conditions that apply where men are employed in our own and other countries —they are terrible and we are trying to cure them. The British trades unionists were enthused with the hope that Parliament would enact a minimum wage law. I said to the leaders: "Is there no danger, if you endeavor to regulate wages by law for women and children, that you will establish the principle that it is proper for Government to regulate wages?" They said there was no danger, there was no possible chance for Parliament ever to dare to regulate their wages, that they were organized and were looking after themselves.

Digitized by Google

Parliament enacted a minimum wage law for women and children. Recently one of the most magnificent organizations in the British Isles, the miners of Durham and Yorkshire, desired to improve their conditions and made a demand for a wage rate they thought was commensurate for the work they were doing. They failed to reach an agreement with their employers, and did the only thing freemen can do—they struck. And the strike inconvenienced the public of Great Britain; it inconvenienced the manufacturers. There was a popular sentiment that Parliament should do something, and Parliament enacted a minimum wage law to apply to the miners of Great Britain. Boards were busily occupied there under the law, with the legal sanction of Parliament, regulating miners' wages. In many instances the awards of these boards handed down were not satisfactory and the miners struck. And if my information is correct, the miners of those two great unions were preparing for a general strike to secure conditions they thought they were entitled to.

Is there anywhere in the experience of our indusry, in the experience of workmen organized into trade unions, where they have ever secured anything determining the terms of labor for themselves through legislative enactment that it did not return as a boomerang, that it did not establish the machinery that gave the courts an opportunity to render decisions that created an obstacle in the path of the movement it required years to overcome? Only eighteen years ago that wonderful system was adopted in Australia and New Zealand. The men there are about as well organized as in any of our countries. Although they control the Parliament at the present time, they have been unable to repeal any legislation they enacted and have since discovered only put brass bands around their movement they could not burst, and have held them backward instead of allowing them to go forward.

It is not a question of an eight-hour day, a shorter workday, but the method our trade-union movement is going to sanction that will be used to regulate and determine the conditions under which we are going to work for our employers.

Delegate Brown, of the Timber Workers: Mr. President and Delegates: I feel that this matter now under consideration is of very great importance to the working people of this entire country. I think it is a matter of special importance to the trade unionists of the Pacific coast. I might say that in undertaking to secure this legislation through the initiative and referendum the State of Washington, and I fancy other States, imagined they were in perfect harmony and accord with the American Federation of Labor. It never for a moment occurred, the question was never raised, nobody ever imagined, there was any dispute as to the policy of the American Federation of Labor. So far as my information goes, the only time the American Federation of Labor ever gave expression to its views upon this matter was in the last convention in Seattle in 1913, in that report of the Shorter Workday Committee that Delegate Taylor read.

The argument advanced by the secretary of this committee, indicating the danger that would occur through placing this in the hands of the courts, I feel is misleading. It is true the courts have in the past unwarrantedly interfered in the laws enacted by the State Governments and the Federal Government. But I feel this to be true; in some of the States on the Pacific coast—and I think before very long it will be in all of the States on the Pacific coast—they will have the recall of Judges in effect, and I imagine if they had the recall of Judges in Australia and in some of the other places where the courts interfere with the legislative functions of Government there would be less of it. There is a Judge in Seattle who, about a year ago, got himself all mixed up and felt he was the legislative Government. It took a hundred men about five days to puncture his ambitions in that direction, and now he is one of the tamest Judges in that part of the country.

There is an element in this country, I know, which feels everything should be secured through legislative process, and I think it is as much one-sided, just as much endeavoring to go along on one leg, as the other element, which

Digitized by Google

fancies everything can be secured through economic organizations. It occurs to me the proper course to pursue would be to use any agency that would be productive of the desired end. This is a speculative matter; we are anticipating what may happen.

I might say that in the State of Washington, in reply to the poster sent out by the Manufacturers' Association, we quoted a telegram from President Gompers to the Direct Legislative League to the effect that he had given no opinion on the pending legislation, and also quoted from his speech before some congressional committee when he was asked how far he desired this legislation to go. And if the quotation is correct, he stated: "I want this legislation to go on until every man and every woman in the United States who works will be working under a prohibition limiting the hours of labor to eight," or about those words. We, therefore, felt that by some hocus pocus President Gompers himself was being misrepresented and the American Federation of Labor put in an unfair attitude toward the public.

Be that as it may, it ought not to be necessary to state that the ability they had to circulate those posters far and wide had a very bad effect upon the legislation they were trying to enact. It is going to be a difficult thing for us to say that legislation may be beneficial up to a certain point and beyond that point becomes a dangerous thing. I cannot understand why it would not be possible for the courts to interfere just as much in the eight-hour legislation affecting Government employes and women and children as it would be if it applied to all workers alike. The thing that strikes me to be important is whether or not the evils complained of in the fifteenth century are going to be established here in the event this policy we are now urging becomes the policy of the American Federation of Labor. It seems to me that to believe that is likely we must deny that we are making any progress. It seems to me the courts all over the country are becoming more and more alive to the fact that the people are resenting more and more their interference in the legislative functions of Government; and if that is true it seems to me we are unduly alarmed if we are anticipating unfavorable court action in connection with legislation of this character. The trade unionists in the State of Washington felt they were expressing the legitimate functions of government in trying to promote this legislation. They felt there were some workers that could not be organized; they felt unless these workers were organized they would prevent even the skilled trades from reducing the hours of labor that are still not low enough to permit the continuous employment of all the working people of this country.

Last winter, when this proposition was under consideration by the State Federation of Labor, in the very town where the convention of the State Federation was held the big sawmills were working the men who were unorganized twelve and a half hours a day, and at the same time there were 25,000 idle men in the State of Washington. It seems to me in an instance of that kind legislative interference is entirely commendable. Nobody out there had any idea we were going contrary to the policy of the Federation; and, so far as I know, the American Federation of Labor, except by common consent, has never established a policy in that direction. The secretary said that had always been the policy of the Federation, and probably that is true, because the method of securing this legislation has only recently become available. It is only within the past few years State Leglislatures have established these legislative provisions.

I called your attention a day or two ago to the fact that we would, on the 3d of next month, rid the State of Washington of one of the worst evils the working people had to contend with—the employment offices. If it is not to be applied in this case, why apply it to that? Why not let them go on and bleed the working people until the organizations are strong enough to remedy it? If legislation is good part of the way, it seems to me it ought to be good as far as we can take it. Have we got to go back to those States and say, after ten years of active effort to secure the adoption of the initiative and referendum feature of legislation, that we have got to discontinue its use

Digitized by Google

for fear the courts may go back two or three hundred years or farther, into the Dark Ages, and find a precedent for making a decision that a minimum wage is a maximum wage and that the maximum number of hours also constitutes a minimum number of hours?

I do not believe that is in line with common sense. I do not believe we ought to draw parallels with Australia, or even with England. It occurs to me this is a domestic problem, and we are quite familiar with the growing tendency on the part of the courts to keep their ears a little closer to the ground and learn what the will of the people is. And I believe, following the dictates of common sense and in the light of experience, it should be the policy of this American Federation of Labor to make use of any and all agencies to accomplish their purpose and bring a little more sunshine and happiness into the lives of the working people.

Delegate Handley: I arise to a point of order. This discussion has been going on day after day, and the convention decided yesterday that each delegate would have ten minutes on the floor. I ask the president to enforce that decision and limit the delegates to ten minutes.

President Gompers: There is no delegate on the floor. The chair announced yesterday that the rule would be enforced. He has done so, and in every instance the convention granted an extension of time. It is in an effort to conserve time that the chair did not enforce the rule.

Delegate Germer, of the United Mine Workers: I have often heard of persons whose feet were in the twentieth century and whose heads were in the fifteenth or sixteenth, and seemingly one of the delegates thinks such is a possibility. I am surprised to hear it said in a convention of the American Federation of Labor, which is supposed to be the cream of intelligence and enlightenment of the American labor movement, that it is unsafe to ask a maximum workday by legislation. If it is unsafe to get an eight-hour workday by legislation it is unsafe to get an anti-injunction law or have a law passed declaring that the working class really has become human. If it is safe and desirable that we pay lobbying committees at Washington, that we pay committees in our different State Legislatures to beg for laws in the interests of the common people, if it is safe to ask for legislation of that nature, I want to know why it is not safe to ask for legislation regulating the hours a human being shall work?

One of the delegates spoke of the minimum wage law in Great Britain and tried to discredit it. I venture to say Delegate Frey will not go to Great Britain and try to take that minimum wage law from the miners. I know it means hundreds of thousands of dollars annually to the men in the mines. Formerly they had to go down into the mines and spend hours there and get nothing for it; now they are guaranteed a minimum whenever they are sent down into the mines.

If it is really unsafe, if that is the truth, then there is something wrong with our Government, with our political authority, with our executive officials and with our judicial branch of the Government. And if there is something wrong with them, and they are elected, then there is something wrong with the working class in the use of the ballot. They elect the legislators, the executive officers, the legislative officers, the judicial officers, and if legislation is unsafe in their hands it is time the working people stop knifing the political party that uses its funds, its press and its efforts to elect proper representatives.

We come here repressting the organized trade-union movement of America, and I want to say that if the real rank and file, the men in the shops, the mills, the factories and the mines, were here and witnessed this farce comedy that has been going on for the last several days, they would clear out the whole bunch and reorganize the American Federation of Labor. I have heard considerable of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. I am not speaking for popular sentiment, but this fact remains undisputed—you can ridicule it, you can cast odium upon it if you will—but the fact, nevtheless, remains that the organized trade-union movement of the United States is not using its energy, is not using its power, in the interests of labor. We have become an adjunct

Digitized by Google

to the capitalist political machines, and instead of electing working people, men of our own rank, we elect "our friends" and then take hat in hand and go and beg legislation from them, and say legislation is not safe in the hands of those we elect!

I am willing to leave the eight-hour day to the legislatures; I am willing to leave it to Congress. It is easier to be a friend of the workingman than to be a workingman, and "our friends," whom we endorse and put into the legislative departments of our government —I want the legislation left in their hands, that we may see what our friends are doing with the interests of the working people of this country. If it is wrong to legislate for an eight-hour day and say no one shall work more than that, I again say it is unsafe to ask for anti-injunction bills to be passed by our Congress and our State Legislature; they say it is unsafe. But to leave it to the economic organizations and we ought to join the I. W. W.'s and the syndicalists, and say, "To the devil with the laws!" We ought to go to sabotage and take direct action. They have no confidence in the Legislatures; they say it is unsafe. But the capitalists do not say it is unsafe to leave the legislation to the legislative bodies. Mulhall did not think it was unsafe to leave legislation to the legislative bodies; the manufacturers' associations do not think it is unsafe to leave legislation with the legislative bodies; and when the women's ten-hour bill was passed in Illinois the Manufacturers' Association did not think it unimportant, but carried the case to the highest court in the State. They knew it was important. The State Federation of Labor fought it as long as the Manufacturers' Association fought it, and had it declared constitutional.

In Colorado there is an eight-hour law on the statute books, and we insisted that that law be carried out, and one of the strongest arguments we have in favor of the miners is that the operators are violating that law. The reason that law is not enforced is not because it is unsafe, but the men in the offices of the State are pliant tools of John D. Rockefeller and his Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. If the trade union movement had not remained in late years an adjunct to our Democratic friends, our Republican friends, and our Bull Moose friends, if you please, Colorado would be in a better position and anarchy would not prevail there.

I say we ought to resort to the ballot, and be workingmen at the ballot box, and union men at the ballot box, the same as we claim to be in our organization; and if we use the proper ballot, the working class ballot, as the workingmen did in Crawford County, Kansas, and elect workingmen to office, as the workingmen did there in electing the sheriff, there would be no anarchy as there is in Colorado. When there was a strike no gunmen were brought in. When we asked protection he said he would make every striker a deputy sheriff, and that is not what the railroad wanted in that strike of railroad men.

You leave legislation alone and say it is dangerous. John D. Rockefeller thinks it is pretty safe, because he goes after legislation. The Vanderbilts and Goulds and Wall street think legislation is pretty safe because it is in their hands. If we get our men into office and use our political strength and political unity along with our economic unity we would not need to come here and say that eight hours by legislation is unsafe. I am not afraid of losing anything if Congress passes an eight-hour law; in fact, it will give us added strength and prestige; we can appeal to the public, and if the employers force us on strike to enforce a law, if that is necessary as a last resort, we can go before the public and prove that our enemy is a violator of the law.

But if we have no law on the statute books we have no basis except our economic strength, and probably the merits of our argument, and the merit of our logic, does not appeal to "John the Baptist"; it does not appeal to the Goulds and the Vanderbilts; it is force you want, not only force on the economic field, but along with that the political force, the political unity of the working class along working class lines.

Delegate Frey: I would like to ask the delegate if it is not a fact that wherever the members of the United Mine Workers of America enjoy the eight-hour day—and many of them en-

Digitized by Google

joy it—they secured it through trade-union action rather than the legislative method?

Delegate Germer: That is no argument against the eight-hour day.

Delegate Gallagher (A.J.): There have been eight-hour laws on the statute books for miners in the State of Colorado for eight years, and they were not secured by the miners' union in that State. Trade-union activity may have actuated it, but it was not secured through the strength of their union, by any manner of means.

Delegate Germer: In Colorado, even now, where there is an eight-hour law on the statute books, in the scab mines, where the scabs are working, they are enjoying in many instances the eight-hour law by legislation.

Delegate Scharrenberg: A very clever effort has been made by the secretary of the committee, and will doubtless be made by others who drafted this substitute, to make you believe an effort to fix hours by legislation brings the arbitrary establishment of wages by law. Some of you may swallow that, but I absolutely refuse to. The only thing that is before the house at present, and the only thing that ought to be discussed, is the subject-matter which is referred to in those two resolutions, and it started a year ago at Seattle. In the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor the Committee on Shorter Workday submitted certain definite recommendations. They were adopted. One of them was that an agitation should immediately begin for the enactment of general eight-hour laws where the eight-hour law for women already existed.

Now, what have we learned during the year? We have discovered—I have, for one—that general eight-hour laws do not mean eight-hour laws; in other words, the workingmen who come here must learn a new language; the ordinary language will not do. It has been said that some of us greenhorns here do not know much about principles and policies; I will agree to that; but there are some delegates here who have their heads so full of musty principles and policies they cannot get another thing into their heads. In United States, as it is spoken in California, a general eight-hour law means what it says. We so understood it and went after it with both feet, and nearly got it. But in the language of our distinguished president, for whom we have the highest regard, it means an eight-hour law for the employes of the Government only.

There is a grave and serious danger in this interpretation of language by your officers. Have we reached the stage in this convention where we cannot be entrusted to use plain and simple language? Have we got to have pettifogging lawyers tell us what language means? Have we come to the style and system of our Congress now, where no one can talk and no one is supposed to know anything unless he has been through Blackstone? I want to warn you seriously, with the best intentions and the kindliest feelings towards our officers, against that growing danger.

If you adopt this resolution, then you had better go backward a little and undo some of the things you have done in the past. A few days ago you readopted the seamen's bill, as you have done so many years in the past, and that measure provides for nine hours' work for men in port, and provides for watch-and-watch for sailors at sea. Evidently you were not afraid of the men who go to sea. In California we have laws limiting the hours for most of the female workers and for miners and smeltermen. We have laws limiting the hours of street car men to twelve per day. We have laws limiting the hours of telegraphers to sixteen per day. We have all those things now, and you want to adopt a resolution here declaring it is against the policy of the American labor movement. If you do, I think there will have to be a slight split; the people of the West, as I understand them, at least of California, Oregon and Washington, will not accept your declaration.

I sincerely hope you will not accept this substitute resolution, but vote it down. The men and women of California went through one of the most strenuous fights for popular self-government ever made by any Commonwealth on this earth. We came so near carrying the eight-hour law that some of our dear friends on the other side had their hair standing up straight; and we did it notwithstanding the fact that the billboards were covered from one end of the State to the other with

Digitized by Google

the warning of our distinguished president.

Delegate Frey said men were languishing in jail in Australia because of certain legislation. I defy him to prove that a single man or woman in Australia was sent to jail because of the legal limitation of the workday. That thing won't go! When you send a man to jail for compulsory arbitration laws —you cannot shove that down our throats; that is not quite fair.

I have been somewhat amused here and in previous conventions to see resolutions come along declaring for the six-hour workday. The previous speaker referred to a farce-comedy, or something of that sort. In that particular resolution there is a great deal more comedy than farce when we take into consideration that a great majority of the men in this country work twelve hours. Some of us ought to wake up before we talk of the six-hour workday. Let us get the eight-hour day by economic action; and if we can, let us get it by political action. I am one of those, and always have been, who believes in economic action first, all the time; but I am not an I. W. W. or a Nihilist or a syndicalist. I believe in using both arms, and I am willing to co-operate with anybody, whether he be Democrat, Republican or Socialist. We have done that in California; we have forgotten our partisanship and we have benefited by it. I have heard some of the fellows say in the lobbies, "The fellows from California are talking too much of their own dope." Perhaps we are, but we are proud of our efforts, and we can show you some laws and conditions you haven't anywhere else in the country.

Delegate Furuseth: I would like to correct a statement that was made here; I am not going to mix up in this except to that extent. It was stated by my friend Scharrenberg that you will have to undo your action with reference to the seamen's bill, which provides for a nine-hour workday. He evidently wasn't thinking carefully about what he was saying; he did not mean to say that, I am sure he did not, and I am perfectly sure he will feel all right over the correction. All the rest of his argument may go, but that particular thing about the seamen's bill you want to understand, so you will not make a mistake about it.

The existing law under which the seaman lives is that he is to work all the time. The law under which the seaman lives compels him to work any time when called upon, Sunday or Monday, night or day, afloat or on shore, regardless of where he is or what he is doing. If he refuses to work when called upon he is subject to be sent to prison, except in the coastwise trade, where he is subject to somebody else being put to work in his place and that man paid out of his wages, no matter how much he will ask per day. So when the seamen ask to have the hours at sea regulated by establishing watch-and-watch, it means we shall get some rule so that we can get some rest, and that when we are sent to work beyond that time, to do work that is not necessary for the preservation of life and property, we may not be sent to prison for disobeying lawful commands. Some in port at the present time may be treated in that way.

The nine-hour day for the seamen means that when we have worked the nine hours we can loaf and not be asked to work any more. That is an entirely different proposition from what you men on shore have. You are fortunately in the position, all of you, and you have a disposition to forget it—because it is a long time since you had the chains on—you are in a position to say to any boss, no matter where he comes from or who he is, "I will not work for you any longer; I am done." There isn't anybody who can send a sheriff or a constable or a policeman after you. When you are through working you quit and nobody can interfere with you for quitting. If we were in that position I can assure you I would not come here asking you to establish any laws for us at all, because if we make the kind of laws we would like for ourselves—well, good heavens! we would own the ships!

Vice-President Perham: We haven't a sixteen-hour law for the telegraphers.

Delegate Mitchell (John): At the very outset I want to assure the delegates that I do not concur in the opinion expressed by my colleague of the United Mine Workers of America, that the deliberations of this convention are either

Digitized by Google

farcical or insincere. I have been coming to these conventions for many years, and whether I agreed or disagreed with the delegates who have been here, I have always recognized that they have devoted themselves earnestly and seriously to the questions affecting the welfare of the working people of our country.

Now, it is not often in these conventions, Mr. Chairman, although it occasionally has happened, that I have felt compelled to disagree with the well-considered conclusions of a committee to whom resolutions of the convention have been referred; but I am compelled, as a representative of the United Mine Workers of America, to disagree with the conclusions of the committee as reflected in its report to the convention. I am quite sure that if Delegate Frey were as familiar with mining conditions in Great Britain as are the delegates from the United Mine Workers of America he would not even have suggested that the minimum-wage law established by action of the British Parliament was not regarded with favor by British mine workers. And I don't think you will find any representative miner from Great Britain who would say the minimum-wage law put in effect there through the commission has not been of incalculable benefit to the men of the mines of Great Britain.

But that is not the question I want to discuss; I am not so much concerned about what has happened in England, I am not so much concerned about the stories that come from Australia. It is rather strange, indeed, that we in America seem to know more about the evils of the wage board regulations of Australia than is known by the men coming from Australia. I am concerned about the conditions in the United States, and I do not regard it as at all dangerous for the American labor movement to secure by whatever method it can a maximum eight-hour-day law. The facts are that, so far as my organization is concerned, we have tried for many years in some of our States, and have tried successfully, to secure the enactment of eight-hour legislation.

It is true that in the mining industry there may be one reason for eight-hour legislation that would not apply with equal force to other industries. At any rate, it has been upon the plea that the health of the miners was impaired by working more than eight hours a day that we have succeeded in sustaining in the courts the measures enacted by several of our Western States; in other words, with the constitutions as they are everywhere the courts have sustained the enactment providing for an eight-hour day for men working underground. In Utah, in Colorado, in Montana, in Missouri, and I believe in Idaho and Nevada, although about the last two States I am not so sure, the Legislatures have established the eight-hour day for men working underground; and, notwithstanding the fact that in at least one of those States not a single member of our union is employed, the eight-hour day has been reasonably well enforced.

Now, I am not going to suggest that the trades unionists of the country should abandon their efforts through negotiations and strikes to secure shorter hours, better wages and better conditions of employment; but surely the workingmen are not required to abandon the militant efforts they have made simply because they use the Legislature to help improve the conditions of the men and women and children who toil.

It seems to me, if the report of the committee is adopted in its present form, the Legislatures of the Western States can find some justification for their action if they should repeal the eight-hour-day law that now protects the miners of those States. Only a few years ago, when we undertook to organize the coal miners of Montana, and succeeded in some camps, I am sure now we could not have maintained our organization, or we would have had to give up our work, had it not been for the fact that by legal enactment the employers of non-union labor in the other camps were compelled to work men not to exceed eight hours in one day. The advantage, it seems to me, of an eight-hour workday—that is, a maximum eight-hour workday established by law—is that it applies equally to all the men in an industry, and therefore it accomplishes one of the purposes of trades unionism—it minimizes competition of men for jobs.

Digitized by Google

I do not know what the effect would be if you were to establish minimum wages for men by law; I am not now prepared to discuss that subject; but I am prepared, here or anywhere else, to defend the proposition that society should say that women and children shall be paid enough wages in order that they may live in health and in reasonable comfort. I believe the American Federation of Labor will make a mistake if it declares here that it is unsafe and unsound for wage earners to seek through legislative enactment to limit the hours of labor. I am not impressed with the argument that the courts or the Legislatures are likely to revive the old law of laborers. In our American Colonies it was at one time unlawful for a man to accept more than a given wage for a day's work, and it was unlawful for his employer to pay him more than that wage. The same law that applied in Great Britain also was enforced in the American Colonies, but that was hundreds of years ago. I dare say that the most reactionary of our legislators, the most reactionary of our Judges, would not dare now to put in force the laws that were in effect four hundred or five hundred years ago.

It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that this report of the committee should not be adopted as an expression of the American Federation of Labor. I think, on the contrary, that the American Federation of Labor should encourage the wage earners of America to secure, by whatever means they have, shorter hours, better wages and more tolerable conditions of life and labor.

Vice-President Perham: I desire to correct some statements that have been made here in regard to the Federal law that controls the railroad telegraph operators.

Delegate Scharrenberg: I spoke about a California law.

Vice-President Perham: There is no law in California that controls the hours of service of railroad telegraph operators.

Delegate Scharrenberg: I will show you that law.

Vice-President Perham: Prior to 1907 eighteen States in the Union had passed an eight-hour law for the railroad telegraphers. On March 4, 1907, a Federal law governing the subject was passed and approved, which had the effect of annulling every State law on the subject. It is the nine-hour law, where an office is continually operated—that is, twenty-four hours a day. We could not get an eight-hour law because it was necessary to have a few minutes to make a transfer, and consequently nine hours was agreed to, and under that law we are now making eight-hour contracts by the usual methods known to labor organizations. There are certain variations of that law, where a man at a one-employe station may be required to work thirteen hours. We are making that condition less frequent by means of contract, making it eight, nine and ten hours. There are other provisions of that law which make it possible for a telegraph operator to work seventeen hours in case of a wreck, where his services are necessary and no other arrangements can be made.

I want to say in regard to this eight-hour proposition that the telegraph business is of such a peculiar nature that even such a labor-hating concern as the Western Union Telegraph Company has now a regulation of six and one-half hours a day for the extra man, and it runs up to seven and eight hours. In other countries where a man works in a tension employment the hours are limited. My observation of this matter is that the Federal law, the nine-hour provision of the Federal law, has helped us materially in getting the eight-hour day and the six-hour day on many railroads in the United States. If it were not for the organizations the law would be a dead letter, as the laws in Colorado are, because there is no effective organization to see that they are enforced and the penalties applied to the men and companies who violate the law. It is necessary to have a labor organization to enforce the law, whether made by a State Legislature or the Congress of the United States. Without the labor organization the law would not be effective. With the labor organizations looking after it all the time you can make such law effective, and I believe this convention should go on record as taking every possible means to reduce the hours of service, no matter whether it is by legislation or labor organization work. Every avenue offered should be utilized by us.

Digitized by Google

Delegate Gallagher: I wish to offer as a substitute for the committee's report:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor approves the efforts of the workers of the Western States to secure the legal enactment of the eight-hour day, and trusts that this effort may have an encouraging effect upon workers in all other States and prompt them to initiate similar movements. (Seconded.)

I should like to now ask the Chair a question, if I may. The Chair has stated it has some strong convictions upon this subject. I should like to know would the Chair state what those convictions are?

President Gompers: Has the delegate concluded his argument before the convention?

Delegate Gallagher: The delegate has not.

President Gompers: Then proceed; you have the floor now.

Delegate Gallagher: I trust this will be done. There are several delegates who desire to be heard in answer to the president when he states those strong convictions, and I sincerely trust that upon this important matter the previous question will not be immediately moved after the president's remarks.

Delegate Mitchell, I think, put his finger on the real spot when he said that if the American Federation of Labor reverses its action at Seattle, regardless of interpretation, what is going to be the effect upon the legislation already enacted? Now, that is what is facing us in the Western States. Every legislator, every mother's son of them, the labor man included, if the influence upon him is strong enough, will avail himself of the American Federation of Labor's position and get out from under on every law we have on the statute books now.

Delegate Frey made a splendid argument based upon the proposition that we should not permit the legal enactment of wage legislation or hour legislation. Does Delegate Frey not know that molders, part of his organization to-day, have their wages regulated in parts of this country by legal enactment? Does he not know that they petitioned for legal enactment and that they procured it only through legal enactment? If Delegate Frey does not know that he might inquire as to the Government employes at Vallejo. If he does he will find their wages are set by a Government board and through Government action.

So far as the position of the committee is concerned, it seems to be this: That it feels we have gone far enough on the road to legislation. It says we have gone so far it is becoming dangerous and we must stop; but the trouble with the committee is, it is stopping at just the important place. Perhaps if you let the workers in the Western States get over this stage of the journey they may be able to join you, and willing to join you, on the proposition of wages and other legislation. The plumbers, the firemen, the engineers, the electricians and half a dozen other organizations in the building trades make no objection, but solicit the licensing of their men in many States. To such an extent do they do that, you cannot work in some States at your avocation unless you have a license prescribed by the State. Since when have we arrived at the thought that this legal enactment is such a dangerous thing?

In the Western States the miners, the carmen and several other trades have petitioned the State Legislature to enact this legislation limiting the hours, and have succeeded. What do you propose to do in this convention? You propose to send the delegates of those Western States back to your own men and say: "You are crazy! You don't know what you are talking about, and hereafter when it comes to the legal enactment in regard to your workday as to Government employes you must stay away from the Legislature, because your organization in convention has stated that the legal enactment is wrong."

I hope this will be borne in mind—and it is not a threat in any sense, but in every sense is true—that the effort to keep your men within the fold, and you international officers ought to remember this, that the effort to keep a good many of your men in the fold in the Western States, is tremendously hard. Just why that is so some of us have never been able to ascertain, except that it is this: That a man living in a country not surfeited with things and not surrounded by so many things as in the Eastern cities likes to move in the most direct way to get what he

Digitized by Google

wants. He lives in a country that has not removed very far from the direct stage of things, and he wants to move, and move as fast as he can, to the thing he wants.

I believe, and I believe it frankly, and I believe it as a result of having been up and down the coast and into the States of Arizona, New Mexico, Oregon and all those States in that part of the country, that there is growing a division—it may be only nebulous now; it may be only veiled—but there is growing a division between the views of the Western workers and the Eastern workers as represented in these conventions. And you want to send the delegates of the West back and say the American Federation of Labor has said in convention, "In so far as you try to enact a legal workday for other than Government employes or women and children you are wrong and your efforts must cease, and they may as well cease." In justice to the president of the American Federation of Labor it ought to be said that when word reached him that this was being used against him he said that in no sense should his statements be used in connection with the pending matter. But they were used, and with tremendous effect. The vote was 341,000 for it; against it, 390,268. That is how the workers in the State of California voted for an eight-hour day. Does this convention want to tell this nearly 350,000 workers that they are wrong?

I want to quote the article I sent for, if I may—"The Eight-hour Workday: Its Inauguration, Enforcement and Influences," by Samuel Gompers. I am not trying to tell in reading this a half truth; I am quoting a separate page in the article that applies to the question under discussion:

"As to the influence of a shorter workday upon society, we need to view the vast number of idle men and women of our country, the misery, squalor and degradation into which countless thousands of them have sunk, and are sinking, and ask ourselves if it is not high time that, so far as law can affect the labor of the 'nation's wards'—the women and children—the hours of labor should be limited and regulated; and that so far as governmental power and influence can be exerted, it should be upon the side of those who are the bone and sinew, the foundation and the mainspring, of a country's greatness, prosperity and progress. Certainly, if long hours and low wages were the cause of progress, of the industrial and commercial success of a nation, China would stand at the head of civilization. As the standards of life of the workers rise, vice and crime diminish, and the inverse of this proposition is also beyond dispute. Hence, wise statesmanship should dictate a course which will tend to a higher life, only possible by a higher standard of life secured by a reduction in the hours of labor."

That is a correct statement of the position we occupy. For fifty to a hundred years the workers of this nation have been attempting to secure for themselves the things they think they deserve. It is true in the building trades, in the organized trades, we have been fortunate enough to bring about a shorter workday. You may say that is the only way it should be brought about. My answer is, With all your strength, all your energy, all your sacrifice for a hundred years, you have not been able to do it. Have you a right, then, to deny to all the men and women in these various States the right to legislate themselves into a legal eight-hour day?

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee: A question of personal privilege. I want to correct some statements that have been attributed to me. When a delegate has had the floor and the opportunity to present his arguments he has had his due, but when statements he has made are either misquoted or a straw man built up and torn apart, it is necessary that this should be corrected. There is one fortunate thing in our conventions—that even though some delegates with twentieth century minds fear that other delegates have fifteenth century brains, at least we all give each other credit for being honest and sincere and endeavoring to improve our conditions as workingmen, so there can be no hard feeling on my part over such a reference.

In reply to Delegate Gallagher, I want to say the committee's report does not refer to Government employes, or employes of the State, or the municipality, or the nation, that their hours must be regulated by legislation. My statement as to workmen being imprisoned in Australia is a statement of fact. They not only have been arrested in connection with the Broken Hill strike, which most of you are familiar with,

Digitized by Google

but they have also been arrested for refusing to abide by the decision of the Court of Conciliation and Arbitration in New Zealand.

President Gompers: This is not a correction of a statement, but an argument.

Delegate Noschang in the chair.

Vice-President Duncan: When Delegate Gallagher was referring to the report of the committee he stated that his conception of the report was that the committee had gone so far and stopped at a place which meant turning back rather than going ahead. Perhaps that was not the language used, but that was the thought his words upon the subject conveyed to me. The very point he criticises is not in the report, and it also covers the point raised by Delegate Mitchell. Delegate Mitchell admitted in his statement that the laws in the Western States were made for the health of the miners and that he feared if the report of the committee were adopted it would be an invitation to the Legislatures of those States to reverse the action they had taken upon this subject. The report of the committee specifically says:

"The American Federation of Labor, as in the past, again declares that the question of the regulation of wages and the hours of labor should be undertaken through trade-union activity, and not to be made subjects of laws through legislative enactment, excepting in so far as such regulations affect or govern the employment of women and minors, health and morals; and employment by Federal, State or municipal government."

The report of the committee, therefore, covers absolutely the objection raised by Delegate Mitchell and his reference to the nation, the State and the municipality passing laws of a general nature are covered here, and excepting one statement of Delegate Gallagher, in everything he said he referred to that kind of employment.

Delegate Mitchell: What I said, or what I intended to say, was that the courts of those States had sustained those enactments on the ground that they were enacted under the police power of the State for the health of the miners; that the courts would have decided the same laws unconstitutional had they been for other men than those underground. It is no more unhealthy to work in the mines than it is in factories, yet the courts very likely would have decided the eight-hour law unconstitutional if it had applied to the factories.

Vice-President Duncan: It does not need reference to the Western States alone, much as we admire the up-to-date and progressive legislation of many of our Western States. Twenty-five years ago, in the State in which I have the honor to reside at the present time, the first law in this class of legislation in the United States, perhaps, was passed—the factory act of Massachusetts—and it was considered at that time that because the Legislature passed a ten-hour act it was unconstitutional and would be of no assistance to the people of the State. It was drafted somewhat after the factory act of Great Britain.

It may be true that we should confine our remarks immediately here and now; but the labor movement is not confined to the Western World, and we have information, historical and otherwise, about the labor movement in Great Britain and Europe and further east upon which we may draw in order to be helpful. The factory act to which I refer was passed by the General Court of the State of Massachusetts, and the lawyers throughout the State and a number of Judges began to discuss the subject on the question of constitutionality. By the time the law reached the Supreme Court the education, which even sometimes reaches Judges, had some effect, and they declared the ten-hour law of Massachusetts, passed twenty-five years ago, was not unconstitutional because it had reference to the health and morals of the people it aimed to assist and had been undertaken under the police powers of the State of Massachusetts.

Since that time that ten-hour act has been amended several times, and will be further amended. It is still being helpful to the people there and to the people of adjoining States, and other States just as all remedial legislation in any one State is beneficial to other States. The reason the law was declared constitutional there, as it was in more recent times declared constitutional by the courts of Colorado, was that it had reference to the health and

Digitized by Google

morals of the people and had been passed under the police powers of the State.

I don't know upon what grounds the president could declare the motion made by Delegate Gallagher as being in order, because if it has any meaning, any pith to it, it is a direct negative of the report of the committee, and the same effect asked by his motion would be found if the report of the committee were voted down and the resolution we are dealing with were passed by this convention. However, the subject is before the convention and I am dealing with the subject. It has been stated if laws of this kind were passed Judges would not change around and take advantage and give us adverse legislation. As far as the Federal Government is concerned, the first eight-hour law was passed in 1868. That law applied to Government work. The organizations of labor that were then in existence, felt as many others had felt, that because they had a Federal law affecting Government employment there was not so much need for their organizations as there had been when they were trying to secure it; and, unfortunately, there were more non-union men and fewer organizations in existence at the time, and after about three and a half years' experience of that law the courts, the attorneys, all the officials of the Government found a way, because there was no economic organization backing it, to put every one of the men they had employed under the eight-hour law back upon a ten-hour law. And because the people had been expecting the Government would be an authority upon it, and because the Government said it was an authority upon the ten-hour law, there was nothing left but to follow that adverse action. It took a long time after that to get even a tolerable eight-hour law on the statute books of the United States. And even after that tolerable law was put in force we found it was dallied with by Attorneys-General and Judges. We, therefore, made a fight for an additional amendment, and the present law, much improved, is still found to be in trouble because of some kind of judicial action upon it by the Federal Government, which was referred to in another way by Secretary Wilson in the convention this morning.

Standing with others, pleading for the Government to be a leader upon the eight-hour question in 1897, a member of the Senate Committee of Commerce and Labor taunted me with looking for assistance from the Government, in the way of the Government of the country being paternal toward organized labor principally, and labor generally, and said: "You come here and tell us the working people of the country want an eight-hour day. How do we know, more than your word, that they want it?" That Senator's mind was somewhat in the condition we find Delegate Germer's mind to-night. He tells us if the people we represent had been here and had seen what we have been doing the last few days they would have sent us all home and would have reorganized the American Federation of Labor. I wonder does the delegate think he is the only honest delegate to this convention, or that men holding the views he holds are the only honest delegates, and that nobody but he, or those from whom that thought would emanate, are the people who honestly represent the people they are sent here to represent?

Delegate Germer: I hear the expression of the rank and file.

Vice-President Duncan: The delegate may have some different system of hearing from the rank and file than the other delegates have, but I take it from association with them for many years that other delegates on this floor have equal chance with Delegate Germer to hear from the rank and file.

The Senator I referred to said: "If the working people of the country want an eight-hour day they should start through their organizations and declare for it and show the Government they want it. Then the Government will follow." Our argument was that the Federal Government should be a leader and should not lag behind. However, I accepted the challenge, told the people I then represented as honestly as I am now representing them what the taunt was, and we declared through our organization that, beginning with 1900, we would not work more than eight hours a day for Uncle Sam or any other uncle; and our organization put that law into effect, and from that time to the present there has been no appeal. And perhaps because of that and be-

Digitized by Google

cause several other organizations have declared for the eight-hour day and put it into effect, is found the reason the Government is now more willing to agree to an eight-hour day than it was before.

The subject received great attention. It is stated that, in so far as work for the Federal Government is concerned, for the counties and municipalities, legislation of this kind is in order and should be encouraged; but when it comes to legislating for an eight-hour day for private employment it should be left to the organizations to pioneer in the future as they pioneered in the past. Bear this in mind, that if you turn over to your Legislature the right to pass a law, even upon a maximum eight-hour day, either you have thereby turned over the authority to regulate the hours of labor to the State, and an unfriendly Legislature may act toward you in an adverse way, just as a friendly Legislature may act in a friendly way. What would you say if the Legislature that declared for an eight-hour day declared for a nine-hour day? It would say you gave it authority to regulate the hours and it was acting under that authority.

I had the honor in 1890 to act as chairman of a committee in Baltimore that got the nine-hour day passed in the Legislature for State and municipal work. A few years thereafter my own trade went upon an eight-hour basis and some State work came in the market and we had to go up against the State authorities upon the subject. They quoted the law to me; they said, "Here, Duncan, is your law. You forced that down our throats. We didn't want to have anything to do with it, but you asked that Maryland be the leader in shortening the working day. Now, as a good, law-abiding citizen, go home and send your granite cutters up to do this work on the nine-hour basis." And we would have had to do it if we had not had an economic organization to back us up. They advertised for men and instead of advertising for non-union men they advertised for law-abiding men, and quoted the law and stated that James Duncan had been the chairman of the committee that got that law passed.

But we surely are not to give away the rights we have held to these many years, and I hope we will hold to in the future—our right to keep on reducing the hours of labor without having an entanglement around us like a law of the separate States where we are employed being quoted against us. There are trades represented in this Federation whose men are working less than eight hours at the present time. In a number of localities my own trade, looking for a new contract, has it state, "For a shorter workday." They have seven and one-half hours and they will look for seven, and we hope through our trade-union activities to get down to the six-hour law by and by. If you have an eight-hour law you will see the handicap we will have in arguing with our employers for seven and seven and one-half hours a day.

As to the pamphlet read by Delegate Gallagher, I will say nothing about it, because President Gompers has been invited by him to speak upon the subject, and very likely President Gompers will take care of the subject himself. But, nevertheless, I listened to a reading of the document which we were led to believe would be evidence against the report of the committee and in favor of the motion offered by the delegate from San Francisco. I ask him to point out one word that specifies that there should be an eight-hour day enacted by law through legislation.

The second speaker—I think, Delegate Brown—stated that it was not a case of definition of terms, and referred to the action taken in the Seattle convention. The whole controversy is dependent upon the definition. Delegate Scharrenberg was before our committee and testified that that which the committee reported at Seattle, he being secretary of the committee, was the ground upon which he based his argument. Here is what he read to the Seattle convention:

"(1) To work unceasingly for the enactment of laws limiting the working hours of women and children to eight per day and not more than forty-eight hours per week."

"(2) Where women's eight-hour laws already exist an agitation should immediately begin for the enactment of general eight-hour laws."

There is the whole proposition, and it contains nothing but legislation for women and minors, and general legis-

Digitized by Google

lation upon the subject. The term "general legislation" is accepted throughout the length and breadth of the land to refer to legislation by the Federal Government as far as the Federal law can go, and by States where it can go. However, our dear friends from the Pacific coast refer to legislation for eight hours for private employment. We are trying to keep the American Federation of Labor in the legislative position it has been in ever since it was organized, only giving over to the Government that which properly comes under the Government, Federal or State, and inasmuch as the reduction of hours in private employment and those not employed by the Government, only women and minors and for health and morals, to remain under trade-union activity.

Delegate Gallagher: Do you not distinguish between initiative legislation on the part of the people and legislative enactment? If to-morrow there is proposed a nationalization of the workday for eight hours for all the people of the country, would you oppose it?

Vice-President Duncan: In the first place, that which the delegate refers to for the Federal Government being absolutely impossible, I answer the balance of the argument would fall. If it were possible, I would say to the delegate that I would oppose the Federal Government enacting a law governing private employment as being one of the greatest interferences with the liberties of the people.

Delegate Rowe: I would like to ask Delegate Duncan whether or not the law he referred to prevailing in Maryland read that nine hours shall constitute a day's work, or whether it shall be the maximum?

Vice-President Duncan: It was a maximum day, and in all connection with State officials you will find when an officer of the Federal or State Government is looking for something to come to the Government or the State, he tries to get from the public, and especially from workingmen, everything the law will permit.

Delegate Scharrenberg: You referred to the fact that the Legislature might give us a nine or ten-hour law, or some law we did not want. Don't you know that in the Western States we have the referendum, and it is impossible for them to give us any kind of law we don't want, because we will hold it up and have the people vote on it.

Vice-President Duncan: I happen when I am at home to live in Massachusetts. We have the law Brother Scharrenberg refers to in use. We had it in use long ago, and it is used there now. I think California got it from Massachusetts. But the idea of recalling the Legislature or the legislator who is accessory to this would take place only after the injury was done, because until the injury was done you would not know there was need for recall.

Delegate Scharrenberg: If a law is enacted that we do not like we get an initiative petition, in this case a referendum petition, and the law is automatically held up. Not until the people vote on it is it in effect.

Delegate Goazion: I am opposed to the report of the committee and in favor of the substitute. I feel that legislation has helped the trade-union movement. I feel that we ought to be and we no doubt are working for the best advantage obtainable through economic effort, but that should not prevent us from trying to obtain also all the advantage possible through legislative enactment. I will try to show you some instances where legislative enactments have been of benefit to the working class. My friends the miners have given you some good reasons in favor of legislation. I desire to add a few points to the reasons given by the miners.

The question was asked by Brother Frey if the miners did not get their eight-hour day through the trade-union movement? They did. But it is also a fact that in Pennsylvania, in a district employing probably 30,000 miners, it took four or five years before they got the eight-hour day, and it endangered for a long time the eight-hour day in other parts of the country. At the present time there are 50,000 miners and mine laborers in Pennsylvania who work nine and ten hours. The miners know that every time they come before their operators the fact that these 50,000 miners work nine, ten and twelve hours prevents them from getting concessions from the operators. If Pennsylvania had an eight-hour law the 50,-

Digitized by Google

000 miners in the coke region and other parts of the central field would work eight hours and the organized miners would be able to go forward.

The report of the committee makes an exception for women and children. I am not able to decide whether the exception is made because of physical or mental weakness. If it is made because of mental weakness the exception ought to be made also for the non-unionist, because he is also mentally weak. It appears to me the women of the country are not the only people who have not been able to obtain by themselves a reduction in their hours of labor; and if we believe it is right to reduce the hours of labor of women by legislative enactment, why is it not right to try to reduce it for men? The same reason will hold good.

I remember years and years ago, when we advocated a law that would prevent children going into the mines before the age of twelve or fourteen, people said: "Why go to the Legislature? It is the parent that should keep the child at home and send it to school." That was the argument. Now, there are parents who are weak mentally, like the child, and until the time we were able to get laws children went into the mines. If it was a good thing to keep the children out of the mines, is it not a good thing to go to the Legislature and make it legal to keep a miner from working more than eight hours and keep a man in a factory or workshop from working more than eight hours? It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, we are not consistent.

If you believe that legislation is not favorable to the workingman, then, of course, we will not try to get it. Two years ago the miners of Illinois were on strike for many months. There was nothing done to try to get scabs into the mines during the four or five months the miners were out, simply because there was a law in that State that forbade the operators to do so. If it had not been for a special law covering the anthracite field, when the miners there were on strike for months, the operators could have gone to Europe to bring in scabs, as they have done in other parts of Pennsylvania. But there was a law in Pennsylvania to prevent them bringing them into the anthracite field. Every time the miners in the Pittsburgh district have been on strike the employers have sent to all parts of the world and brought men in there to take the places of the people on strike. This often resulted in violence and riot, something that would have been impossible if the law had covered the Pittsburgh district as it covered the anthracite region. It is to your advantage to get all the laws you possibly can. You must have an organization to enforce the law, but you must also have a law to help you to secure shorter hours for those people who haven't backbone, or who, as I said in the beginning, are weak mentally and will not organize. You will have to have a law to compel them to work the same number of hours you do so you will not have their competition.

Vice-President Valentine in the chair.

President Gompers: I realize the difficulty of the effort to burn gunpowder the second time. Yesterday I was before the Committee on Resolutions upon the resolution now before the convention and upon which the committee has made the report. Perhaps I would not have done that had it not been for the fact that, either directly or indirectly, intentionally or otherwise, the resolution reflected upon my conduct. I wish I could make the speech over again I made yesterday, because I am sure it was more persuasive than any one I can make now.

However, I want to address myself to the consideration of this subject. After all, let me say that if you and I have by experience learned something, it does not seem to me it is discreditable that if we have learned, not only of the work in which we are engaged, but to be able to discriminate as to what is advisable or inadvisable; if we have learned the meaning of words and their valuation, and something like nearly employing them, surely the implication should not be hurled at us that we are lawyers. I am not a lawyear, and I think the profession of law and its adherents and practitioners are rather glad I am not. At any rate, I am glad that I am not.

I want to use just an old doggerel, and it has no reflection upon any delegate to this convention, but it seems to me as an abstract proposition it is

Digitized by Google

good—that "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread." We have been asked, or advised, to go for all the laws we can get. Save the workingmen of America from such a proposition! There are numbers of laws we can get, but prudence and defense of the rights and the liberties of the toilers are much more important than the effort to secure all the laws we can get. There are some men who fail to understand this one thing, that the labor movement of America is still in its infancy, and that in the cycle of time fifty or a hundred years count as but a minute.

The question of what was law and what was the interpretation of law, and what was the administration of law, so far as they governed labor—it is only within the past half century that there has been any effort to take the grip of tyrannical Government from the throat of labor. It is less than a month ago the Congress of the United States declared that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. It required a third of a century to work for the accomplishment of this one declaration, and in spite of that, one of the delegates said: "Why, pass such a law as the maximum eight-hour law and no court would dare to enforce anything like compelling men to work eight hours or more." Is that so? Since the passage of the labor provision in the Clayton bill, signed by the President of the United States, the ink upon that act scarcely dry, a Federal Judge, Judge Anderson, sitting in Indianapolis, has issued an injunction forbidding the men of labor to quit their work. I haven't any doubt, with the aggressive, earnest, militant American Federation of Labor, that Judge Anderson will have to swallow his own injunction. He is not the first Judge who has had to walk the plank.

May I call your attention to this fact, that I am trying to express the views of the men of labor, not only in their own interests for to-day, but for to-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow? When reference was made to the arrest and incarceration of labor men in Australasia under a labor Government, so-called, a labor Parliament so-called, men were dragged through the streets over cobblestones by the police, one holding one leg and another holding another leg of a poor devil of a striker, and he had to, with his head down, try with his hands to keep his head from striking the cobblestones with every step the policemen took. And that under a so-called labor radical Parliament!

One delegate said, "Why, if you are opposed to the eight-hour workday for men by law, did you ask for a law regulating and limiting injunctions?" And it discloses the gentleman's discernment of actual facts! In the law to limit and regulate injunctions we propose to clip the power of the court in so far as labor is concerned, and in an eight-hour law for men it is to give the courts still greater power than they now have. Is there no difference? It is a fact, admitted not only by lawyers, but by every thinking, earnest labor man, that once you give a court jurisdiction over any matter the court will find a way to exercise that jurisdiction. Place it in the power of the courts to take jurisdiction, to assume jurisdiction, to acquire jurisdiction, or to have jurisdiction accredited to them, and they will leave no stone unturned to exercise it to the detriment of the men and women of labor, who, after all, in all times have been compelled to suffer the tyranny and oppression of an oligarchy, under whatever name it might be known.

I think I have done something, or at least I have contributed something, toward the movement for a shorter workday for the working people, and really, when Delegate Gallagher called for the pamphlet that I had written and that was published by the American Federation of Labor, I, too, was rather apprehensive whether at some moment of mental lapse a spring poem of my own might not be quoted against me. The pamphlet which I wrote, and which was published first in 1896, contains what Delegate Gallagher truly quoted, but even at the expense of boring you I want to read over just one small paragraph and three lines of the next:

"Legislation and the movement of labor for reduced hours of labor have yielded better results socially, economically, morally and politically than any other species of legislation and action known to human experience. The movement to reduce the workday to eight

Digitized by Google

hours will undoubtedly be inaugurated. It is a universal demand."

I call your attention to the fact that that pamphlet was evidently sought in the hope that I had said something contrary to what I advocated before the Resolutions Committee, or that something for which my known stand is accepted would be found in it, having in mind the question of the shorter workday, in so far as legislation is concerned, applying to Government employes and those who do the work for the Government, and leaving to the men of labor, to their intelligence, to their energy, to their group patriotism to fight for the eight-hour workday.

Let me say to you, friends, I think it is a safe thing to assume, and it is generally regarded as safe, that the idea which any one advocates is predicated on that which he sees in its favor. Now, I am not going to quote anybody who is against this proposition, but I am going to call your attention to what the advocates of this measure say in regard to it. I hold in my hand a pamphlet. I have it from the gentlemen who favor this legislation that the pamphlet was got out by the Eight-hour League, those who were the sponsors and those who are carrying on the campaign for the enactment of this measure.

Delegate Scharrenberg: In one State only?

President Gompers: Yes, that is true—in the State of Washington. I am very glad that at least without so openly declaring, Brother Scharrenberg and I share the shame that any men calling themselves labor men would issue a pamphlet of this character.

Delegate Scharrenberg: I am not responsible for it, Brother Gompers.

President Gompers: I am glad you disavow it. I would be glad to hear the representatives from Washington disavow it.

Delegate Brown: None of the labor people were primarily responsible for issuing that. They selected a committee from the Central Labor Council, put it in charge and the committee issued the pamphlet.

President Gompers: Is it true that in the selection of the committee to do this kind of work you got the men who were as representative of the idea as you could find?

Delegate Brown: I don't know that any discrimination was made?

President Gompers: I am not speaking of discrimination.

Delegate Brown: They were all active trades unionists, and, so far as I know, only two of them were Socialists.

President Gompers: I return to the pamphlet, which I suppose neither of the delegates has copies of. Early last week these pamphlets were on the table in front of every delegate. They were distributed as part of an educational campaign among we benighted trade unionists, so that we might be convinced of the error of our ways. They did not put one on my desk, but passing along I happened to see this picture on the title page. You cannot all see it now, but I will pass it around so that you can. There are two pictures. One of them, below, is a ballot box, beautifully carved, with a padlock. On the top is what is described as a strike scene, and the strike scene is in an industrial town with factories and chimneys all in flames; workmen en masse engaged in conflict with the militia; some wounded lying around; some women and children on the side looking on and apparently bewailing the whole scene. That is the idea of the proposers of this measure as to what constitutes a strike and a strike scene!

Delegate Gallagher: Pardon me for interrupting, but when the president uses the term "proposers" I don't know whether he means the advocates of the eight-hour law. You can't tie me up with the Reds any way you try.

President Gompers: I am glad, because so long as that condition prevails you are safe. But I warn you as a friend that unless a man is well grounded in his understanding of the history and philosophy of the trade-union movement, the subtlety of the sophistry is very dangerous to honest men. I venture to say that not the worst enemy of labor, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Erectors' Association, with Dan Davenport and Walter Drew, ever painted a picture of a strike scene more lurid and more untruthful than was published in this pamphlet.

Digitized by Google

Delegate Germer: Ludlow.

President Gompers: I will say a picture of Ludlow. The worst conditions that could be conceived are described by those who advocate a labor measure as a typical strike scene.

Delegate Germer: That is true, absolutely.

President Gompers: Of course, from a man who describes this convention of the American Federation of Labor as a farce, I should prefer to get some confirmation as to what he says is true. This pamphlet is: "An Eight-hour Day by Strike or Ballot—Which?" As if they were the only alternatives—strike or ballot! I venture to say that the eight-hour workday has been enforced and introduced in more trades and industries without strike than with strike, and even if it should be a strike, it ill becomes the men of labor to publish a picture of this character and say it is a typical strike scene, and urge the men to work for an eight-hour workday law rather than to go on strike. There are some people who don't know realy that, after all, even in a strike, there is developed more character and more independence and more intelligence and more cogent solidarity among the working people in a short time than in any other movement of which you can conceive.

Delegate Germer: And more shot.

President Gompers: There are some people who can never stop their tongues wagging, though their minds stand still!

Delegate Germer: I perfectly agree with you.

Delegate Daly, of the Metal Polishers: Can't we have a truce while we gather up the wounded?

President Gompers: I call your attention to what is stated in this pamphlet —"Which Way? Ballots or Strike?" I agree there is so much one can say in regard to this, because though superficially it may appear it is simply a matter of difference of judgment and difference of opinion, it is not a difference of opinion. If we can get an eight-hour law for the working people, then you will find that the working people themselves will fail to have any interest in your economic organization, which even the advocates declare is essential in order that such a law can be enforced.

Why, it is with considerable difficulty you can make non-union workingmen understand that it is only about twenty years ago that the old "pluck-me" stores were found generally; when you had to board with the employer or where the employer directed; when barbers had to live with their employers or they could get no jobs, and single life among them was the rule because they had to live with their employers. It is a difficult thing, I venture to say, for the officers and organizers of the barbers to get the young workmen in their trade to realize that that was a fact.

In the mining industry, I cannot for the life of me understand how and why the United Mine Workers' delegates can consistently advocate the doing by law that which they did themselves. In my own trade—I speak of my own experience and used the statement yesterday before the committee—in my own trade it is difficult to make the cigarmakers of to-day understand that at one time the tenement-house system prevailed to such an extent that the entire trade practically was operated under that system. It is difficult to make young men in my trade understand that at one time the men would work from early morning until late at night. And in 1886 we established the eight-hour day for every union cigarmaker on the North American continent. It is difficult to make these young men understand, these men to whom we shall have to at last yield this movement, and it is only by helping to keep our heads erect, to keep the movement going on, and on, and on, in a logical, sequential and naturally developed order, so that the ranks of organized labor may be augmented, moving forward and preaching the gospel of unity and self-help and mutual help, mutual responsibility to bear each other's burdens, and not to mimic and mock and repeat the abuses and the misrepresentation of what is underlying the great labor movement of our time.

If we keep our heads, if we move along the charted road, we will make progress and have no setbacks; we will continue to grow in numbers, in influence, in the confidence of our fellows, deserving as well as earning the respect of our fellow-citizens, and con-

Digitized by Google

stantly as we grow make our impression upon the public conscience. It is not to-day so much political statesmanship which is required; it is the industrial, humanitarian statesmanship which the times demand of us.

Upon motion, debate was closed.

A viva voce vote was taken upon the substitute offered by Delegate Gallagher. Delegate Gallagher requested a rollcall vote. The request was not supported by a sufficient number of delegates to require the calling of the roll.

The substitute offered by Delegate Gallagher was lost by a vote of 64 in the affirmative to 115 in the negative.

Delegate Scharrenberg requested a rollcall on the motion to adopt the report of the committee. The request was supported by a sufficient number of delegates to require the calling of the roll.

Rollcall on Report of Committee on Resolutions 144 to 149.

Ayes—Bakery and Confectionery Workers' delegation (53 votes), Barbers' delegation (274 votes), Blacksmiths' delegation (32 votes), Sovey, Sullivan (Mary), Bieber, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Bump, Karney, Cohan, Butterworth, McClory, Cunnane, Walters, Boyer, Kirby, Duffy (Frank), Metz, Howlett, McCarthy (P. H.), Cosgrove, Swartz (A. M.), Perkins, Gompers, Tracy, Kiernan, Conway (H. J.), Christman (Wm.), Hill, McNulty, Grimblot, Cullen, Singer, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Moser, Glass, Healy, Shamp, Morton Rickert, Larger, Schwarz (M.), Altman, Daley (Margaret), Hayes (D. A.), Greiner, McKinley, Ring, Duncan, Garvey, Sweeney, Lawlor, Shalvoy, Greene, D'Alessandro, Etchison, D'Andrea, Moreschi, Flore, Sullivan (Jere L.), Farrell, Koveleski, Raleigh, Sullivan (J. J.), McSorley, Taggart, Bryan, Dorey, Irwin, Hogan, Price, Hart, Daly (T. M.), Leary, Flynn (J. J.), Hynes, Redding, Frayne, Moriarty, Valentine, Frey, Torpey, Acton, Miller (Owen), Bope, Carey (D. A.), Hedrick, Triggs, Kemp, Baker, Norris, Wilson (Jas.), Watt, Bergstrom, Plasterers' delegation (90 votes), Cleary, Alpine, Anderson (Chas.), Rau, Kearney, Menge, Mushet, Printing Pressmen's delegation (145 votes), Mahon, Burns, McGrath (P. J.), Mills, Furuseth, Pryor, Griffin, Conway (Thos.), Gavlak, O'Donnell, Shay, Barry, Quinn, Freel, Griggs, Short, Funder Burk, Connors, Tobin (Daniel), Hughes (T. L.), Gillespie, Neer, Morris (J. J.), Golden, Williams (T. J.), Evans, International Typographical Union delegation, Cooke, Burt, Birnes, Jones, (Jerome), Horton, Gansworth, Henderson, English, James, Smith (J. T.), Strachan, Iglesias, Pennebaker, Gossett, Puckett, Ferguson, Feron, Schalk, McEachern, O'Dell, Kavanagh, Sauber, Boyle, McGrath (R. J.), Dunn, Canavan, Kelly (E. H.), Woodmansee, Kennedy, Nolda, McGovern, Voll, Budenz, Giles, repesenting 11,237 votes.

Nays—Bakery and Confectionery Workers delegation (104 votes), Barbers' delegation (69 votes), Blacksmiths' delegation (32 votes), Franklin (J. A.), McGowen, Graham, McGuire (M. J.), Proebstle, Zepp, Sullivan (John), Kugler, Rader, Barnes (J. M.), Mueller, Zuckerman, Brennan, Schlesinger, Holpern, Polakoff, Kleinman, LaPorta, Rosenberg (Elmer), Rowe (T. W.), Leonard, Rice, Christman (E.), Marshall (H. S.), Ryan (P. F.), Williams (John), Child, O'Connor (T. V.), Fricke, Foley (E. H.), Chlopek, Johnston (Wm. H.), Wharton, Van Lear, Taylor (J. A.), O'Connell, Fry (Charles), White (J. P.), Mitchell, Hayes (F. J.), Green (William), Walker, McDonald (Duncan), Germer, Moore, Shea (James), Mahoney, Cannon, Williams (J. C.), McMunn, Skemp, Schneider (G. J.), Plasterers' delegation (90 votes), Printing Pressmen's delegation (48 votes), Suitor, Perham, Miller (J. F.), Alexander, Soyster, Ryan (M. F.), McKenna, Adames (W. J.), Hanley, Sumner, Heberling, Sheehan (F. J.), Brais, Bolander, Lennon, Hall (Tobias), Brown (J. G.), Scharrenberg, Keep, Jones (D. S.), Donoghue (M. M.), Hughes (H. L.), Steinacker, Goazion, Anderson (R. E.), Galloway, Cahalane, Rosenthal (A. J.), Reinhard, Lowe, Wilson (F. W.), Lohse (Henry), Rosenthal (Henry), Aspengren, Gallagher (A. J.), Niven, McAndrews (J. J.), O'Donnell (W. P.), Galvin (Mary E.), representing 8,107 votes.

Not Voting—Mullaney, Blacksmiths' delegation (32 votes), McPherson, Gengenback, Goellnitz, Gurney, Scoby, Doyle, Meyer, Wenneis, Scott (David), O'Connor (J. M.), Eichelberger, Hannah, Woll, Schwarz (Louis A.), Flaherty, Clark (T. G.), Malin, Carrigan, Riley (J. F.), Hurley, Gabert, Curtis, Hatch, McMahon, Morris (J. F.), Umstadter, Goldsmith, Shea (P. J.), Paulsen, Graves, Conlon, Kobs, Gifford, DeYoung, McGuire (A. J.), Greener, Lynn, Harper, Anderson (Stanley), Young (E. H.), Keppler, Walck, Obergfell, Hartman, Miller (E. D.), Johnson (J. L.), Kelley (Thos.), Bittner, Fahey (C. P.), Feehan, Marcusy, Mueller (C. J.), McEntee, Kay, Draper, Laylor, Bradley, Butler, Bower, Glynn, Newberry, Dujay, Boyle, Bueche, Hannon, Quinlivan, Forker, Collmer, Brown (H. W.), Scott

Digitized by Google

(J. W.), Saltus, Higgins, Bean, Duddy, Clarke (F. Belle), Fahey (Michael), Scott (Melinda), Davies (E. M.), Givens, Lyons, Bohm, Schumers, Kline, Haley, Rigg, representing 607 votes.

Delegate Tobin moved that the election of officers be made a special order of business at 3 o'clock Saturday, provided the business of the convention is not completed before that time. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Farrell (T.) moved that the discussion on the eight-hour question be printed in full in the records of the convention. (Seconded and carried.)

At 12.30 the night session of the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9.30 a. m., Saturday, November 21.

Digitized by Google

TWELFTH DAY—Saturday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m. Saturday, November 21, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Baine, Karney, Christman (W.), Gurney, Singer, Wenneis, Larger, Holpern, Scott (D.), Dorey, Irwin, Bope, Schneider, Clark (T. G.), Carrigan, Burns (G. F.), McGrath, Conway, Gabert, O'Donnell, Brais, Brown, McMahon, James, Donoghue, Hughes, Paulsen, Conlon, Young, Keppler, Walck, Lowe, Johnson (J. L.), Marcusy, Kay, Laylor, Bradley, Butler, Bower, Glynn, Newberry, Kelly (E. H.), Hannon, Collmer, Higgins, Duddy, Davies, Givens, Lyons.

Delegate Mahon: I desire to bring before this convention an important matter that affects my organization. You all know of the injunction that has been granted by Judge Anderson against our association. It was granted some four weeks ago. The injunction was issued under the Clayton law, enjoining our organization from striking. I received word from our attorney that Judge Anderson had issued a temporary injunction, and under his policies that may stand for six years. Therefore, it is necessary for us to appeal the case. I desire the unanimous consent of the convention to introduce a resolution at this time.

No objection being offered, Delegate Mahon submitted the following resolution:

Resolution No. 164—By Delegate W. D. Mahon, of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes:

WHEREAS, The Federal Court at Indianapolis, Ind., has granted a temporary injunction against the members of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America, forbidding them the right of exercising their constitutional liberty as provided under the recent Clayton act passed by the United States Congress, which guarantees to the workers the right to suspend labor in order to protect their interest as wage workers without the interference of injunction; and

WHEREAS, This temporary injunction may stand for an indefinite period, and the said association, through its attorneys has decided on and prepared an appeal to the higher court; and

WHEREAS, It may be necessary to carry this case to the Supreme Court of the United States in order to test the constitutionality of this law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the president and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to co-operate with and give all the assistance possible to bring about and secure a satisfactory decision in this case in order to establish clearly and without question the constitutional right of the workers, and thereby bring an end to injunctions against wage workers struggling for their lives.

Delegate Mahon: We have in mind that we would like all the assistance possible of the American Federation of Labor in this matter. This injunction affects not only our organization, but brings into question the entire Clayton act. Our attorneys advise us that no doubt we will have to carry that clear up to the Supreme Court of the United States. The attorneys of the other side have declared their intention to test the constitutionality of the law. Judge Anderson said the law was mere buncombe and the courts would not be governed by it. We want the co-operation and advice of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in carrying this to the high courts of the land, to protect the workers and get a proper decision on it.

President Gompers: I must ask the delegate what he has in mind in regard to co-operation.

Delegate Mahon: That we will have the full support of the American Federation of Labor upon such lines as it may deem advisable, to advise us in the direction of this suit.

Delegate Furuseth, in discussing the question, advised that the injunction be disregarded; that the organization allow some of the men to be arrested and then take habeas corpus proceedings and the case would be disposed of in a short time; otherwise it might be in the courts for a number of years. He urged that no half-hearted measures be taken.

Secretary Morrison: When the first injunction was issued, when your men were going to have a smoker, it was prior to the adoption of the Clayton act?

Digitized by Google

Vice-President Duffy: That is the position the Indianapolis Court takes.

Delegate Mahon: Our attorneys say it comes clearly under the Clayton act.

After a brief discussion by President Gompers, Delegate Van Lear, Delegate McCarthy and Delegate Furuseth, the resolution offered by Delegate Mahon was adopted.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Vice-President Duncan, chairman of the committee: The committee will now report on the general rules governing the Departments of the American Federation of Labor. You will find the subject on pages 150 to 155 of the first day's proceedings, in the report of the Executive Council, under the caption "A. F. of L. Departments." Before the secretary reads the detailed report of the committee, I desire to state that in dealing with the subject we found there were certain conditions essential in some departments which were not essential in others; and therefore, instead of being able to report the change in the general rules as applying to all departments, there are some portions of the report which deal specifically with some departments individually. That is being done because the circumstances submitted to the committee show that in some instances what would apply to one department did not apply to the other departments. The secretary will read the thirteen sections as they came to us from the Executive Council and we will recommend the amendments offered to the sections. They will be read in full also, so that you will know what is proposed in the different sections.

Secretary Frey: In connection with the subject-matter of the A. F. of L. Departments your committee received some resolutions which had a direct bearing upon the committee's action, and the report of the committee covers its action upon these four resolutions. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates George F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp, Wm. Kemp, T. H. Norris, P. N. Triggs, John H. Baker, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The membership of many of the international unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor includes men engaged in several and diverse industries, over each of which industries a different department has jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, This employment of their members in different industries makes it necessary for such organizations to affiliate with two or more departments in order fully to protect the interests of their members and to comply with the laws of the American Federation of Labor, which require an international union to affiliate with each department to which it is eligible; and

WHEREAS, The practice at present obtaining in the several departments of collecting tax upon the entire membership of each affiliated international union results in a duplication of taxation, the collection of tax upon members who derive no benefit from the affiliation of their international union with a department not having jurisdiction over the industry in which they are employed, and is a serious burden to organizations affiliated with two or more departments; therefore, to abolish this unsatisfactory condition, to relieve the organizations affected of an unnecessary burden, and to establish a more equitable and satisfactory basis for the collection of revenue, the following amendment to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor is offered:

Amend Article XV, Section 1, of general rules governing departments of the American Federation of Labor by adding after the word "business" in eighth line, the following:

"Provided, however, that where the revenue of a department is derived from a per capita tax levied upon the membership of its affiliated organizations, such tax shall be collected only upon the number of members of each affiliated international union employed in the industry over which such department has jurisdiction."

Resolution No. 9—By Delegates Geo. F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp, Wm. Kemp, T. H. Norris, John H. Baker, P. N. Triggs, of the Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America has thirty-six local unions, in different parts of the United States and Canada, the membership of which consists exclusively of railway equipment painters, and has, in other locals, a large number of members employed in railway equipment painting; and

WHEREAS, To secure recognition of these unions by the various railroad companies and that they may be represented on scale or grievance committees, and so protect the interests of their members, it is essential that they be affiliated with the federations of the shop trades upon the respective systems upon which their members are employed; and

WHEREAS, The 1914 convention of the Railway Employes' Department of the American Federation of Labor, held

Digitized by Google

in Kansas City, declared the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers no longer in affiliation with the department, which action led to the exclusion of local unions of the Brotherhood from system federations, to the serious injury of the interests of their members; and

WHEREAS, The said action was taken because of the failure of the Brotherhood to pay to the department a monthly per capita tax upon its entire membership from November, 1912, when the constitution of the department was revised at its Rochester (N. Y.) convention; and

WHEREAS, The General Executive Board of the Brotherhood could not comply with the demands of the department without first securing the consent of the membership of the Brotherhood, given at the 1913 convention of the Brotherhood, providing the constitution of the department was amended so that the tax would be collected only upon that part of the membership of affiliated international unions engaged in the railroad industry, and which suggested change in the laws of the department has not been made; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Railway Department of the American Federation of Labor be directed to reinstate the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America to membership and to instruct its affiliated system federations to admit or to restore to membership the local unions of the said Brotherhood upon such conditions as shall be decided upon by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate A. J. Rosenthal, of the Hartford Central Labor Union, Hartford, Conn.:

WHEREAS, The present system of affiliation with local unions to their respective departments, known as the Metal Trades Council, Building Trades Council and the Central Labor Union of their respective cities or towns does not seem to have the desired effect upon the different metal trades, building trades and the central labor unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record as favoring compulsory affiliation of the different local unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor through their different national, international or Federal labor unions, to their respective departments either with the metal trades, building trades councils or the central labor union in the cities or towns where they have jurisdiction, if such is in existence.

Resolution No. 131—By Delegates John R. Alpine, Thomas S. Kearney, Charles Anderson and Charles M. Rau, of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters; William Lynn, of the Central Labor Union, Cincinnati, Ohio:

WHEREAS, The Railway Employes' Department of the American Federation of Labor, at its 1914 convention, held in Kansas City, Mo., did, by a majority vote of one, exclude or declare the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters as ineligible for membership in said Railway Employes' Department; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has declared the action of the convention of the Railway Employes' Department, as herein referred to, to be illegal and not in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has further declared the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters to be still in full affiliation with the aforesaid Railway Employes' Department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor sustains the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor as rendered in this case.

Secretary Frey read the following report of the committee:

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption "A. F. of L. Departments," your committee recommends the adoption of the amendment to Article XV of the constitution as submitted on pages 153-154 of the first day's proceedings, with certain amendments. We recommend the adoption of Section 1 as it reads; of Section 2 as it reads; of Section 3 as it reads; of Section 4 as it reads; we recommend that the words "in which it shall pay per capita upon its entire membership" be inserted immediately after the word "affiliation" in the seventh line of Section 5, and that the words "but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent. of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the A. F. of L." be added immediately after the word "departments" in the last line. Your committee recommends that the words "unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor" be added immediately after the word "labor" in the last line of Section 6. That the words "for reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway and the Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' law conform

Digitized by Google

to the preceding portion of this section" be added immediately following the word "effect" in the last line of Section 7. That the words "this not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department", be added immediately after the word "thereof" in the last line of Section 8. That Sections 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 be adopted as they read.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report.

Delegate McSorley: I move as an amendment that the subject-matter contained in the recommendation be taken up seriatim. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary Frey, of the committee, reported as follows:

Sec. 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

We recommend the adoption of Section 1 as it reads.

A motion was made and seconded to concur in the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Wharton: I would like to have the committee define the last sentence in the section, which says that "each department is to manage and finance its own affairs."

Vice-President Duncan: That is not changed.

Delegate Wharton: It seems to me there is a confliction. Section 5 as amended by the committee provides that an organization affiliated to a department other than its principal affiliation shall pay per capita tax on not less than 20 per cent. of its membership. I would like to have the committee explain whether an organization affiliating to a department other than its principal affiliation can pay on its full membership if it so desires?

Vice-President Duncan: If the balance of the sections as reported are adopted the organization would not have that authority. If the section dealing with the per capita tax goes into effect it means that the organization belonging to the department where it rightfully belongs shall pay full per capita tax to that organization. Where there are but a few members of an international union in the department, following employment that would come under that department, the organization is to pay upon such proportionate share of its membership as is employed in that department, with the proviso that it is not to pay on less than one-fifth, that is to say, 20 per cent., of its membership. The recommendation is made to meet the objections of organizations which are entitled to be in two or three or perhaps four departments, and which complain upon having to pay per capita into each organization upon their full membership, when there may be in some instances but a few of their members in the department.

Delegate Kugler: Will the first section continue the policy of the Federation in regard to the formation of departments? I would like to know if it interferes with the voluntary right of the organizations to become members of the departments?

Vice-President Duncan: Although that subject is not under consideration, I will say in a general way that the report of the committee is the same upon that subject as reported by the Executive Council, declaring that organizations should belong to their departments. It does not say "shall."

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Sec. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

We recommend the adoption of Section 2 as it reads.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Sec. 3. To be entitled to representation in Local Councils, or railway system federations of departments, local unions are required to be part of affiliated national or international unions affiliated to departments, or of the American Federation of Labor. Said local unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to central labor unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

We recommend the adoption of Section 3 as it reads.

A motion was made and seconded to concur in the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth: Is there anything in the report of the committee that leaves

Digitized by Google

it to the individual union, whether it wants to be in a department or not?

Vice-President Duncan: The report says they should belong to the department; it does not say they shall belong.

Delegate Wharton: I would like to ask the chairman of the committee for an interpretation of Section 3. If I understand that correctly, it would make it possible for an international organization not to be affiliated with the department, but would permit a local to affiliate with the department, providing, of course, the international was affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Vice-President Duncan: It seems to me that locals, to be in councils or system federations, must be either in their international or national unions, or hold affiliation directly with the American Federation of Labor in the case of locals that have no nationals or internationals. There are many unions in the American Federation of Labor following one employment who have no international. It applies to local unions or federal labor unions that have no internationals but hold charters direct from the American Federation of Labor. There is no change in it at the present time; it applies the same as it has since departments were formed.

Delegate Wharton: A local of an international cannot affiliate with the department unless the international itself is affiliated with the department.

Delegate Van Lear: Could this not be interpreted that the international union might withdraw from the department it ought to belong to, and that still would not prevent the local unions of that international affiliating with local councils as long as the international unions still remained in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor?

Vice-President Duncan: What is reported here has been a rule governing departments ever since we have had departments. There is nothing new in it whatever.

Delegate Skemp: I will cite a concrete instance showing the matter we want to make specific in these new laws. The Brotherhood of Carpenters at the present time is not affiliated to the Building Trades Department, but many of its local unions are affiliated to local building trades departments. Can such a condition obtain under the proposed amendment?

Vice-President Duncan: There is no proposed amendment. That would be a subject for legislation by the department, and if the local unions of an organization are aggrieved they can appeal to the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Skemp: Then it is not forbidden by law?

Vice-President Duncan: It is not forbidden by this law.

Delegate Ferguson cited the case in dispute between the Louisville central body and the Brotherhood of Carpenters. The chairman of the committee stated that the question of affiliation of central bodies was not under consideration.

Delegate Price: I understand the section read to mean that local unions in internationals not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor are not entitled to representation in local councils or central bodies.

Delegate Williams: This section does not make it compulsory to belong to the department, and therefore an international could get whatever benefit might be derived from its affiliation with local councils and not help to support the department. I think it would be better to use the word "and" instead of the word "or" in the third line of the section.

President Gompers: There are local unions chartered directly by the American Federation of Labor in trades where there are no international unions. That is the reason for the employment of the word "or" rather than "and."

Vice-President Duncan: This simply refers to local unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor who have no international head.

Delegate Mitchell: Why not insert "or unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor?"

Vice-President Alpine: I note that part of the section reads, "are required to be part of affiliated national or international unions affiliated to departments." What effect will that have in the case of an international union clearly eligible to membership in a department, but which has been declared ineligible?

Vice-President Duncan: That is cleared up in accordance with subsequent legislation—the local could not be affiliated. A portion of the report provides that the international or national should be in the department. Another part provides that

Digitized by Google

if an organization feels aggrieved at the action of the department it appeals to the Executive Council and from there to the American Federation of Labor The local in such an instance as you refer to would not have a seat in the local Building Trades Council until the form of appeal had been followed.

Delegate Connors: I move that we strike out "or" and place in lieu thereof the word "and.' (Seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan: Since there is so much confusion about this subject it might be well to insert, after the word "or," "to hold charters," or "holding charters of the American Federation of Labor."

Delegate Wharton: Should it not be "directly holding charters?"

Vice-President Duncan: There are no locals holding charters except directly, but it will be all right to put in the word if you desire.

The committee accepted the amendment, adding the words "directly affiliated to," so that Section 3 will read as follows:

Sec. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils, or railway system federations of departments, local unions are required to be part of affiliated national or international unions affiliated to departments, or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said local unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to central labor unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted as amended.

Sec. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No department, local council or railway system federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, department, local councils, and railway system federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

The committee recommends the adoption of Section 4 as it reads.

Delegate Wharton: I would like to ask the chairman of the committee, who I believe understands the position of the Railway Department in regard to making joint agreements, if there is anything in that section that would be constructed to mean that organizations affiliated to the Railway Department would not have the right to make such laws. We have provided for joint action and that has been approved by international conventions of organizations affiliated to the department which allows organizations to strike and makes it imperative that they comply with those laws.

Vice-President Duncan: The procedure the delegate refers to affects only the Railway Department. This section, dealing with and having reference to laws and procedure, simply has reference to the constitutional law and resolutions of the American Federation of Labor, which no department, being the creature of the American Federation of Labor, would have the right to abrogate. This matter has not come before the Executive Council and certainly not before the delegates to this convention. Organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor are guaranteed autonomy, which means management of their own affairs, and therefore the constitutions and regulations of each international are considered sacred to them, and in the American Federation of Labor, because of that understanding, when an organization affiliated to the American Federation of Labor rightfully belongs in the department it would naturally follow that in going into the department the same sacredness of the constitutional provisions of the international would be respected therein as in the American Federation of Labor.

Vice-President Duncan discussed briefly the system of the Railway Department in regard to joint agreements and its rule that an organization entitled to membership otherwise in the department, which refused to give the Railway Department authority through its system of transacting business to make agreements for organizations affiliated thereto, could not get into the department.

Delegate Daly: The Metal Trades Department enacted a law a year ago providing that where men working in a plant in a metal trades factory, where several organizations are represented, apply for permission to strike jointly, and 75 per cent. of those men vote in favor of it,

Digitized by Google

and 75 per cent. of the organizations represented there approve of the application for permission to strike, those in the minority, the employes in the minority, members of the minority organizations that voted against such strike, will have to go out with the rest or be suspended from the department. If this section is adopted will it make a law of that kind in the Metal Trades Department unconstitutional?

Vice-President Duncan: It is a question for this convention to define, whether its departments have authority to do things therein with reference to the affiliated organizations which those affiliated organizations have not conceded to the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Daly: I ask the president what construction he would place upon it?

President Gompers: If the rights of the minority, no matter how small, are not violated, the department can do anything that is not vitally in violation of the laws of the American Federation of Labor. The constitution of the American Federation of Labor makes certain provisions. By unanimous consent the constitution can be set aside. But when the rights of a minority delegate or a minority organization would be violated by such an act, the minority delegate or organization may interpose objection and the objection must be sustained. If in any of the departments there is conceded to the department the right to call strikes and there is unanimity of opinion and judgment, if that power is delegated by all the organizations in the department, to the department, the department may exercise that right. Let me repeat one portion of what I have said—that the rights of the minority must be protected and respected, no matter how small that minority may be.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Wharton, Delegate Daly and Delegate D'Alessandro.

Delegate Wharton gave in detail an account of the manner in which joint agreements were made and other business transacted by the Railway Employes' Department, as now organized, the laws of which have not been objected to by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., providing, in so far as legislative enactment can, for joint offensive and defensive action by the affiliated organizations. A law of this kind necessarily carries with it the financial and moral support and responsibility in proportion to the number of men affected. We have no knowledge to the effect that the American Federation of Labor has either assumed or been given the authority to say to any affiliated organization that it must enter into such an alliance, when by so doing they would compel such organizations to incur financial and other obligations not acceptable to them.

The organizations now affiliated have so agreed, but deny any organization, including the A. F. of L., the right to decide with whom they shall enter into a compact for offensive or defensive purposes, just so long as they confine such compact to organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L.

The organizations now composing the Mechanical Section of the Railway Employes' Department embrace within their membership practically all classes of men employed in the various departments of a railroad other than the transportation department.

We challenge any one to prove that these organizations are now or have at any time solicited for membership men doing a class of work other than that which they have had control over for many years and long before any of the departments were organized, and in concluding said:

I want to ask the chairman of the committee will Section 4, having in it the word "procedure," interfere with such an alliance as you have outlined and is now in existence. If it does we would like to have an opportunity to consider the matter and submit an amendment which would make it possible for the Railway Department to continue as a railway department of the American Federation of Labor, if not under some other head. We do not care about the name of the department; we want the right of this body to do something that is beneficial for about 125,000 men in these different organizations.

Vice-President Duncan: The word "procedure" would not cover the point you have in mind—it would be the law rather than the procedure. The word procedure has reference to decisions and action by this convention concern-

Digitized by Google

ing all organizations not included in its laws. This carries with it that other method of expression of opinion the American Federation of Labor has, other than is mentioned in its constitutional law. If the delegate had asked if what he has referred to came under the word "laws," I would say "yes."

Delegate Wharton: The law and the procedure of the American Federation of Labor, as I understand it, do not provide for any such action as we have outlined in the Railway Department. So far as I know, it does not interfere with it. What I want to know is whether this law, in which you have injected the words "procedure" and "rules," governs. Do those words interfere with this form of organization?

Vice-President Duncan: The organizations now in the Railway Department have ceded to the Railway Department authority over questions that the internationals have not given the American Federation of Labor in their affiliation to the American Federation of Labor, and the decision upon the point at issue would either have to be reached by this convention in session now or would follow the method provided in a subsequent section, namely, coming under an appeal. If an organization is aggrieved at the action of the Railway Department it would have a right to appeal to the Executive Council; if the decision of the Executive Council is not satisfactory to the organization it would then go to the next convention.

Delegate Wharton: The laws of the Railway Department provide for that sort of thing; they state that if anything occurs in the department an organization is not satisfied with it has a right to appeal to the American Federation of Labor. The information I want is this: If there is anything in the laws of the American Federation now, or anything in this article that is proposed, that would interfere with the formation of an organization such as we have made in the Railway Department?

Vice-President Duncan: That can only be defined by the convention or by appeal, because the organizations now composing the Railway Department have given to that department certain authority which the same organizations have not given the American Federation of Labor, namely, the right to make agreements in connection with railway work. The organizations in the American Federation of Labor do not turn over to the American Federation of Labor authority to either do itself or assign to some one the right to make agreements and order strikes in connection with the various organizations. The Railway Department has found it essential to it to have that form. The question is whether or not the department is right in doing that, when the organizations have not ceded that authority to the American Federation of Labor. Before going further, I would like to ask Delegate Wharton where, in his judgment, the steamfitters or pipefitters upon the railroads, engaged there permanently now, as they have been for years, belong? In which organization, under your offensive and defensive plan, would those men be assigned?

Delegate Wharton: The department does not assign them to any organization. If they desire to belong to the Plumbers and Steamfitters, they can do so; but there are possibly 85 per cent. of the organized pipefitters now in the Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.

Vice-President Alpine: In his discussion, Delegate Wharton said the United Association had less than five hundred men employed upon the railroad systems. There are approximately two thousand of our members engaged upon the railroads, affiliated with our association now, as they have been since the creation of the Railway Department and for years prior to the creation of the Railway Department. You have before you the instance of an international union having been declared, at the eleventh hour, ineligible for membership in the department that it was always previously regarded as entirely eligible to. There are twenty-six local unions of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters engaged in railroad work, and in all the years of affiliation we have never had one dispute with any organization in that Railway Department. The declaration is made that a great percentage of our members are connected with the Sheet Metal Workers' organization, and the only question that has ever arisen in that regard was in a fair way of settlement until the April convention of the Railway Department, at which time it was for some unknown reason declared ineligible for membership.

Digitized by Google

Vice-President Alpine spoke briefly of an arrangement between himself and President Hynes, of the Sheet Metal Workers, in regard to transferring men to the proper organizations, and described the manner in which the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters had been removed from the Railway Department in the convention held by that body in Kansas City in April, 1914. He referred at some length to the number of local unions belonging to his organization that had been organized in the railroad work of the South, and gave the location of the locals and the roads for which the members worked.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Delegate Franklin stated that he desired to protest against closing debate, as he desired, representing one of the organizations vitally interested in the matter being considered, to discuss the question.

Sec. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments.

We recommend that the words "in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership" be inserted immediately after the word "affiliation," in the seventh line of Section 5, and that the words "but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent. of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor" be added immediately after the word "departments" in the last line.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Treasurer Lennon referred briefly to the amount of time the Executive Council and sub-committees and others interested had spent in revising the laws governing the department, the time that had been spent by the committee considering the report of the Council, and suggested that the recommendations be concurred in, and in the next convention whatever injustice might still seem to lurk in the laws governing the department could be eliminated.

Vice-President O'Connell discussed at some length the question of the income of the departments, referring especially to the Metal Trades Department. He referred to the number of organizations affiliated with that department, the approximate number of members in each, the number that would probably select the Metal Trades Department as their principal affiliation, and the number that would probably affiliate but a few of their members. He stated in closing that he was unalterably opposed to the report of the committee.

The question was discussed by Vice-President Duncan and Delegate McNulty.

Secretary Frey spoke briefly in support of the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Kline: Did the committee make a fair estimate, or try to do so, of the difference in the number of members of various organizations that would be affiliated with the department, and whether the 20 per cent. would finance the department?

Secretary Frey: Your committee made no effort to work up tables showing the present financial basis and what it would be if this change is made, but each department has it in its power to determine what its own per capita tax should be.

Delegate McSorley: I move to insert in Section 5, after the word "labor" in line 6 the following: "except that the Building Trades Department or any of the local councils thereof shall not attempt to enforce any jurisdiction decision that has not been mutually agreed upon by the affected affiliated organizations." (Seconded.)

President Gompers: The amendment is not germane to the subject-matter contained in Section 5.

Delegate Franklin: I arise at this time to move that we strike out all of Section

Digitized by Google

5 after the word "labor" in line 6. (Seconded.)

Delegate Franklin spoke at length in favor of the amendment.

Delegate McNulty and Delegate Hedrick spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The motion offered by Delegate Franklin was lost by a vote of 49 in the affirmative to 79 in the negative.

The report of the committee was adopted, and the section as amended by the committee reads:

Sec. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent. of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

At 1.15 p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2.30 p. m. on the same day.

Digitized by Google

TWELFTH DAY—Saturday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2.30 o'clock p. m., Saturday, November 21, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees: Bump, Karney, McPherson, Christman (W.), Zuckerman, Gurney, Meyer, Holpern, Rice, Sweeney, Scott (D.), Dorey, Irwin, Bope, Norris, Clark (T. G.), Carrigan, McGrath, Gabert, Hanley, O'Donnell, Brais, Curtis, McMahon, Conlon, Kobs, Anderson (S.), Young, Anderson (R. E.), Laylor, Bradley, Dunn, Butler, Bower, Glynn, Newberry, Dujay, Niven, Kelly (E. H.), Woodmansee, Bueche, Hannon, Quinlivan, Kennedy, Forker, Collmer, Nolda, Saltus, McGovern, Higgins, Duddy, Fahey (M.), Davies, Givens, Lyons, Bohm, Kline.

Report of the Committee on Resolutions.

Sec. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and, if possible, in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that the words "unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor" be added immediately after the word "labor," in the last line of Section 6.

The report of the committee was adopted. The amended section reads as follows:

Sec. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect.

Your commitee recommends that the words "for reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railroad and the Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portions of this section," be added immediately following the word "effect" in the last line of Section 7.

Vice-President O'Connell: I move to add in the exceptions "Metal Trades Department." (Seconded and carried.)

The report of the committee was adopted, and the section as amended reads:

Sec. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railroad, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof.

Your commitee recommends that the words "this not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department," be added.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted, and the section as amended by the committee reads:

Sec. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

Sec. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

Digitized by Google

Your committee recommended that Section 9 be adopted as read.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Sec. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on rollcall be entitled to two votes. A rollcall shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

Your committee recommends the adoption of Section 10 as it reads.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers, opposed the recommendation of the committee, and said in part: If we establish a procedure such as is intended now in the Building Trades Department it is going to again, in my opinion, control all local building trade councils throughout the country. It is true there is nothing said here and now, or in the department, on the proposition, but the local building trades councils will be able to say, "If it isn't good law, why was it carried before the American Federation of Labor in the recommendation to the Building Trades Department?" I have been in cities where that same proposition came up in the local building trades council, and the only way we could get over it was to say that the American Federation of Labor does not recognize a vote of that kind in the department. If the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled advocates and adopts this procedure it will have the effect in many cities of disrupting the building trades councils.

Vice-President Duncan: The report of the committee deals with the department and not with local councils under it. The department will make its regulations in reference to councils, but this has nothing to do with that. Moreover, the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Seattle, passed upon this subject exactly as the Executive Council, and the committee reports it to this convention.

Delegate McNulty: The Building Trades Department did not adopt it, and it went back to the Executive Council.

Vice-President Duncan: It went back to the Executive Council and the Council brought it to this convention. The Carpenters had that as one of their complaints why they withdrew from the Building Trades Department.

The question was discussed by Delegate McNulty and Vice-President Duncan.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists: I move as an amendment that each department shall have authority to designate the voting power of affiliated organizations, based upon equity and the necessity of enacting a law that would prevent undue power being placed in the hands of one or two organizations having great numerical strength. (Seconded.)

President Gompers: The chair decides that that power is up to this present moment exercised by the departments. The proposition of the committee is to specify the voting power of the affiliated organizations. The defeat of the committee's report will accomplish the purpose of the amendment. The amendment is negative in character and is therefore not in order.

Delegate Johnston: In my judgment the departments should be given authority to transact their business and dictate the voting power of each organization. I believe the departments are the best judges of what they should do. With the adoption of the previous recommendation of the committee the voting strength of many of the organizations will be materially decreased. I believe that the complaints, possibly reasonable complaints, of the Carpenters have been overcome by the adoption this morning of the recommendations of the committee and that the voting power in the future in the Building Trades Department by lesser organizations will not be as great as it was, and I believe it will be the proper thing for this convention to-day to vote down the recommendations of the committee.

Vice-President Duncan: The recommendation of the committee only specifically names the Building Trades Department, and because of the great disparity of one organization that is expected to go in there toward all the others it is offered. It is as nearly fair as the circumstances can be stated.

Delegate Wharton: Is there anything in the law contemplated that will in-

Digitized by Google

terfere with the voting power of the Railway Department?

Vice-President, Duncan: It refers to no other department but the Building Trades.

President Gompers: The proposition does not affect the Railway Department.

The question was discussed by Delegate Taylor, who opposed the committee's report, Delegate LaPorta and Vice-President Duncan.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The report of the committee was adopted by a vote of 115 in the affirmative to 50 in the negative.

Sec. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

Sec. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

Sec. 13. A page of each issue of the American Federationist to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

The committee recommended the adoption of Sections 11, 12 and 13 as read.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Vice-President Duncan moved the adoption of the report of the committee on the departments as a whole as amended. (Seconded.)

Delegate Taylor, Machinists, requested a rollcall. The request was not supported by a sufficient number of delegates to require a rollcall.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee as amended as a whole was carried by a vote of 157 in the affirmative to 29 opposed, more than the two-thirds majority necessary.

Vice-President Duncan: The following has to be acted upon in connection with the report being made. It is from the report of the Executive Council in connection with these matters:

Realizing that the departments will find it necesasry to change several of their laws, modes of procedure, and other matters affecting them by reason of the adoption of the laws and recommendations we have above submitted, and that it will require some considerable time to put them in practical operation, we submit the following so that time and opportunity may be afforded the departments to conform to the new law and regulations:

RESOLVED, That Article XV of this constitution as adopted by this convention shall go into full force and effect and be a part of the constitution of the A. F. of L., on and after March 1, 1915. And in the meantime, that is, up to said March 1, 1915, Article XV of the constitution of the A. F. of L., as it now exists, shall be in full force and effect.

The committee reports favorably.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Election of Officers.

Delegate Mitchell (John) in the chair.

Delegate Mahon was recognized by the chair and placed in nomination for president for the ensuing year Samuel Gompers, of the Cigarmakers' International Union.

Delegate McNulty: I move that nominations be closed.

Chairman Mitchell: A motion to close nominations is not in order.

Delegate Keep: Are we compelled to nominate somebody present in the convention?

Chairman Mitchell: Any member in good standing of an organization affiliated to the American Federation of Labor is eligible to any office in the American Federation of Labor.

After a brief address Delegate Keep stated that he desired to place in nomination a member of an organization affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, Michael J. Houlihan. In reply to various questions, Delegate Keep stated that Michael J. Houlihan was a member of the blacksmiths' union in Jacksonville, Fla.

Questions were asked and brief statements made by Delegates Kavanaugh, McCullough, Miller (O.), Shay, McCarthy (P. H.) and Keep.

Delegate Kline asked if Delegate Keep had consulted Mr. Houlihan in regard to the nomination. He stated that Mr. Houlihan was in good standing in the blacksmiths' organization. Delegate Keep stated that he had not consulted Mr. Houlihan.

Delegate Keep withdrew the name of Michael J. Houlihan.

Digitized by Google

Delegate Flores moved that the secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of the convention for the election of Samuel Gompers as president for the ensuing year. The motion was carried. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and Samuel Gompers was declared duly elected president for the ensuing term.

Delegate Germer, Mine Workers: I wish to be recorded as voting against the election of Samuel Gompers as president of this great American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Wilson, Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, desired to be recorded in the same manner.

Delegate Aspengren, Tri-City Federation of Labor, Rock Island, Ill.; Delegate Van Lear, Machinists; Delegate Taylor, Machinists, and the delegates of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, desired to be recorded as voting against President Gompers.

James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association, was placed in nomination by Delegate Frey (J. P.). No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Duncan for first vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and James Duncan was declared unanimously elected to serve as first vice-president for the ensuing year.

James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists, was placed in nomination for second vice-president by Delegate Johnston, of the same organization. No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James O'Connell for second vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and James O'Connell was declared unanimously elected to serve as second vice-president for the ensuing year.

Denis A. Hayes, of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, was placed in nomination for third vice-president by Delegate Frayne. There being no further names presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for D. A. Hayes for third vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and D. A. Hayes was declared unanimously elected third vice-president for the ensuing year.

Joseph F. Valentine, of the Molders' Union of North America, was placed in nomination for fourth vice-president by Delegate Wilson (Jas.). No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph F. Valentine. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and Joseph F. Valentine was declared unanimously elected to serve as fourth vice-president for the ensuing term.

John R. Alpine, of the United Association of Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters and Steamfitters' Helpers of North America, was placed in nomination for fifth vice- president by Delegate Tobin (D. J.) There being no further names presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John R. Alpine. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and John R. Alpine was declared unanimously elected fifth vice-president for the ensuing term.

H. B. Perham, of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, was placed in nomination for sixth vice-president by Delegate Miller (J. F.). No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for H. B. Perham for sixth vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and H. P. Perham was declared unanimously elected to serve as sixth vice-president for the ensuing term.

Frank Duffy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, was placed in nomination for seventh vice-president by Delegate Kirby. No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Digitized by Google

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Duffy as seventh vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and Frank Duffy was declared unanimously elected to serve as seventh vice-president for the ensuing term.

William Green, of the United Mine Workers of America, was placed in nomination by Delegate Hayes, of the same organization. In making the nomination, Delegate Hayes said in part: At the request of the entire Mine Workers' delegation and with the full approval of President White I have the honor and pleasure of presenting the name of William Green. By way of introduction, let me say that William Green is the international secretary-treasurer of our organization and has served our cause with credit for a number of years. He is the author of the Green workmen's compensation bill, the mine-run bill, the women's nine-hour law and other legislation very beneficial to the cause of labor. I am sure he will serve the Federation with credit and will be an honor to our organization.

Nominations were closed and, upon motion of Delegate Mitchell, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green for eighth vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and William Green was declared duly elected to serve as eighth vice-president for the ensuing year.

John B. Lennon, of the Journeymen Tailors of North America, was placed in nomination for treasurer by Delegate Bolander. No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John B. Lennon. The instructions of the convention were complied with, and John B. Lennon was declared unanimously elected to serve as treasurer for the ensuing term.

Frank Morrison, of the International Typographical Union, was placed in nomination for secretary by Delegate Berry. No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion of Delegate McCullough, Delegate Berry was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Morrison. The instructions of the convention were complied with, and Frank Morrison was declared unanimously elected to serve as secretary for the ensuing term.

H. J. Conway, of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association, was placed in nomination for fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress by Delegate Walker (J. H.).

Delegate Furuseth, of the International Seamen's Union, was placed in nomination by Delegate Griffin. Delegate Furuseth declined the nomination.

Upon motion of Delegate Connors, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for H. J. Conway. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and Delegate Conway was declared duly elected.

The chairman stated that the next order of business was the selection of the convention city.

San Francisco, Cal., was placed in nomination by Delegate McCarthy (P. H.).

No other city being placed in nomination, San Francisco was declared the unanimous choice for the 1915 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Vice-President Duncan moved that the date of the convention for San Francisco be the first Monday in June, 1915. (Seconded.)

The motion was opposed by Delegate Johnston and Delegate Scharrenberg.

The motion offered by Vice-President Duncan was lost.

Secretary of Labor Wilson in the chair.

Delegate Hayes, United Mine Workers: I arise to a question of personal privilege, and to speak upon the Colorado situation.

The chairman stated that Delegate Hayes had the privilege of the floor.

Delegate Hayes: There appeared in this morning's Philadelphia Ledger a very vicious and false attack upon the United Mine Workers of America and their work in the strike region of Colorado. As an officer of the United Mine Workers, who has been in charge of activities in that State since that historic conflict began, I feel I should

Digitized by Google

not allow this newspaper story to go unchallenged.

The editorial states: "The officers of the United Mine Workers of America, the organization which is responsible for the strike in the Colorado mines, have been in Washington to advise the President that he ought to seize the mines in behalf of the Government unless the mine owners agree to the demands of the strikers. They gave him to understand that unless Federal troops remain in the mine regions there will be further grave disorder."

We went to Washington to see President Wilson, not to enforce the strikers' demands, but to enforce the proposition he submitted to the miners and operators of Colorado, the proposition which we accepted, the proposition which is nothing less than the enforcement of the laws of Colorado. We made no such statement to President Wilson. This statement is in line with a great many other statements that have been made about the officers in the Colorado strike. We believe in law and order and that this strike of ours is based upon law. Five of the seven demands the coal miners of that State have been striking for—yes, dying for—are laws of the State of Colorado. And there would never have been violence in Colorado, there would never have been more than one hundred men, women and children slaughtered in that State, if the law had been enforced or if the operators had kept out their notorious gunmen. Prior to the beginning of the strike, when I went into that field there were seven hundred paid murderers commissioned as deputy sheriffs, whose sole duty it was to intimidate and assault the miners of that State, and only when we were attacked did we respond, and we have no apologies to make.

The editorial says further: "The Colorado strike was called by the United Mine Workers for the purpose of forcing the unionizing of the mines." We called it to secure the enforcement of the laws of the State of Colorado. It says further: "If the officers of this union sincerely wish to prevent further violence, they can do it very easily by using their influence with the members of their union in Colorado." Let me say, Mr. Chairman, that as long as the operators, backed up by Rockefeller and his associates, intimidate and assault our people we cannot tamely submit. They have deported our people, they have thrown them out on the plains of Colorado, and it became necessary for us to supply tents to protect them from the elements. A month before the begining of the strike an organizer, a dear friend of mine, was murdered by those gunmen. They were not arrested; there was no redress. Only after several of our people had been murdered did the miners start arming in self-defense; only after the little tent colony of Forbes was riddled with bullets from machine guns in the hands of the operators did they respond. The operators and their gunmen came to the little tent city of Forbes with an armored automobile—what we called the steel battleship, an automobile encased in steel—and deliberately opened fire upon that little tent colony, killing one man and wounding a boy of sixteen years, shooting him nine times in the legs and making him a cripple for life. I remember looking upon the face of that martyr to our cause as he lay in the morgue at Trinidad. Our people were worked up and excited when they saw that civil government had broken down. We applied to the authorities for protection, and received more murderers deputized as sheriffs.

All the violence in Colorado is due to the anarchistic policy of the coal operators of that State. The very fact that our strike was based on the laws shows they have no respect for the law. President Wilson's proposition means nothing more than the enforcement of the laws of the State and the appointment of an industrial court to see that the laws are enforced. More miners have been killed in Colorado in the coal mines in the last five years than in any other coal mining State. Notwithstanding they were killed by the hundreds out there, not one single cent of damages has been paid to the widows and dependents of those men. And then, not satisfied with murdering them in times of peace, they murdered them by their gunmen when that strike was called.

From the beginning of that strike the operators have spent hundreds of thousands of dollars circularizing the unions of America, circularizing every man prominent in public life, for the express purpose of discrediting the officials in charge of our organization. They have said our officers receive enormous salaries. The officers' salaries are stated in the constitution of the miners' organiza-

Digitized by Google

tion, and practically all the officers gave almost all their salaries to those strikers. I personally came out of the strike $200 in debt to my international union, due to the fact that I tried to assist those poor people who were more in need of it than I was.

I believe the Government of this country is in Washington and not in New York, and I believe the issue we have in the State of Colorado will prove where the Government is located. I have faith that President Wilson will not desert us after making that proposition. We accepted it in good faith, and I hope he will go through with it in like manner. I will continue in that belief until he says no—and I have no criticism to make of the President of this country. I believe he will do that which will conserve the best interests of the men in those mines.

I hope you will give us your moral support in this fight and help us run down those vicious lies. This is not a fight of the United Mine Workers alone, but a fight of every union man in this country. If unionism can be crushed and destroyed in the mines of Colorado it will be crushed in every industry in the land. We have spent more than $3,000,000 fighting this battle of the miners. We have borrowed hundreds of thousands of dollars from affiliated sister unions to carry on the fight, and as long as we can get a cent in our treasury we will never surrender it.

I feel it necessary at this time to arise and make these corrections. I feel confident the President will meet the situation. He has had our hearty co-operation from the inception of the strike. We will do everything we can, as we have in the past, in order to secure a settlement of the strike.

President Gompers in the chair.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegates S. E. Heberling, F. J. Sheehan and J. B. Connors, of the Switchmen's Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The policy of the American Federation of Labor is to protect affiliated unions against the encroachments of non-affiliated unions, as set forth by the constitution governing the A. F. of L. wherein it forbids the seating of delegates representing non-affiliated unions in State and central bodies which are hostile to any affiliated organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention assembled instruct the Executive Council to enforce a strict observance of the constitution and notify all State organizations and central labor unions that delegates from non-affiliated organizations are ineligible as delegates to said bodies.

Your committee recommends as a substitute for the resolution that an amendment be made to Section 1, Article XI, by inserting immediately after the word "affiliated" the words "nor are delegates to be seated from locals of national or international organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the substitute offered by the committee.

Delegate Jones (Jerome), Atlanta: Do I understand from the reading of that resolution that organizations affiliated with national and international unions that do not hold affiliation to this body shall be excluded from the State and central bodies?

Vice-President Duncan, chairman of the committee: It provides that no central union or other central body of delegates is to admit locals from a national or international union unless the national or international union holds a charter from the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Jones opposed the recommendation of the committee, and spoke at length of conditions in Georgia and other Southern States where locals of organizations not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor were active in the central and State bodies, and urged that they be allowed to continue their membership and help the other trade unionists improve conditions for the working people.

Treasurer Lennon opposed the recommendation of the committee. Delegate Connors, of the Switchmen, and Vice-President Duncan supported the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Williams (T. J.), spoke in support of the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegate Kovaleski and Delegate Bolander.

President Gompers, in reply to a question, stated: Concurrence in the report of the committee means that organizations unattached to the American Federation of Labor cannot be represented in city central or State bodies.

Digitized by Google

On motion debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Convict Labor.

Upon the subject-matter under the caption "Convict Labor," page 85, first day's proceedings, your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts to secure the legislation desired.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Conclusion.

In connection with the concluding section of the report and those portions of the report which were referred to this committee, your committee desires to express its high commendation for the exceptionally successful work which was accomplished by the Executive Council during the year—record of achievement unparalleled in the previous history of the trade-union movement in America.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Goldstone: I would like unanimous consent to introduce a resolution voicing the sentiments of quite a number of delegates to this convention. I am trying to take advantage of the opportunity before the Committee on Resolutions is discharged. It deals with the European war and the immigration question.

President Gompers: Both these subjects, immigration and war and peace, have been referred to committees. The question of immigration has been disposed of by this convention. The Committee on International Relations is ready to report upon the subject of war and peace.

Objection was offered to the introduction of the resolution.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates A. P. Sovey, Alfred Bleber and Mary R. Sullivan, of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, There has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. Gorman, of Illinois, a bill known as House Resolution No. 16,541, a copy of which is herewith appended; and

WHEREAS, This bill, if enacted into law, will be of material benefit to employes of the Federal Government and of the District of Columbia, many of whom are members of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The said International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, in convention assembled at Denver, Col., did give this proposed legislation its unqualified indorsement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does give its indorsement and support to the proposed law, and urges upon Congress and its proper committee the necessity for its early enactment.

A bill providing a minimum wage for certain employes of the District of Columbia and in the civil service of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter all persons employed by the District of Columbia and in the civil service of the United States of America, who are now designated as "unskilled laborers," shall receive for their services as such employes a minimum salary of not less than $780 a year; and all persons employed by the District of Columbia and in the civil service of the United States of America, who are now classified as "skilled laborers," including watchmen, police officers, firemen, inspectors, or those who, in due course of their employment, are required to use tools or other machinery, or who are assistants to mechanics, or who assist in the management or operation of machinery, shall receive a minimum compensation of not less than $1080 per year.

Sec. 2. That the provisions of this act shall take effect from and after its passage.

Sec. 3. That upon the passage of this act the heads of departments in which are employed persons affected hereby shall issue new appointments at the increased rate of compensation herein provided for.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 105—By Delegates J. E. McClory, M. J. Cunnane and W. R. Walters, of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers:

WHEREAS, The method of handling the finances of the various national and international unions is such that it enables the workers' money being used in an indirect way to defeat the purposes of their organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be ordered and is hereby instructed to make a thorough investigation, as to the amount of money each international and national union

Digitized by Google

can deposit, and report to the next convention some definite plan of co-operation under which we may establish a bank for the handling of all moneys of the various national and international unions to the end that the workers' money may be used for no other cause except the furthering of the conditions of the workers.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to concur in the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate McClory opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted by a vote of 75 in the affirmative to 31 in the negative.

Delegate Frey: The committee was instructed to prepare a resolution in connection with the Lincoln Memorial, and desires to submit the following:

Resolution No. 165—By Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, The nation in its profound gratitude and respect for the great services rendered to humanity and to the United States of America by Abraham Lincoln, has provided that a memorial to his memory should be erected in the nation's capital; and

WHEREAS, The life and acts of the great Emancipator were directed toward the elevation of the wage earners' standard of living through the establishment of those rights and guarantees which would make the toilers truly free; and

WHEREAS, The conditions under which the material which is to enter into the memorial is being prepared are detrimental to a very large number of people, including all the organized workers of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is hereby authorized and directed to interview the proper officers of the Federal Government and the representatives in Washington, D. C., of the firm having the contract to erect the memorial to the great union Emancipator, in order to have all work on said memorial performed by union men and in accordance with Federal eight-hour laws.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate George B. McGovern, of the Yonkers Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Industrial injuries incapacitate many workers, preventing them from following their chosen trade or calling; and

WHEREAS, Society owes a duty in payment for incapacity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor exert all efforts to secure for the unfortunates who have been incapacitated from following their own vocation such assistance by legislation or otherwise as may enable them to earn their own livelihood.

Inasmuch as every possible effort of the American Federation of Labor is now being directed to secure adequate workmen's compensation laws, your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegate McGovern, who opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Vice-President Duncan spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate Mahon opposed the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, J. H. Fricke, E. H. Foley and A. J. Chlopek, of the Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, There is a number of foreign ships lying in ports of the United States on account of the European war with full crews of foreign sailors aboard. At the port of Hoboken, N. J., there is a number of German ships lying with several thousand men aboard. It is rumored in that city that the companies owning these ships are contemplating using those men at longshore work on other boats belonging to that company. We believe that this would be a violation of the alien contract labor law. It is also rumored that the companies are going to turn those men off of those boats. If this latter should happen, they would immediately become a charge on the city and would necessarily encroach upon the work now done by the longshoremen of that city; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The Executive Council take this matter up with the Labor Department of the United States.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred back to the representatives of the Longshoremen's Union to investigate the construction of the law in connection with the subject referred to, and should it become necessary that the Executive Council render such assistance as may be advisable.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 114—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, J. H. Fricke, E. H. Foley,

Digitized by Google

A. J. Chlopek, of the Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The different steamships calling at the ports of New York and New Jersey for unloading and loading of cargo have their equipment in a dangerous condition to such an extent that a number of lives have been endangered and a number of men have been crippled; and

WHEREAS, The States of New York and New Jersey have no laws sufficient to compel the shipping companies to better their equipment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. convention does hereby instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to prepare a bill to be introduced in the next session of Congress, and have it enacted into law, establishing a bureau of inspection of loading and unloading equipment aboard ship.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred back to the representatives of the Longshoremen's Union with instructions to have adequate measures prepared and introduced in the Legislatures in the States of New York and New Jersey, and that should it become necessary that the Executive Council render such assistance as may be advisable.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 118—By Delegates E. H. Foley, T. V. O'Connor, J. H. Fricke, and A. J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, There are many millions of men in the nation at all times who are able, willing and anxious to work in order to support themselves and their dependents, and yet are unable to find employment of any kind. As was truly said by Thomas Carlyle, "A man willing to work and unable to find work is, perhaps, the saddest sight possible to behold." It is the duty of organized labor to solve this problem of unemployment and offer a remedy; and,

WHEREAS, The perusal of Government statistics on labor and commerce informs us that while the average annual product of the American wage-worker is more than $2400, the average wage paid this same worker is only $480, but we believe that the worker is entitled to the full product of his toil. This, along with the fact that the American wage worker is speeded up to the limit of endurance and has to work extremely long hours and under conditions that are, very often, of the most dangerous and insanitary kind, is a deplorable state of affairs that makes paupers of the wealth producers of the nation and multimillionaires and billionaires of their arrogant exploiters, who perform no useful labor whatever, and treat the workers to a shower of bullets from the muzzles of machine guns in armored cars if they dare to protest in a manner that is at all effective. A remedy for this condition must also be furnished by organized labor if it is to survive; and;

WHEREAS, Prices of the necessities of life have been sent skyward by the demands for profits of the private employers engaged in the production and distribution of the commodities necessary to sustain life, until it is next to impossible for the wage worker to get more than the barest kind of an existence, in spite of the fact that improved machinery and modern methods of production have made it possible for the labor of one worker to produce more than a dozen, a hundred, and, in many cases, even a thousand, workers could produce only a few years ago; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That as a means of permanently solving the unemployed, the employed under deplorable conditions and the high cost of living problems, the American Federation of Labor does hereby petition the President of the United States and the Governors of the States, demanding that they do call upon Congress and the Legislatures to immediately pass laws relieving this situation by enabling the municipal, State and national Governments to establish at once throughout the nation producing, manufacturing, distributing, building and any and all departments necessary for the purpose of furnishing to the people the necessities of life—namely, food, clothing, shelter, transportation, amusement, etc.—at the actual cost of production and distribution; also to pass laws changing the present medium of exchange from dollars, dimes and cents to a system of hours, minutes and seconds of labor power; and, be it further,

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to all affiliated locals of the American Federation of Labor with a request that they be favorably acted upon and sent to all unions throughout the nation for like action, then to be forwarded to the President of the United States and the Governor of each State by the respective labor bodies, and that the delegates from the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to do everything possible to have the intent of these resolutions carried out.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 130—By Delegates M. G. Scott, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, Hugh Stevenson and T. W. MCullough, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The present United States laws provide that the Postmaster General shall contract for the manufacture of stamped envelopes; and,

WHEREAS, In the contract now in effect and contracts which have been in effect for many years past the successful bidder has been enabled to build

Digitized by Google

up a monopoly on the printing of corner cards on said stamped envelopes, for the reason that all the business which is done by the said contractor is handled to a large extent by the United States Government and without cost to the contractor, this system extending to the counting, packing, shipping and delivery of said stamped envelopes containing return corner cards printed to the order of customers in all parts of the United States; and,

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union has entered upon a campaign having for its purpose the protection of its members in that they should have an opportunity for the execution of this work, and also for the protection of employing printers, who are unable to meet this unfair competition fostered by the United States Government, and, therefore, lose many hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of business each year; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to lend such assistance to the International Typographical Union in securing the passage of an amendment to the law which will prevent this unfair practice as they may be able.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The following resolutions, Nos. 135, 139 and 145, dealing with similar subjects, were considered together by the committee, and amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 135—By Delegate E. J. Aspengren, of the Tri-City Federation of Labor, Rock Island, Ill.:

WHEREAS, The construction placed upon Rule No. 1 of the Civil Service Rules and Regulations deprives the civil service employes of nearly all the rights enjoyed by other citizens of the United States; and,

WHEREAS, Such political restrictions prevent civil service employes from becoming candidates for political office, from engaging in any political movement, from distributing literature having a political purpose, addressing meetings, contributing articles for the press on political questions and other activities of a political nature; and,

WHEREAS, These restrictions are contrary to the spirit of the Constitution of the United States of America, which provides for the freedom of speech and press; and,

WHEREAS, We believe that these restrictions are unnecessary for the maintenance of the merit system provided in the civil service law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, protest against the curtailment of the political liberty of the employes of the United States Government, and that the president and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to use every effort within their command to protect civil service employes in political rights, except those which relate to political contributions and assessments and discrimination for or against an employe by reason of his political services rendered or not rendered.

Resolution No. 139—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In an attempt to intimidate the men under his supervision from signing a petition to Congress asking for the enactment of the Borah bill—to prohibit the use of the stop-watch or time-measuring device in the Government service—Alexander H. Stephens, general superintendent of the Railway Mail Service, has threatened to summarily dismiss railway mail clerks from the service; and,

WHEREAS, This attempt to deprive citizens of the right of petition is a blow at one of the fundamentals of our Government; and,

WHEREAS, The First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States guarantees to all citizens the right of petition, and the 62d Congress, at the behest of the American Federation of Labor, enacted the Lloyd-LaFollette bill, which reiterated that the principles of the right of petition be not abridged or interfered with and that civil service employes, in common with all citizens, could exercise this right without fear; and,

WHEREAS, This unwarranted assumption of power by an official of the Government tends toward the creation of an autocratic bureaucracy, and will result, if not checked, in bringing the principle of Government ownership into general disrepute; therefore, be it their rights of citizenship; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we denounce the attitude of Mr. Stephens in seeking to unlawfully coerce men from justly using their rights of citizenship; further

RESOLVED, That we instruct the Executive Council to obtain from the postal authorities a disavowal of the threat of Mr. Stephens, to the end that the postal employes hereafter may have the assurance that the exercising of their lawful rights shall not constitute a cause for dismissal.

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Members of organized labor at Vallejo, Cal., who are employed at the Mare Island Navy Yard, are being called to trial by the Federal Civil Commission for alleged political activity; and

WHEREAS, Said activity consisted in speaking for the constiutional amendments and initiative measures advocated by the California State Federation of Labor, and playing a cornet at meetings

Digitized by Google

where such labor measures were furthered; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fourth Annual Convention assembled, that we most emphatically protest against any civil service rules and regulations which aim to muzzle the workers employed by our Government and totally prevent them from any participation in the political activities of the working class.

The committee offered the following recommendation:

Since Congress has recently adopted legislation to protect and safeguard the political rights of all citizens employed under civil service examinations, your committee recommends that the resolutions be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to further additional legislation of this character if it should be found necessary.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Scharrenberg: I have no objection to the committee's report, but I would like to urge the Executive Council to render whatever assistance is possible to the civil service employes on Mare Island now on trial for violating the civil service rules. One is on trial for singing in a choir while the prohibition law was being advocated; another for playing a mandolin in a labor meeting where constitutional amendments were being considered. We never knew before that under the civil service law employes could not voice their sentiments on constitutional amendments and things of that kind. We introduced the resolution to see if that matter could not be rectified.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was carried.

At 6 o'clock Delegate Furuseth moved that the convention take a recess of one hour.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 7 p. m. of the same day.

TWELFTH DAY—Saturday Night Session

The convention was called to order at 7 o'clock p. m., Saturday, November 21, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Baine, Bump, Karney, Boyer, Metz, McPherson, Christman (W.) Zuckerman, Gurney, Scoby, Doyle, Meyer, Cullen, Singer, Brennan, Wenneis, Holpern, La Porta, Rosenberg (E.), Ring, Leonard, Rice, Scott (D.) McSorley, Taggart, Child, Fricke, Foley, Chlopek, Dorey, Irwin, Miller, Bope, Triggs, Kemp, Norris, Clark (T. G.), Miller, Alexander, Soyster, Carrigan, Mills, Hurley, Gabert, Hanley, Curtis, McMahon, Keep, Morris, Horton, Gossett, Hughes, Graves, Steinecker, Conlon, Kobs, Gifford, Feron, Anderson (R. E.), Galloway, Walck, Lowe, Obergfell, Johnson (J. L.), Fahey (C. P.), Lohse, Feehan, Marcusy, Kay, McGrath, Lowe, Miller, Fahey (C. P.), Laylor, Bradley, Dunn, Butler, Bower, Glynn, Newberry, Dujay, Kelly (E. H.), Beuche, Hannon, Collmer, Saltus, Duddy, Fahey (M.), Davies, Givens, Lyon, Bohm, Kline, Young.

Vice-President Duncan: I move that this convention authorize and appoint President Gompers as a fraternal delegate to the Building Trades Convention. (Seconded.)

The motion was stated by Secretary Morrison and carried.

Report of the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 147—By Delegate P. J. Conlon, of the Alexandria, Va., Trades Council.

WHEREAS, The tendency of employers of labor to force upon their employes a physical examination, under the pretext that it is a necessary requirement to comply with the compensation laws enacted by the several States as a requirement of some insurance company to which they have consigned the risk, has given of late considerable trouble to various craft organizations; and

WHEREAS, The compelling of the militant members of our organizations to undergo these physical examinations offers to employers of labor an excellent excuse for discrimination against said members, and is in its last analysis a scientific blacklist under professional guise; and

WHEREAS, The trades unionists of our country are looking to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, if not the convention itself, to go squarely on record on this matter as to whether the wage workers shall resist these examinations or submit, and, if it is the decision to submit, just how far the examination shall go—whether it shall be a cursory examination as to the eyesight and hearing, or whether it shall go into the genealogy of the family three generations back; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized and ordered to prepare a general policy on this important question and make it known not later than January 1, 1915; and be it further

RESOLVED, That when this policy is outlined and promulgated, it become the universal policy of all affiliated unions in this matter.

The subject has already been acted

Digitized by Google

upon in the committee's report on the Executive Council's report, and no further action is necessary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 156—By Delegate Wm. H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The three last conventions of the American Federation of Labor have strongly condemned, by resolutions and recommendations, the vicious systems of so-called scientific management, particularly the Taylor system, which is partially in operation at the Watertown Arsenal, and which it is proposed by the War Department to introduce in other of its plants at some future time; and

WHEREAS, These systems of shop management have been condemned in vigorous terms in reports filed by committees of Congress—i. e., by a special committee of the House of Representatives appointed in 1911, to investigate the Taylor and other systems of so-called scientific management, twice by the Committee on Labor of the House, once by the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate, and once by a sub-committee of the Senate; and

WHEREAS, Employes of the Government have repeatedly filed petitions and protests with Congress and the Departments against the introduction of the Taylor system at the Government Arsenals; and

WHEREAS, The Arsenal authorities are still manifesting a determination to force this system upon the Government employes in spite of the unremitting opposition of labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, reaffirms its opposition to the Taylor system of so-called scientific management, and that the president and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to urge the President of the United States, who has the authority, to prohibit the introduction and continuance of the Taylor system of shop management (particularly the time-study and premium or bonus features) in the Government workshop; and be it further

RESOLVED, That every effort be made to secure the abolition of the system not later than March 4 next.

The subject has already been acted upon in the committee's report on the Executive Council's report, and no further action is necessary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 158—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It is in accord with public sentiment that the United States Government in the exercise of the function of an employer of labor should take the lead in establishing ideal working conditions for its employes; and

WHEREAS, The custom of suspending work on Saturday afternoons, thus giving their empoyes a half-holiday each week throughout the entire year, has been very generally adopted by private employers and also by some of the United States Government departments; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fourth Annual Convention assembled, that the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War, be requested to issue executive orders to the effect that the employes of the various navy yards, naval stations and arsenals be granted the Saturday half-holiday the entire year; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the secretary of this Federation is hereby instructed to forward a copy of these resolutions to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of War, and to labor's representatives in Congress.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegate McGovern, Delegate Griffin and Secretary Frey.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 159—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, One of the main causes for the maintenance of large military and naval establishments, and which is a standing menace to peace between nations, is to be found in the fact that patent rights on and the manufacture of arms, munitions and implements of war are in the hands of international combinations of capitalists, who sell their products indiscriminately to the Governments of the world and promote the sale of such of such products by arousing and encouraging feelings of national prejudice and jealousy and by employing the press and the officers of the army and navy to produce periodical war scares in different countries; and

WHEREAS, This menace to international peace can be eliminated and the ultimate disarmament promoted by having the Government manufacture its own equipment and articles used for war purposes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Fed-

Digitized by Google

eration of Labor, in Thirty-fourth Annual Convention assembled, that all patent rights for arms, munitions and other equipment to be used for war purposes should be acquired by the Government, and all such equipment should be manufactured in Government establishments.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Furuseth.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Louis Goazion, of the Menongahela Valley Trades Council:

WHEREAS, Prominent officials of labor organizations use their influence to help elect to public office men whose record has been condemned by the officers of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we favor starting a strictly Union Labor party under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee reported that the subject-matter had already been considered and no further action was necessary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions No. 82, No. 119 and No. 137, dealing with the same subject-matter, were covered in one report by the committee, and are as follows:

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate Chas. S. Child, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Asiatic competition in the various walks of life has become a more and more serious menace to our people, both socially and industrially, particularly in California and other Pacific coast States, and is rapidly affecting the entire American continent; and

WHEREAS, Because of this impossible competition it is our duty to protect and assist our men and women engaged in the great struggle for subsistence in competition against the Orientals by demanding strict exclusion legislation and positive enforcement of same; and

WHEREAS, The Anti-Japanese Laundry League, of San Francisco, Cal., which is composed of Steam Laundry Workers' Union, Local No. 26, and Laundry Wagon Drivers' Union, Local No. 256, has for years consistently fought against the undermining of the American standard of living by Chinese, Hindoos and Japanese; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fourth Annual Convention assembled, extends to the Anti-Japanese Laundry League of San Francisco, and other similar organizations composed of locals affiliated to the A. F. of L., its sympathy and co-operation in the work that it is accomplishing; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as opposing Asiatic competition and and instructs its officers and delegates to use their best efforts for the purpose of discouraging Asiatic competition of any nature against our own people, as well as to encourage and work for legislation that will prohibit the immigration of all Asiatics and for the strict enforcement of such legislation.

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate William F. Kavanaugh, of the Hudson County (N. J.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Chinese restaurants and Chinese laundries give no employment to American labor; and

WHEREAS, Chinese are not eligible to citizenship; and

WHEREAS, American laundries and American restaurants give employment to American labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, requests its affiliated membership to give their patronage to American laundries and restaurants.

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, American public sentiment against immigration of Chinese labor, as expressed and crystallized in the Chinese exclusion act, finds still stronger justification in the demands for adequate measures of protection against the immigration of other races native of Asia, on the grounds (1) that the wage and living standards of such labor are dangerous to, and must, if granted recognition in this country, prove destructive of American standards in these essential respects; (2) that the racial incompatibility as between the peoples of the Orient and the United States presents a problem of race preservation which it is our imperative duty to solve in our favor, and which can be effectively solved only by a policy of exclusion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fourth Annual Convention assembled, that we reaffirm our demand for an enlargement and extension of the Chinese exclusion act so as to permanently exclude from the United States and its insular territory all races native of Asia and other than those exempted by the present terms of that act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be again submitted through the proper

Digitized by Google

channels to the Congress of the United States, with a request for favorable consideration and action.

Your committee, as a substitute for the three resolutions, recommends that all trade unionists and their friends patronize union restaurants and laundries, and that upon the question of Asiatics the convention reaffirms the declaration of the Seattle convention as contained in the adoption of Resolution No. 28.

Delegate Kavanaugh: I would like the delegates, in reporting back to their locals, to advise every union man to keep out of these places and patronize union establishments.

The substitute offered by the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 166—By Committee on Resolutions:

RESOLVED, That the women delegates and the other ladies attending this convention adopt this method to express their sincere appreciation and thanks to the ladies of Philadelphia for the ever kindly and thoughtful consideration which has been shown by them for all of the ladies in attendance at the convention.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 167—By Committee on Resolutions:

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to this, the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, adopt this medium of expressing our cordial appreciation for the kindly spirit of welcome which was extended to us by the Hon. Rudolph Blankenburg, Mayor of Philadelphia, and for the expressions of similar character voiced by the trade union representatives of State and local organizations during the opening hours of the convention.

That we express our sincere appreciation to the City Councils of Philadelphia for the generous provision which was made for our entertainment, and for the classic and magnificent colonnade and arch which they caused to be erected before our convention hall, as a token of their respect for the American Federation of Labor and its great accomplishments in the interests of those who toil.

That we extend our unqualified congratulations to the trade unionists of Philadelphia for the remarkable and unparalleled demonstration of their forces in the parade which they organized and participated in.

That the local Committee on Arrangements and entertainment are most fully entitled to our unqualified expression of unstinted approval for the many and bounteous provisions for our comfort and entertainment which we have so continuously enjoyed during our sojourn in Philadelphia, and which have filled the social hours with a generous variety of pleasure.

That we extend our sincere admiration for the spirit of kindly interest which has been shown by the wives and daughters of Philadelphia trade unionists, and for the spirit of kindly interest which they have at all times indicated for the comfort and the social enjoyment of our lady delegates and the other delegates in attendance at the convention.

That we here record our appreciation for the spirit of fairness which has been shown by the newspapers of Philadelphia and their manifest desire to give to the public an accurate account of our proceedings.

That the delegates to this convention throughout the discussions of the subjects which came before them have given exceptional indications of that sterling spirit of forbearance and true courtesy towards each other which make it possible to accomplish constructive work and which develop the intellect and broaden the mental horizon of those who attend, better qualify them to labor more effectively and with still greater success for the growth of our trade union movement and its efforts to establish a larger measure of social and industrial justice.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the resolution.

Delegate Wilson (James) moved to amend by inserting the day and date of the demonstration—Friday, November 13, 1914.

Secretary Frey: Your committee felt that this parade was of such an exceptional character it only needed to be referred to as "The parade." Nothing like it has ever been accomplished, that we know of. We felt if we put in the date it would minimize it, and so we say "The parade."

The amendment offered by Delegate Wilson was carried, and the resolution, as amended, was adopted by unanimous vote.

Vice-President Duncan: The Committee on Resolutions has reported on everything referred to it except one resolution, which it was asked to withhold until some documents bearing on it were received in the hall. Apart from that the committee has disposed of everything the convention so generously imposed upon it. The resolution has been amended by the committee to read:

Resolution No. 141—By Delegates J. H. Franklin, of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America; W. H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, We now have a law enacted by the Sixty-first Congress, known as the locomotive boiler inspection law, which provides for the inspection of lo-

Digitized by Google

comotive boilers and their appurtenances, and,

WHEREAS, This law, in Section 3, provides that the chief inspector and his two assistants shall be selected with reference to their practical knowledge of the construction and repairing of boilers and to their fitness to systematize and carry into effect the provisions thereof relating to the inspection and maintenance of locomotive boilers; and,

WHEREAS, Section 4 of this act provides in part that there shall be appointed 50 district inspectors, and further provides that in order to obtain the most competent inspectors possible it shall be the duty of the chief inspector to prepare a list of questions to be propounded to applicants with respect to construction, repair, operation, testing and inspection of locomotive boilers and their practical experience in such work; and,

WHEREAS, The chief inspector promulgated rules as provided for under this act which admitted and made it possible for applicants to qualify as inspectors, likewise without practical experience in the construction, repairing and testing of boilers; the rules adopted also provide that the common carrier operating a railroad must inspect its locomotive boilers at stated intervals and report to the district inspector under oath the result and finding of all such inspections, which results in the employes of the carrier, who must be men of years of practical experience, reporting to men who are lacking in practical experience, and consequently are incompetent to either pass upon, offer suggestions or issue instructions in furthering or putting into effect such measures as are essentially necessary to the fulfilment of the purposes of said act of February 17, 1911; and,

WHEREAS, There was introduced in the Sixty-third Congress bills known as Senate Bill S. No. 6165 and House Bill H. R. 17,894, amending the present locomotive boiler inspection law to cover the inspection and to bring under the supervision of the Boiler Inspection Bureau the engine and tender and their appurtenances, and providing that the present inspectors of the Locomotive Boiler Inspection Bureau shall have the same supervision and authority over the engine and tender and their appurtenances that they now have with respect to the boiler of a locomotive and the appurtenances thereof; and,

WHEREAS, If the act of February 17, 1911, as amended in accordance with the provisions of Senate Bill No. 6165 and H. R. 17,894, the result will be that inspectors who have no practical experience in the construction, repair and inspection of engines and tenders and the appurtenances thereof will be appointed, as is now the case, with respect to the locomotive boiler and its appurtenances; and,

WHEREAS, It is recognized and conceded by all practical mechanical men who have supervision over the construction, maintenance and inspection of locomotive boilers of the railway systems of this country, not over 20 per cent. can qualify or come up to the desired standard required by the railways themselves. It must be self-evident that in appointing men to these important positions who are without practical experience, few, if any, can qualify or come up to the standard demanded by the act herein specified. And we contend that a competent boiler inspector will not make a competent inspector of engines and tenders and its appurtenances, for the reason that he has not had the necessary technical training, and that most essential qualification, practical experience; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record as favoring the appointment of inspectors with practical experience in addition to the other qualifications demanded by the Boiler Inspection Bureau; and, be it further.

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to co-operate with the organizations directly interested who are affiliated to the American Federation of Labor in drafting a suitable bill and in having it enacted into law to cover the inspection of locomotive boilers, engines and tenders and the appurtenances thereto, said proposed bill to contain provisions for the appointment of inspectors having practical shop experience, clearly specifying and recognizing the indisputable fact that none but those who have had such practical experience in their respective callings can qualify for these positions.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Vice-President Valentine in the chair.

The question was discussed by President Gompers and Delegate McGovern.

The question was further discussed by Delegate Franklin, Delegate Furuseth, Delegate Johnston.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Secretary Frey: That completes the report of the Committee on Resolu-

Digitized by Google

tions, which is herewith respectfully submitted, with the names attached.

JAMES DUNCAN,
Chairman.

G. W. PERKINS,
B. A. LARGER,
JACOB FISCHER,
JOHN J. GLASS,
J. A. FRANKLIN,
HUGH STEVENSON,
M. F. RYAN,
PETER G. COOK,
A. A. MYRUP,
JOHN A. VOLL,
CHAS. P. FAHEY,
J. T. COSGROVE,
J. W. MORTON,
JOHN P. FREY,
Secretary.

Secretary Frey: The committee desires to thank the convention for giving us an opportunity to work six or seven nights until after the midnight hour, and we are obliged to the convention for having approved the work the committee did. I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole. (Seconded and carried by unanimous vote.)

Report of Committee on International Relations.

Delegate Perkins, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

International War and Peace.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 48 and 49, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is in full accord with the presentation of fundamental principles, the sentiment of which appeals to the higher instincts and ennobling human attributes of mankind and clearly represents labor's declaration that independence, liberty and justice for all mankind are paramount under all circumstances.

Your committee holds and desires to give expression to the following summaries as our interpretation of the statesmanlike expression of labor's attitude upon this important question: Back of all wars of conquest is the spirit of brutality, greed and commercialism. Back of all revolutionary wars for redress of wrongs is the spirit of independence, liberty, justice and democracy. We declare against the former under all circumstances. In the second instance we emphasize the vast difference between the two kinds of wars and affirm that in the case of oppression, if the people have constitutional means of redress of wrongs and for obtaining liberty, justice and a fuller democracy, such means should be exhausted before resort to arms is justifiable. Where there are no constitutional means of redress available for the people and their destinies are governed and controlled by despotic or hereditary rulers who subordinate the interest and welfare of the toiling masses to the further enrichment of those in control of agencies of power, if the people resort to arms as the last means to obtain the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, justice and freedom, we have no words of condemnation.

We recommend that that part of the Executive Council report under the caption "International War and Peace" be published in pamphlet form.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

International Federation of Trade Unions.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 50, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee regrets extremely that the normal activities of our fellow trade unionists of war-stricken Europe have been diverted from peaceful, constructive efforts, education and the progressive development of the economic, social and political well-being of our fellow-workingmen and women in particular, and of people in general, to brutal destruction of human life and ruthless destruction of property.

We recommend that the Executive Council hold itself in readiness to carry forward to completion the instructions of the Seattle convention in reference to the meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions in 1915, or at any time thereafter that circumstances will permit of such meeting, and that this convention elect two delegates to represent the American

Digitized by Google

Federation of Labor in such convention, when held in the United States.

Man's inventive genius has annihilated distance which yesterday seemed insurmountable. To-day it is but a matter of less than one week from the shores of the Old World to our own. In so far as industries and the employment of working men and women are concerned, there are no lines of demarkation. For this reason, we suggest for the attention of the national and international unions the advisability of and the necessity for international relations between national labor movements.

In connection with this we remind all unionists what has been accomplished by the International Federation of Trade Unions. This organization is the federation of the national labor movements of the following 21 countries, according to its tenth annual report (1912):

Great Britain, France, Belgium, The Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Germany, Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia-Slavonia, Hungary, Servia, Roumania, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, United States, New Zealand and British South Africa. The headquarters of the International Federation are at Berlin. Biennial conferences are held to which all affiliated national centres send representatives.

We wish to emphasize the significance of this organization and these relations that in international as well as in local matters economic organization and relations precede and prepare the way for political relations and organization.

The report of the committee was adopted.

British Trades Union Congress

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 50, the committee reported as follows:

In the name of our movement we express regret that war has interfered with the exchange of fraternal delegates between the labor movements of our country and Great Britain and the hope that the custom of exchanging fraternal delegates will soon be reestablished and that the normal activities of our fellow-working men and women of Great Britain will be resumed, enabling them to carry forward the mission for which the trade union movement exists. We are unofficially informed that the postponed meeting of the British Trades Union Congress which should have been held September, 1914, will be held February, 1915, and that the regular annual convention will be held in September, 1915.

We recommend that the delegates elected by the Seattle convention, Messrs. Mahon and Woll, be authorized to attend one of the congresses to be held in 1915, which one to be designated by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor after definite information is obtained.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Home Rule for Ireland—Irish Labor Movement.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 52, the committee reported as follows:

We are of the opinion that while the subject-matter follows the foregoing stated caption, it involves two distinct questions. We report first on Home Rule for Ireland.

After centuries of ceaseless struggle for the priceless right of self-government, success has finally crowned the efforts of agitation for home rule for Ireland. These people, though claiming the right of self-government, were chained to the British kingdom. The vigor, the self-sacrifice and the great devotion to principle displayed by these people in the long-drawn-out battle for freedom and self-government has challenged the admiration of the whole civilized world. We congratulate our fellow-working men and women and all the people of Ireland on the final achievement of the right of self-government, and rejoice with them in its attainment.

Upon the section entitled "Irish Labor Movement," your committee desires to say we have no knowledge as to whether the members of this movement represent home rule or not. The national centers are defined by limitations fixed by the International Federation of Trade Unions. In America, which includes the Canadian provinces, the organized workers are known as the American center. Germany has its

Digitized by Google

political subdivisions, and, like America, is entitled to two delegates. Ireland is an integral part and a political subdivision of Great Britain. If the precedent already established is adhered to by the International Federation of Trade Unions, Great Britain, including Ireland, will be entitled to two delegates, who will be known as the representatives of the Great Britain Trades Union center.

We recommend that this convention extend to the trade unionists, the organized working men and women of Ireland, greetings of fraternal good fellowship, good luck and best wishes, but that any action granting official recognition of the Irish Trade Union Congress and labor party be deferred until the Executive Council obtain further and more definite information from the three parties at interest, namely, the International Federation of Trade Unions, the British Trades Union Congress, and the Irish Trade Union Congress.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 24—By the delegation from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

WHEREAS, War in all its horrors is now raging between the great nations of Europe, from which the wage-workers and their families suffer most; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American labor movement, through the American Federation of Labor, tender its good offices to bring about peace and harmony among the warring nations, to the end that the sufferers may be relieved of the burdens placed upon them.

For Resolution No. 24 your committee reports the following substitute:

WHEREAS, The horrors and the burdens of the war which is now raging between the nations of Europe fall most heavily upon the wage workers and their families; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American labor movement through the convention of the American Federation of Labor express its earnest desire for the early and equitable adjustment of the causes of the destructive conflict among the warring nations to the end that the sufferers may be relieved of the burdens placed upon them, and that human labor may be employed in constructive efforts for the advancement of human welfare.

Chairman Perkins: This simply strikes out the tendering of the good offices of the American Federation of Labor to the warring nations.

The substitute recommended by the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 78 to read as follows:

Resolution No. 78—By Delegates M. G. Scott, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, Hugh Stevenson and T. W. McCullough, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The world stands appalled by events in Europe which indicate a wanton disregard of advancing civilization and the temporary enthronement of savagery, a condition made possible only by the domination of militarism, accentuated by the continual presence of the outward evidences of the military power, with its attendant drain on the wealth of the nations for the purpose of maintaining at a point of mechanical efficiency the tremendous engines of destruction designed for use in war, thereby affording a perpetual temptation to the rulers to put into use these weapons against mankind; and,

WHEREAS, The present exhibition of the potentiality of these modern armaments for the purposes of destruction is such as transcends any experience of humanity and outdoes the wildest dream of death deliberately brought about by human agency, with the attendant misery and suffering that have been thrust upon hundreds of thousands of peaceful, industrious and thrifty people who were entirely innocent of any thought of war; and,

WHEREAS, This most impressive example must teach us but one lesson, the beauty and desirability of a peace that preserves order with honor, that conserves life and property and insures the pursuit of happiness, and that is the noblest end of man's endeavors; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we pledge our support to any plan which has for its purpose the bringing about of the disarmament of all nations to the furthest extent consistent with the preservation of law and order throughout the world.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 97.—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth, of the Seamen's International Union:

WHEREAS, We hold that the great war in Europe, as the lesser war in Mexico, has its origin in the hopes and aspirations of the people—aspirations of the people of the Balkans, for ages suppressed by the Turkish power, and now struggling to attain unity and self-expression, guided by government of their own making and based upon affinity in race and language—aspirations of the burden-bearers throughout the Christian

Digitized by Google

world to ease their burdens and get a more just share of the fruit of their toil; and,

WHEREAS, The lesser causes of these birth pangs lay in racial, national and social fears, the Teutonic fear of the Slav, French and English fear of Germany—territorial, military and commercial—and the fear of the beneficiaries of the present social and industrial system, like unto the fear of the unwilling mother, who feels new and strange life growing within; and,

WHEREAS, We hold the present awful struggle to be too fundamental to be blamed upon any particular government or people and too great for prejudice and anger; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we call upon our own people to judge none of those who are engaged in this war, but to tender to them our profound sympathy and join with them in the hope that as a result of the struggle there may come new national boundaries, which shall be based on racial and lingual affinity, new opportunities for self-expression to those of the human family who feel themselves to be one, and an improved social and industrial system that shall permit and foster a truer equality, a broader freedom, a higher justice and therefore a more lasting peace; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That we protest against the cry of peace, peace where peace is not nor can be, because of the present wrongs imposed and suffered; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we warn our fellow-toilers against any international police force, which, no matter how organized or controlled in our present stage of development, can mean only suppression, stagnation and despair.

The committee recommended non-concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth spoke at length in favor of the resolution and opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Chairman Perkins spoke in support of the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The committee amended Resolution No. 104 to read as follows:

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate Samuel Gompers, of the Cigarmakers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The whole civilized world is torn by the awful titanic struggle which is now devastating continental Europe, disturbing the commercial and industrial conditions of the whole world, submerging the nations of Europe in the shadows and horrors of war, touching sharply our sympathy and stirring the depths of our emotion; and

WHEREAS, All history has proved that trial by conflict does not result in permanent peace when it does not establish justice as its foundation, while peace promotes the establishment of those agencies which seek to regulate the relations between men that justice may prevail; and

WHEREAS, Political experience shows that the welfare and the interests of all the people are promoted in proportion as they are represented in the government and the government is responsive and responsible to them, it is necessary that the workers have a will and an effective voice in determining international relations; and

WHEREAS, The workers of every age had special and imperative reasons for advocating and endeavoring to secure provisions insuring the maintenance of peace with justice, since upon them fall the burdens of actual warfare and the real fighting in the ranks, while the hardships and the suffering accompanying war following it are felt most keenly and most palpably by them and those dependent upon them, and the costs of war ever fall disproportionately upon their already inadequate resources; and

WHEREAS, The workers of all countries have been leaders in protesting against injury and violence to human life in peace as well as in war, and against the cruelty and the waste of needless war, and they have steadfastly endeavored to rouse the general public to realize the enormity of war, thereby rendering public opinion alert and sensitive to the responsibility of all men for the existence of war, and, moreover, the workers have been inspired to assist in constructive movement for the prevention of wars, whereby peace may be maintained with justice; and

WHEREAS, The organized wage workers of the civilized nations have established fraternal relations for the purpose of binding together the trade unions of all countries for the promotion of common interests and ideals, and by frequent and regular communication, cooperation and exchange of representatives have brought about an understanding and sympathy between the organization and their members in the various countries, relations which are necessary for the inception and the continuance of peace; and

WHEREAS, Out of the experience of these workers, out of their burden bearing and their wrongs, out of their hopes and their victories, have developed principles of justice and the conviction that the establishments of these principles as practical forces in the lives of the workers is conditioned upon establishing dependable representative agencies for the realization of purposes and agreements determined upon; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of the organized labor movement of America, express and hereby convey to the organized labor movements of Europe fraternal greetings and our sympathy with their great suffering and dis-

Digitized by Google

tress, and that we express our most earnest hope for the early cessation of the terrible warfare now desolating the lands, destroying the families and impoverishing the nations of our fellow-workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we desire that fraternal relations between national labor movements shall continue with no more interruption than shall be absolutely unavoidable during the war, to the end that our regular intercourse and co-operation shall be resumed immediately at the close of the war; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor, in view of the general Peace Congress which will no doubt be held at the close of the war, for the purpose of adjusting claims and differences, hold itself in readiness and authorize the Executive Council to call a meeting of representatives of organized labor of the different nations to meet at the same time and place, to the end that suggestions may be made and such action taken as shall be helpful in restoring fraternal relations, protecting the interests of the toilers and thereby assisting in laying foundations for a more lasting peace; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the International Federation of Trade Unions, to all national trade union centers throughout the world and to the President of the United States; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the official views of the organized labor movements enumerated be ascertained and their co-operation invited in order to carry into effect the purposes of the resolution.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed at some length by Delegate Griffin.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate John M. Cahalane, of the Hamilton, Ohio, Co-operative Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The fundamental principles of organized labor call for the exertion of every effort toward the maintaining and preserving of peace among mankind; and

WHEREAS, The existence of the Dick military law is not only a serious menace to the peace of our land, but is also a weapon that can be used at any time against the interest of the toiling masses; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the theory of extensive armaments and the creation of an unlimited military organization as a preserver of peace has been proved a fallacy by the deplorable barbaric struggle now being waged throughout Europe; and

WHEREAS, The stupendous suffering and devastation, and, in fact, all of the horrors and burdens of war, must be borne eventually by the toilers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we instruct its Executive Council and all affiliated bodies to use every effort to have the United States Government repeal not only the Dick military law, but all others having a tendency to further the spirit of militarism within our land.

The committee did not have before it a copy of the Dick law, nor did the delegate have one. We had no facilities for obtaining a copy of the law, nor time to give the subject-matter the consideration it deserved, if we had had a copy of the law.

We declare in emphatic terms against militarism, yet we believe that the American Federation of Labor should have fuller information than is now available before declaring for the repeal of a law alleged to be of such far-reaching consequences.

We therefore recommend that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and instructed to make an investigation of the so-called Dick Military law, "being an act to promote the efficiency of the militia and for other purposes," approved January 21, 1903, and make a report and recommendation thereon to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegate Cahalane.

The report of the committee was adopted.

We declare that war and its attendant horrors, want, privation, misery, suffering and death, fall most heavily upon the workers, and that in this present European war as well as in any which may follow, we hope for speedy peace—peace with honor and justice. While an expression of deep sympathy is extended to our fellow trade unionists embroiled in the present war with its awful carnage, for the making of which they are not responsible, let us not forget that sordid greed which profits by lack of proper safeguards, sanitation, low wages, etc.,

Digitized by Google

here as elsewhere on the industrial field and in transportation, takes more human lives, maims more human beings, causes more sickness, want and privation than have resulted from any previous war or may result from this war. The trade-union movement stands for honorable peace between nations and is the greatest force for the protection and the advancement of the best interests of the workers in the economic field of endeavor and must not be subordinated, neglected or forgotten. We stand for honorable peace on the economic field, but we demand justice as the fundamental condition for all progress. If denied we hold ourselves in readiness to fight for justice. When justice is established, peace will follow.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
G. W. PERKINS,
JAMES DUNCAN,
C. L. BAINE,
D. J. TOBIN,
JOHN H. WALKER,
B. A. LARGER,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
J. P. FREY,
T. F. TRACY,
T. V. O'CONNOR,
G. L. BERRY,
JAMES WILSON,
W. D. MAHON,
MATTHEW WOLL.
Committee on International Relations.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Report of Committee on Laws.

Delegate Bieber, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Directly Affiliated Local Unions.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 57 and 58, the committee reported as follows:

Believing that the recommendations of the Executive Council, made in this part of its report, are made with a full knowledge of the requirements of this subject-matter, your Committee on Laws has drafted several amendments to Article XIII, the American Federation of Labor constitution, to cover these recommendations, as follows:

Section 12, Article XIII.

Amend by striking out "fifty (50)" and insert "sixty (60)" in lieu thereof.

And add to Section 12 of Article XIII the following:

The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each local trade or federal labor union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

New Section 14, Article XIII.

That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated local trade or federal labor unions shall be not less than $1.00 or more than $5.00, and that one-fourth of each initiation fee received by such local trade or federal labor union shall be forwarded to the secretary of the American Federation of Labor, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the names of members paid for on blanks to be furnished by the secretary of the Federation.

The report of the committee was adopted.

New Section 15, Article XIII.

That traveling cards issued to members by local trade or federal labor unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in local trade or federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

New Section 16, Article XIII.

That local trade and federal labor unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the secretary of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

New Section 17, Article XIII.

No local trade or federal labor union shall disband so long as seven members desire to retain the charter. Upon

Digitized by Google

the dissolution of any local trade or federal labor union all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President-elect Green in the chair.

Resolution No. 6—By Delegates Owen Miller, Geo. W. Bope, D. A. Carey, of the American Federation of Musicians:

Amend Section 5 of Article XI, Constitution, by inserting the words "or request" after the word "order" on the third line of Section 5 so that when amended it will read:

Sec. 5. No central labor union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order or request any organization affiliated with such central labor union, or other central labor body, to strike, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such national or international organization have been consulted and agree to such action.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Gallagher: Does that mean a simple request?

Treasurer Lennon: Yes.

Delegate Feeney: I would like to ask if that will apply to central bodies of building trades, such as building trades councils, and in the event of their ordering a strike to support another trade, will it be necessary for them to consult with the various international unions connected with the building trades before that strike can be had?

Treasurer Lennon: It will not change the present law materially.

Delegate Mahon: The word request should not be there.

Delegate Feeney: Will it change it sufficiently to prevent the building trades council calling a sympathetic strike?

Treasurer Lennon: The law as it now reads has not been so applied, and the addition of the words would not make it apply if it has not applied heretofore.

Delegate Rosenthal: I move to strike out the words "or request."

Delegate Woll: I arise to a point of order. The amendment to the law puts in the words "or request" and all we need to do is to vote down the committee's report and the law stands as it is.

Chairman Green: The point of order is well taken.

Delegate Carey spoke in favor of the resolution, and stated the intention was not to interfere with the building trades in introducing the resolution, but simply to give the organizations concerned an opportunity to learn the facts in the case.

Delegate Taylor, of the Machinists, opposed the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was lost.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate P. M. Draper, Central Labor Council, Ottawa, Canada:

Amend Article V, Constitution, as follows:

Section 1. By substituting the word "nine" for the word "eight" in line 2, and by adding after the word "Council," in the last line, the following: The Ninth Vice-President must be a member of a Canadian local union which, through its international union, is affiliated to the American Federation of Labor; and such Ninth Vice-President must be a resident of Canada at the time of his election and during his incumbency of the office.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Edward M. Davies, of the Galvanized Sheet and Tube Workers, No. 14,691, Martin's Ferry, Ohio:

WHEREAS, Many thousands of skilled and unskilled workers are unorganized in the State of Ohio; and

WHEREAS, The territory covered by our organizers is too great to allow proper justice to be given to the work; and

WHEREAS, It will require greater revenue to carry out a more complete organization campaign in each individual State; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in Section 1, Article X, read after "as follows"; From international or national trade unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from local trade unions and Federal labor unions twenty cents per member per month.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate Earl G. Galloway, of the Tri-City C. T. and L. C., Granite City, Ill.:

WHEREAS, The American Steel Foun-

Digitized by Google

dries resumed operation April 20 under the open-shop policy, and reduced the wages from 3 to 12 cents an hour. This action of the company was at once brought before the Central Trades Council. There was a committee appointed by the different trades involved in the reduction in wages to meet with the company, to try and adjust matters. The committee went before the company. The company would not meet with the committee, and told the chairman they had no grievance with their men, and if the men felt mistreated to come in as individuals and they would talk with them; and,

WHEREAS, The committee reported back and called a special meeting to take definite action. The different trades met and voted to take joint action against the company; and,

WHEREAS, A strike was called against the American Steel Foundries and left in the hands of the Joint Committee of the Trades to settle, asking for the former wages to be restored; and,

WHEREAS, Pickets were placed on the picket line to induce men not to work under a living wage. The company shipped in strike-breakers and gunmen to take the places of the strikers which were composed of machinists, electricians, cranemen, blacksmiths, pattern filers, patternmakers and pipefitters. They harbored these thugs in the plant; and,

WHEREAS, We asked the molders to come out and not work with such animals as those. They immediately called a special meeting of the local of moulders and by unanimous vote voted to come out, and they sent their vote and wishes to the National Executive Board of the molders' organization, but the board did not act for some time, but later sent their vice-president, Mr. Wilkerson, to investigate the situation; and,

WHEREAS, Mr. Wilkerson held a meeting of the molders. I received a letter from Mr. Wilkerson, signed by the committee. If the trades would put up a bond so as to satisfy them that they mean business, then the molders would refrain from working with scabs and gunmen. We claim that such action is detrimental to organized labor; and,

WHEREAS, The company and their friend, Hon. Judge J. Otis Humphrey, issued an injunction against the Tri-City Central Trade and Labor Council and all of its affiliated bodies and members, but still the molders went on working with the gunmen;

Therefore, delegates of this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, we contend that trade autonomy is detrimental to the labor movement; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Section 2, of Article II, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, be changed to read The establishment of national and international trades unions, based upon strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies, except when the majority of trades affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, working for a firm or corporation having a just grievance with the company or corporation, the rest of the trades must cooperate with their fellow-workers and brothers.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate J. H. Walker, of the United Mine Workers of America:

Amend Section 8 of Article XIII, by adding new paragraph to read:

"In the formation of new local, trade or federal labor unions, any officer or member who is discharged or locked out for securing and maintaining membership in such locals, if it is shown upon investigation by the Executive Council to be a deliberate attempt upon the part of the employer to discourage and to intimidate employes, the Executive Council is authorized, where the chances for success seem to warrant it, to appropriate such sums from the defense fund as in its judgment seem necessary to protect and safeguard officers or members of new locals in asserting their right to organize."

Your committee does not approve of this resolution as it has been introduced, but is of the opinion that, in so far as it seeks to amend Section 8 of Article XIII, to provide for financial support in cases of lock-out to individual members who are victimized as a result of their union activities, that Section 8 of Article XIII of the American Federation of Labor Constitution should be amended by inserting after the words "in case of lock-out" the words "or the victimization of members," making the entire section read as follows:

Sec. 8. In case of lock-out or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the local union whose members are involved did not, by their actions or demands, provoke the lock-out by their employer.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate W. A. Neer, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers:

Amend Section 8 of Article XI by inserting before the word "action" in the tenth line the words: "Like procedure may be instituted against the delegates of a local union for disloyalty upon the part of the local to the central body, and upon conviction the central body

Digitized by Google

need not consider credentials from such local until it absolves itself from such disloyalty.

The committee recommends non-concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate L. N. Gansworth, of the Iowa State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, For the best interests of all concerned in the labor movement, it is necessary that we present a solid front; and

WHEREAS, There are a large number of local unions which are not affiliated with the central bodies in their respective cities and State federations of labor; and

WHEREAS, We, the delegates to the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, feel that the time is opportune for taking action toward a solidification of our ranks in the city central bodies and State federations of labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, recommends to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that it at its earliest possible convenience before the next annual session of the American Federation of Labor, use its good offices in the work of having the international unions require that in every city where there are central bodies all locals belonging to said international unions must affiliate with such city central bodies and also with State federations of labor.

Your committee sees no reason for the introduction of this resolution at this time. It is and has been the policy of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to have local unions affiliated with central bodies and State federations of labor, and we recommend that this same policy be continued.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 133—By Delegate Thos. Kelly, of the United Trades and Labor Assembly of Louisville, Ky.:

Officers and Delegates to the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention:

Owing to the fact that a controversy has existed in Louisville, Ky., between the United Trades and Labor Assembly and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, in reference to the non-seating of the carpenters for violation of Section 10, Article XI, of the Constitution, American Federation of Labor, which reads as follows:

Local unions of national or international unions affiliated to the departments attached to the American Federation of Labor in any city where a local department exists shall not be eligible to membership in any local department unless they are connected with the chartered central body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the central body unless they are affiliated to the local department.

WHEREAS, The United Trades and Labor Assembly of Louisville, Ky., claims that it is adhering to the laws of the American Federation of Labor decisions previously rendered by President Gompers in a similar case under date of November 2, 1910, addressed to F. A. Stoefler, secretary of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, a copy of which was forwarded to the secretary of the Trades Assembly of Louisville, Ky., quoting Section 10, Article XI, of the American Federation of Labor Constitution; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners has entered a protest to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor against the Louisville Trades Assembly for not being granted a seat, said council, under date of October 24, 1914, addressed a reply to John Gimbel, secretary of the United Trades and Labor Assembly of Louisville, which read as follows:

Mr. John Gimbel, Secretary United Trade and Labor Assembly, 510 West Green Street, Louisville, Ky.:

Dear Sir and Brother: The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at its meeting October 12-17, devoted much time and discussion to the consideration of the controversy between Carpenters' Local Union No. 64 and the Louisville United Trades and Labor Assembly.

I am writing to advise you that the Executive Council decided that the United Trades and Labor Assembly of Louisville be directed to enforce the decision previously rendered by the Executive Council in this matter and seat the delegates from the carpenters' local. The previous decision of the Executive Council, and of which you have already been advised, is as follows:

"On the protest of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners against the action of the United Trades and Labor Assembly of Louisville, Ky., in refusing to seat representatives of the carpenters' local union on account of its suspension from the Building Trades Council of that city, it was decided that, inasmuch as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, its local unions are entitled to representation in chartered State and central bodies."

You will please accept this letter as official notification of the action of the Executive Council in this case and act in conformity therewith.

Please advise me at your earliest convenience that the United Trades and Labor Assembly has taken such action as will conform to the decision of the Executive Council.

With best wishes, and hoping to hear from you whenever convenient, I am, fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President.

Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assem-

Digitized by Google

bled in Philadelphia, Pa., go on record as endorsing the action of the United Trades and Labor Assembly of Louisville, Ky., relative to the above-mentioned controversy.

Your committee recommends that the decision of the Executive Council be sustained ordering the Louisville, Ky., central body to seat the delegates of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners' Union.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Kelly, Louisville: We have been, up to the present time, unable to adjust the matter, and I came here for the sole purpose of trying to have it settled. I feel the proposition should be endorsed. I am sorry the committee has not endorsed the resolution. I want to appeal to this body from that decision.

Treasurer Lennon: The Brotherhood of Carpenters is affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. In the city of Louisville a local union of the Brotherhood desired admission to the central body and was refused. Secretary Duffy, of the Brotherhood, appealed to the Executive Council. The Executive Council decided that under the law they were entitled to seats, and so decided, and ordered the central body to seat the delegates. They have not done so, and the commitee recommends that the action of the Executive Council be approved.

The question was discussed by Delegate Bolander, Delegate Myrup and Delegate Walker.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 162—By Delegate J. G. Brown, International Union of Timber Workers; J. A. Taylor, International Association of Machinists; H. L. Hughes, Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Federal labor unions are paying at the present time 15 cents per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, In addition, they are compelled to pay equally as much in support of local and State central bodies, and the local labor press, when they do their full duty, thus placing a heavy burden on workers who habitually receive very small wage; and

WHEREAS, Support of the local labor press is one of the most important duties of labor unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we request the American Federation of Labor to remit 5 cents per month of the per capita tax of federal labor unions who support their labor press, where same is owned and controlled by the central labor organization in that locality.

Introduced by request of Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity.

Your committee recommends nonconcurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegates W. V. Price and S. C. Hogan, of the International Association of Marble Workers:

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 67, introduced at the Seattle convention, called for the expulsion of local unions of bricklayers and masons from State and city federated unions; and

WHEREAS, The Committee on Building Trades recommended to the Seattle convention (recommendation adopted), that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, acting with the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, immediately call a conference of representatives of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union and representatives of the International Association of Marble Workers and if possible bring about an adjustment of the controversy; failing to bring about an adjustment, the provisions of Resolution No. 67 to be carried into effect; and

WHEREAS, Conferences having been held and no adjustment reached and the bricklayers and masons continuing to infringe on work conceded to the International Association of Marble Workers by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to notify all State and city federated unions to expel all locals of bricklayers and masons therefrom, notice to be sent immediately on the adjournment of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention.

Your Committee on Laws reports that the subject-matter of the resolution has been covered in the report of the Committee on Resolutions and further legislation is unnecessary.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Secretary Bieber: That completes the

Digitized by Google

report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN B. LENNON,
Chairman.
LOUIS A. SCHWARZ,
D. S. JONES,
CHARLES B. TORPEY,
S. E. HEBERLING,
OWEN MILLER,
C. E. JAMES,
G. BURNS,
DANIEL J. TOBIN,
HUGH FRAYNE,
WILLIAM LYNN,
JOHN P. WHITE,
P. H. McCARTHY,
J. W. KLINE,
ALFRED BIEBER,
Secretary.
Committee on Laws.

Chairman Lennon: I move that the report of the committee be adopted as a whole.

The motion was seconded, and carried by unanimous vote.

Report of Committee on Boycotts.

Delegate Daley, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The Resolutions Committee, at the Seattle convention, reported on Resolution No. 50, page 327 of the proceedings, as follows:

Secretary Golden: Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor report to the next convention all the facts in connection with the subject-matter contained in this resolution should any organization fail to comply with its provisions. Your committee further recommends that all organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor refrain from accepting advertising matter calculated to promote the sale of products of the York Manufacturing Company until such time as this company recognizes the lawful right of its employes to become members of their respective trade unions; and

WHEREAS, The question of jurisdiction over the installation and erection of this work, and the apparent disregard for the action taken by the Seattle convention on the said resolution have been the dominant causes for our failure to bring about the organization of the York Manufacturing Company's plant; and

WHEREAS, The organizing of this and other plants engaged in the manufacture of ice and refrigerator machinery is of so much importance to the Metal Trades and the movement in general; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American of Labor, declares that in the event of the failure on the part of those international organizations claiming jurisdiction over the erection and installation of this work to agree on a mutual policy during the life of this campaign of organization in this industry, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor cause to have issued a circular letter to all central bodies, building and metal trades councils, setting forth that every man carrying a union card, regardless of the organization he may be a member of, or what their jurisdiction claims might be, must refrain from taking any part in the installation of the products of the York Manufacturing Company until such time as they are advised to the contrary.

Inasmuch as the subject referred to in this proposition was referred to the Executive Council by the Seattle convention, your committee respectfully refers it to the Executive Council, with the request that the Council explain to the convention the present status of this matter.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate John F. English, of the Massachusetts State Branch, American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The conditions existing at the L. S. Starrett Tool Manufacturing Company, of Athol, Mass., have recently become such that the Central Labor Union of Athol has issued the following statement: "To whom it may concern: In answer to many inquiries received, the Athol Central Labor Union desires to state that the L. S. Starrett Company, of Athol, Mass., gave up the use of the machinists' union label three years ago. At the present time the company is only working four days per week. Recently the company has introduced piecework and has expressed its intention of extending the same to other departments. The president of the local machinists' union has been discharged, after working for the company for seven years, and it is very evident that the policy of the company is to operate its plant under non-union conditions." In view of the above statement, be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention does its utmost to make known to the mechanics of this country and other countries the unfair attitude of the L. S. Starrett Company, in order that unscrupulous dealers may not attempt to sell its products as union-made goods; and be it further

RESOLVED, That our delegate to the next convention of the American

Digitized by Google

Federation of Labor be instructed to bring this matter to the notice of the convention.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council and the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, with the request that joint action be taken to bring about conditions in this plant that will be satisfactory to the trades directly affected.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 157—By Delegate E. J. Aspengren, of the Tri-City Federation of Labor of Rock Island, Moline, Ill.; Davenport, Iowa:

WHEREAS, The L. S. Starrett Company, of Athol, Mass., manufacturers of mechanics' tools, three years ago discontinued the use of the machinists' union label, and at present is regarded unfair to organized labor; and

WHEREAS, It is reported that in addition to the hardships to its employes of working short time (due probably to a depression in their business), this firm is now attempting to establish piecework in certain of its departments and contemplating its further extension; and that union employes long in the service of the company are being discharged with the apparent intent of making the shop strictly non-union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention endeavor to make known in their respective localities the attitude of this firm, and that the president and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor assist in such way as they may think best to secure a satisfactory settlement between the L. S. Starrett Company and the International Association of Machinists.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council and the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, with the request that joint action be taken to bring about conditions in this plant that will be satisfactory to the trades directly affected.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate David S. Jones, of the Michigan Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It has been fully demonstrated by experience that the United Cigar Stores are selling at their stores all the different brands of cigars and tobacco made by the American Cigar and Tobacco Trust in their non-union cigar and tobacco factories, and are known as the enemies and oppressors of the union shop, union labor, and will not allow the working men and women in their employ to become members of the Cigarmakers' International Union and the Tobacco Workers' International organization; membership of these labor unions standing for the education of the child in our schools and not as a wage slave for John D. Rockefeller and other idle millionaires—owners of the American Cigar and Tobacco Trust. Those international organizations are trying very hard to deliver the little children from the cruel jaws of the inhuman monster. We stand for organization and justice, and for only grown men and women to be employed in all cigar and tobacco factories; and

WHEREAS, The local unions of cigarmakers and tobacco workers of the great State of Michigan desire to call the attention of organized labor to the fact that there are many of the United Cigar Stores in the cities and towns of this State that are owned by the American Cigar and Tobacco Trust; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention, stand with the union cigar and tobacco manufacturers, who allow men and women to join their local unions, and we promise to help the cause of the cigarmakers' and tobacco workers' unions by always demanding cigars and tobacco bearing the union label; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at its Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, go on record in declaring the American Cigar and Tobacco Trust and United Cigar Stores unfair to the labor movement, and that the delegates in sustaining and indorsing the action of the cigarmakers and tobacco workers are acting in the best interests of union labor; and that friends of labor should remain away from the United Cigar Stores and that trade unionists should advocate the purchase of union-made cigars and tobacco by organized labor unions. Safety First—Always Safety—Union Labels.

Your committee concurs in the resolution, with the exception of the last paragraph, which we refer to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate Wm. J. Boyle, of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Victor Talking Machine Company, of Camden, N. J., employs about 5000 mechanics at different trades; namely, machinists, toolmakers, metal polishers, cabinetmakers, machine hands, wood carvers, carpenters, painters and hardwood finishers. All these mechanics are compelled to work longer

Digitized by Google

hours and receive 25 per cent. less wages than is paid to mechanics in other shops in Philadelphia; and,

WHEREAS, The product of this company is bought and used by the wage earners all over the world; and,

WHEREAS, The managers of the cabinet department are and always have been antagonistic to the principles of organized labor from a selfish standpoint. They discriminate and discharge union men whenever they get the chance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By Local Union No. 426, Hardwood Finishers, that we request our delegates to the American Federation of Labor to put the Victor Talking Machine Company on the unfair list until such time as the owners or stockholders realize that it does not pay to have managers who delight in discharging union men.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with the request that the matter be thoroughly investigated.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 154—By delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Victor Talking Machine Company employs about 5000 mechanics, of different trades—namely, machinists, toolmakers, metal polishers, cabinetmakers, machine hands, wood carvers, carpenters and painters and hardwood finishers, all of whom are compelled to work longer hours and receive 25 per cent. less wages than is paid to men of the same trades in other shops in and about Philadelphia; and,

WHEREAS, Repeated efforts have been made to organize the men employed by this company, or to secure the employment of union men, and all to no purpose; and,

WHEREAS, The management of the concern is and always has been antagonistic to the principles of organized labor, and deliberately discriminates against union men; and,

WHEREAS, The product of this company is bought largely by wage earners all over the world; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention, that the Victor Talking Machine Company be placed on the "We Don't Patronize" list of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with the request that the matter be thoroughly investigated.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Will R. Boyer, of the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union:

WHEREAS, The United States Broom and Brush Company, Chicago, is the only manufacturer in the United States employing women and girls at tying and sewing brooms; and,

WHEREAS, The girl employes of this factory have been compelled to submit to the most terrible conditions—conditions such as all fair-minded men and women will resent—flesh bruised from the hands of a licentious man in whose power they were if they wished to hold their jobs, and jobs they must have if they wished to live; indecent language that cannot be repeated; suggestions that were vile; indecencies repeated; indecent suggestions and foul language so common that they became almost hardened to them; these are the things that these poor girls were compelled to submit to, and if a protest was made their job was threatened; and,

WHEREAS, William Wright, the foreman of this factory, was convicted in the Morals Court of Chicago of having taken indecent liberties with and using lewd language toward these girl employes, Judge Goodnow, in passing sentence, declaring:

"Some people believe that because girls are foreigners any language may be used in their presence so long as they do not understand it. That is a mistaken idea. They are as keen and quick to understand indecent language and actions as other girls, and such an atmosphere is not conducive to morality. It will have an effect on their character that later will be harmful.

"The fact that these girls did not make the complaint until they were on strike from this factory has nothing to do with the case. They claim they made no complaint to the president of the company because they were afraid of losing their jobs.

"My experience has been that, usually, what happens if a girl does complain of such things is that she must either endure them or quit, and if they had brought the case into court before they were on strike they undoubtedly would have been out of a position anyway."

This conviction of this indecent foreman being convincing proof of the statements of these girls; and,

WHEREAS, The United States Broom and Brush Company, having retained this foreman in their employ after his conviction on these charges, thereby giving their approval to these indecent and inhuman actions toward these girl employes; and,

WHEREAS, The firm of Butler Brothers, large wholesalers and dealers in brooms, after having been informed of this mistreatment of girl workers and asked to discontinue patronizing the United States Broom and Brush Company, continues to handle the products of this firm who retain in their employ men who would pollute the minds of innocent girls, because they were defenseless and unable to protect themselves; and,

WHEREAS, It is incumbent on us who represent the toilers of the United States

Digitized by Google

to protect the girls who are compelled to toil shoulder to shoulder with us from indecent and licentious attack of those who not alone take the fruits of their labor, but seek also to take their virtue and self-respect; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the attention of the organized workers of the country and their friends be called to the methods of the United States Broom and Brush Company and to the fact that they have been placed on the unfair list of the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Illinois State Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all central and State bodies be notified of these conditions by the secretary of the American Federation of Labor and of the fact that Butler Brothers, of Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Dallas, Tex.; Milwaukee and New York, are handling the products of this manufacturer and that the central bodies of these cities appoint a committee to wait on the branches of Butler Brothers and urge that they handle brooms made under decent conditions.

Your committee concurs in the resolution and its recommendations.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 123—By Delegates A. A. Myrup, Henry Koch and J. Goldstone, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, In order to offset the effective agitation of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America against the large non-union combination generally known as the Bread Trust, the Ward Baking Company, operating large non-union plants in the cities of New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Providence, R. I.; Cleveland, Ohio; Pittsburgh, Pa., and other cities, is conducting an extensive advertising campaign in the interest of its non-union brands of bread, to which end, during the last baseball season, it extended its advertising schemes and made use of the national game of baseball; and

WHEREAS, Robert B. Ward, president of the Ward Baking Company, in connection with other magnates of the non-union Bread Trust, is the main financial backer of the Federal League of baseball, and the sole owner of the Brooklyn Club of said league, through which fact he intended to eliminate, by his alleged love for the national game, the otherwise existing antagonism against him by reason of his union-hating position as it concerns organized labor; and

WHEREAS, In furtherance of his advertising campaign, and in order to constantly keep before the public the various non-union makes of Ward's bread, he named the team of the Brooklyn Club "Tip-Tops," after his non-union "Tip-Top" bread, trademark of which is owned by the Ward interests; and

WHEREAS, It is the belief of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America that organized labor and its friends in general, who are so loyally supporting the organized bakery workers by their persistent discrimination against the non-union product of the Ward Bread Trust combination by purchasing only such bread as bears the union label of the bakery workers, should further extend the same loyal support to the bakery workers by discriminating against the Brooklyn team of the Federal League, and thereby thwart the intended advertising stunt of the non-union Bread Trust combination as controlled by the Ward interests; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in its Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, to assist the Bakery Workers in having these facts become generally known to the end that organized labor and its friends may render the bakery workers in the field of baseball such support as they deem necessary to bring forth the required pressure on those interested in baseball, so that the bakery workers may be assisted in their desire to organize all non-union bread factories of the Ward Baking Company.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 146—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers' Association of Stockton, Cal., has caused the lockout of hundreds of union men and women, and has declared itself to be strongly opposed to collective bargaining and to the organization of the wage workers; and,

WHEREAS, The most notable among the concerns that are members of the Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers are the Holt Manufacturing Company, Houser & Haines and the Aurora Gas Engine Company, all owned and controlled by the Holt Manufacturing Company; and,

WHEREAS, The Holt Manufacturing Company, through one of its principal owners, Pliny Holt, declared in testimony before the Industrial Relations Commission that the firm would not employ any one known to be a member of a labor organization, and that the Holt Manufacturing Company is closed to members of trade unions; and,

WHEREAS, The Holt Manufacturing Company operates its shops on a nine-hour basis, pays low wages, and by its past and present attitude has demonstrated that it is unreasonably antagonistic to trade unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fourth Annual Convention assembled, that the Holt Manufacturing Company, manufacturers of traction and caterpillar engines and other farm implements, be placed on the unfair list; and, be it further

Digitized by Google

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the various farmers' unions and State Granges, and that the Executive Council be directed to give every possible publicity to this subject until such time as said Holt Manufacturing Company deals fairly with organized labor.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Scharrenberg: There is a big strike and lockout in Oakland, Cal., and the product of this firm is being sold to the farmers of the western slope. You can be helpful in doing what is suggested in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 161—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

There is located in the city of Lansdale, Pa., the Abraham S. Cox Stove Company, a non-union concern in every department, with a possible exception of the molding room. In the polishing department this company has adopted what is known as the "Buck" system, refusing to employ members of organized labor. The discovery of a union man in this department means an immediate discharge. They only employ skilled mechanics as instructors and the wages range from $1.50 to $2.00 a day lower than in fair stove shops. On account of the cheapness of labor with which it is possible for them to make stoves, they are entering into contracts with other stove factories that are strictly union, or were heretofore strictly union shops, manufacturing for them stoves to be sold under the purchaser's name, supplying these stoves to the other manufacturers at a cheaper rate than they can be manufactured in the union shop; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Abraham S. Cox Stove Company, of Lansdale, Pa., be placed on the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor so notify all affiliated organizations, and give the same all the publicity possible.

Your committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive Council, and we further recommend that one of its members, in conjunction with an officer of each of the trades directly interested, take up this matter and try to bring about an amicable adjustment of this trouble.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

This concludes the work of your Committee on Boycotts, which is respectfully submitted and signed by

D. A. HAYES,
Chairman.
J. J. FREEL,
WILLIAM NEER,
FRANK GEHRING,
WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON,
F. M. SALTUS,
W. R. BOYER,
S. C. HOGAN,
W. M. DOREY,
T. M. DALY,
A. J. ROSENTHAL,
C. M. FEIDER,
HENRY ROSENTHAL,
J. J. McANDREWS,
MARGARET C. DALEY,
Secretary.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.) asked in regard to the status of a case mentioned in one of the resolutions, and asked that the Executive Council give the status of the case.

Vice-President O'Connell: I take great pleasure in speaking for the Executive Council. The trouble in York, Pa., is referred to. The institution employs several hundred workmen, building largely refrigerating machinery. This company has for a number of years prevented the organization of the workmen—in a number of instances had the workmen arrested who were trying to bring about a better state of affairs in that institution.

The work they are sending throughout the country is being erected by union men, which prevents us from organizing the plant. We asked the Executive Council to use its best efforts to assist the Metal Trades Department to bring about a better state of affairs in that place.

Report of Committee on Labels.

Delegate Altman, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Union Label Trades Department.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report, under the above caption, pages 186 to 189, the committee reported as follows: We concur in the

Digitized by Google

statements and conclusions contained therein, and congratulate the Union Label Trades Department upon the excellent showing made during the past year, notwithstanding the unfavorable trade conditions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Local Label Trades Departments.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, the committee reported as follows: We concur in the conclusions contained therein, and urge our affiliated unions to give their attention and effort to the organization of local label trades departments, under the direction and in connection with the Union Label Trades Department.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate H. Rosenthal, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, The Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button and Novelty Workers' Union No. 14,065, American Federation of Labor, of Greater New York and Vicinity, begs to call your attention to the fact that all badges, banners, buttons, regalias and novelties made by its members are manufactured under strictly union conditions and bear the labels of the different organizations whose members are employed in the making of this class of work; and

WHEREAS, Many of our unions, when buying badges, banners, buttons, regalias and novelties, have been imposed upon by manufacturers and agents who claimed that they are selling a strictly union-made article and product; and

WHEREAS, For the purpose of protecting the interests of those desiring to buy strictly union-made goods in the above line and for the protection of and for the promotion of the various union labels, we ask you to be sure and see that the label of the American Federation of Labor, which appears on all of our badges, is on all badges before they are accepted; also appearing with the tag and name of the manufacturer. Any firm entitled to use this label must have a contract with the American Federation of Labor to do so and no badge should be recognized as union-made unless the label is attached thereto; and

WHEREAS, We shall be very glad to furnish upon your request a complete list of names and addresses of all firms manufacturing union-made badges, buttons, banners, regalias and novelties and who have agreements with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Asking for the assistance and co-operation of organized labor in supporting us in our effort to build up and establish better conditions, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Philadelphia, Pa., adopt this resolution and that it be made part of the official record; and be it

RESOLVED, That all affiliated unions are urged to lend every possible moral support to this union.

Mrs. Dora Jacobs, Secretary, 1522 Third Avenue, New York City, will cheerfully furnish all requisite information.

Your committee gave careful consideration to the subject contained in the resolution and held a hearing of the interested organizations. Your committee reports non-concurrence in the resolution for the reason that we believe that its adoption would invade the autonomy of the trades represented in the manufacture of badges, banners, regalia, buttons and novelties, and instead of solving the problems of some twenty organizations directly involved in the manufacture of such commodities our difficulties would be aggravated. We therefore recommend as a substitute for the resolutions the following:

That in each town or city where the goods enumerated in the resolutions are manufactured there shall be formed an allied council, composed of a delegate or delegates from each local union interested in such manufacture; that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall approve rules which may be formulated to govern such councils; that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to assign an organizer to supervise and bring about the formation of such councils wherever necessary, and that no badges or other goods manufactured which come within the scope of such councils shall be recognized as union made, unless they bear the label of the American Federation of Labor, or such other label or device as may be approved to designate the articles enumerated.

We further recommend that the Executive Board of the Union Label Trades Department be authorized to act jointly with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor

Digitized by Google

in the approval of rules, and in the adoption of a label, or device as indicated herein.

We further recommend that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give careful attention to the necessity of devising ways and means to protect the wages and conditions of those employed in the less-skilled occupations in connection with the manufacture of badges, banners, regalia, buttons and novelties, for the purpose of overcoming the difficulties which have heretofore been a potent source of difficulty in connection with the manufacture of the commodities enumerated.

The substitute offered by the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate E. Lewis Evans, of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, Louisville, Ky.:

WHEREAS, The label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, as indorsed by the American Federation of Labor, represents that all tobaccos, snuff and cigarettes bearing it are manufactured under fair and sanitary conditions, and is the only means whereby the consumer can distinguish the union from the non-union product; and

WHEREAS, For the past eighteen years the Tobacco Workers' International Union has been appealing to the rank and file of organized labor for moral support in the purchasing of union labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes, thereby giving employment to union men and women working in the tobacco industry therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the city of Philadelphia, Pa., November 9, do hereby reindorse the blue label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union and pledge themselves to morally assist the Tobacco Workers' International Union by increasing their efforts to the end that the increased demand for union labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes will necessitate the employment of more union men and women in that industry; be it further

RESOLVED, That none other is worthy of our patronage in exchange for our good, hard, union-earned money, and that we acknowledge that when we purchased non-union products of any description we are employing non-union labor in preference to union labor, which is in direct oppositoin to the principles for which we stand.

Your committee concurs in the resolution asking for re-endorsement of the Blue Label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, and we recommend to the Committee on Laws that it devise ways and means to cover the re-endorsement of labels in the briefest possible terms. Your committee does not believe that it is either necessary or advisable to re-endorse each year the labels of affiliated organizations in lengthy resolutions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate David S. Jones, of the Michigan State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The American Cigar and Tobacco Trust and the money-mad owners of Detroit cheap non-union cigar traps are making a fortune through dividends piled up by children's hands and the half-grown girl labor. "The only animal alive that lives upon its young" (Child Labor). These poor children are victims of circumstances—many of these children are all but penniless and work their little fingers to the bone in order to make millions for the owners of Detroit cheap non-union cigar factories; and,

WHEREAS, Detroit has the cheapest non-union child-labor cigar traps in the United States, a down-trodden class of cigar workers, powerless, underpaid, overworked, who have nothing to say as to what they should receive in wages, hours or shop conditions. The money-mad owners support those bad non-union conditions that lead to low wages. A foreman working for the San Telmo non-union cigar factory made the statement that a married women working in the San Telmo cigar trap for about two years worked Saturday, but did not come to work Monday, and became the mother of a newborn babe Tuesday. When these half-grown girls are through with their day's work they are forced to give one cigar with each hundred they make. Girls roll from 700 to 800 per day or more. Cigar girls rolling 4000 cigars in one week under this system are forced to give 40 cigars to the firm without pay. In view of the fact that there are 52 weeks which she works during the year, the victim makes 2080 cigars for her money-mad masters, and has the privilege of working another year in order to keep the wolf from the door. This foreman admitted he was a slave driver, and that he received orders and a lecture every night from the man higher up in office "Speed up—speed up" the girl, and to make it his business to locate homes where young girls were living and to get them to come to work in the San Telmo non-union cigar trap in order that he might snatch the girl from school and her home; and,

WHEREAS, The Detroit "News-Tribune," Sunday, September 7, 1913, published an article showing little "Lost Sister" making cigars for 42 cents and 52 cents a week, and making cigars all summer, earning $4.50—the tragedy of child labor—making at most 52 cents a week. Little Frances Angleweig, an employe of the San Telmo Cigar factory, has excited much sympathy by her appeal to the county truant officer for working papers that will allow her to work in-

Digitized by Google

stead of going to school this fall. There are eight small children at the little home at 78 Andrews Avenue, Detroit, Mich., and the father, a day-laborer, has worked hard to keep them fed and clothed. The mite that the 14-year-old girl has been able to earn, although it totals only $4.50 for the whole summer, has helped a little in the struggle, and she wants to continue. Summer working papers were given her at the end of the school year, when she went to work in the cigar factory; she and other inexperienced girls were given 15 cents a hundred for making cigars. The truant officer refused the working papers to allow little "lost sister" to go back to the cigar factory; and,

WHEREAS, In order that the labor movement and all real men and women in America may better understand the shameful labor conditions in Detroit's cheap non-union cigar traps, we will try and figure it out for the purpose of turning on the light of publicity.. Will real men and women stand for those bad non-union conditions? This means female labor practically for nothing; about 6000 or 7000 girl victims of this system work in Detroit non-union cigar factories. One hundred cigar girls, working under this system for one year, make free 200,000 cigars; two hundred cigar girls make free 400,000; five hundred cigar girls make free 2,000,000; six thousand cigar girls make free 12,000,000. All these cigar girls are fined, if they do not get enough cigars out of their tobacco, from 25 cents to $3.00 per week, and they get fined, because they canont beat this system of their aristocratic masters. Most all are young girls packing cigars in these non-union cigar factories, and are required to remain standing constantly, standing on their feet all day to pack cigars. The best of physicians make the statement that cigar packing is work for men only. The little children take the place of men in those cigar traps; and,

WHEREAS, Albert C. Bunting, on February 16, 1914, representing these aristocratic owners of Detroit cheap non-union cigar factories, made this statement before the Minimum Wage Commission of Michigan: Cigar girls who have gone wrong were the biggest wage earners in non-union cigar factories. There is no connection between low wages and vice, but there is between high wages and vice. Albert C. Bunting made the statement that ten big cigar factories produce 250,000,000 non-union cigars in one year. He said to pay better wages would have a tendency to force the ten non-union cigar factories to leave Detroit and seek locations in cities outside of Detroit. It was the contention of the Minimum Wage Commission that low wages produce vice; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, are united in support of and to try to organize and help to rescue these poor, helpless cigar girls from the worst kind of labor conditions; we must not give up the fight—we must go on fighting for human rights—the right of the working woman to belong to labor unions; we stand for equal pay for equal services for men and women; we protest against the shameful, bad-non-union labor conditions in Detroit cheap non-union cigar traps, and we, the delegates, condemn the practice and treatment of cigar girls by the owners of Detroit cheap, non-union cigar traps. We find they are the enemies and oppressors of cigar girls. All fair-minded union men and women should come to their rescue and register their complaints and to call on the cigar dealers and explain to them the situation in Detroit, and recommend that this resolution be given attention by the affiliated organizations.

Your committee does not believe that the best interests of the workers are served in the use of inflammatory and extravagant language in presenting their grievances to the public, and we are of the opinion that greater good can be accomplished by a more dignified and rational expression of the evils which may exist as sought to be covered by the resolution. We therefore recommend as a substitute for the resolution that the entire matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of causing an investigation to be made and publicity given thereto; and we further suggest to the Executive Council that, if possible, the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations investigate the conditions in the factories designated in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to concur in the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed at length by Delegate Jones, who urged the support of trade unionists for the various labels. Delegate Jones spoke in detail of the situation in the Detroit cigar factories where a large number of women and girls worked under most deplorable conditions.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

The committee amended Resolution No. 73 to read as follows:

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate [illegible] S. Jones, of the Michigan Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Label promoters and agitation committees, known as Label Boards, are of a great benefit to the union manufacturers and the different label trades, as it means more steady work in union factories and more members in the various unions, and, in view

Digitized by Google

of the fact that it is the duty of all real men and women to be true to their obligation as trade unionists to purchase only union-made goods and to keep hustling for all union labels and working cards that are recognized by the American Federation of Labor, and to nerve up every union member to have the ambition to stand first, last and all the time for the principles of trades unionism, and if the 2,500,000 organized workers would consistently demand union labeled products for the good money they pay out, the present number would soon reach 5,000,000, and no harm would be done; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at its Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, request all affiliated organizations throughout the United States to thoroughly explain to their membership the power of the union label, and to stand for the proper union education of all real trades unionists as to their duties in demanding union label goods.

The resolution was adopted as amended by the committee.

Resolution No. 120—By Delegates A. A. Myrup, Henry Koch and J. Goldstone, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, A most severe struggle has been and is now being waged by the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America against the intended extermination of its organization by what is now generally known as the Bread Trust, composed of numerous gigantic baking concerns, such as the Ward Baking Company and the General Baking Company, conducting business in various cities, such as New York and Brooklyn, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Boston, Providence, R. I. and in numerous other large cities and their vicinities, and are the non-union manufacturers of widely advertised brands of non-union bread, such as "Tip-Top" bread, in the advertising interest of which Robert B. Ward, president of the various Ward Bread Trust combinations, apparently became the main financial backer of the Federal Baseball League and the sole owner of its Brooklyn Club, which team he named "Tip-Tops," after his notorious brand of non-union bread; and

WHEREAS, The intended non-union monopolization of the bread industry, if successfully accomplished, will not alone mean the exclusion of organized labor from the bread industry, but will also place the interests of the bread-consuming public in the hands of this Bread Trust combination, by which the latter can assume power to dictate the terms and prices under which bread, the main staff of life, may be bought; and

WHEREAS, In this struggle of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America the best weapon in resisting the offensive warfare and advertising campaign of this Bread Trust combination has been the union label, and the support rendered by organized labor in general and its friends in increasing the consumption of bread that bears the union label of the Bakery Workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, reaffirm its previous declaraiton of support to the Bakery Workers, re-endorse their label, pledge itself and urge its affiliated organizations to do all in their power to continue their assistance to the Bakery Workers in still further creating a healthy public sentiment in favor of the use only of bread that bears the union label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 160—By delegates of the Cigarmakers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The remorseless activities of the American Tobacco Company, the gigantic trust in the cigar trade, constantly aim to destroy freedom of action, to reduce wages, increase working hours and to exploit the workers engaged therein, in order that its already multitplied dividends may be still further enhanced, all to the still greater impoverishment of its illy-paid, unorganized and defenseless employes; and

WHEREAS, The Cigar Trust has introduced and steadily increased the number of non-unionists employed, especially women and girls, in the cigar industry, always at reduced wages; and

WHEREAS, The employment of such unorganized labor has rendered the task of completely organizing our trade more difficult; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the efforts of the Cigarmakers' International Union of America to completely organize the cigar industry have the sympathy of the delegates here assembled, and we as such urge the officers and organizers of the American Federation of Labor to render all assistance possible that does not encroach upon their other activities in the effort to organize especially the women workers of the cigar industry.

Your committee concurs in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Your committee, in concluding its report, desires to again urge upon the members of all affiliated unions and the friends and sympathizers with our cause that they give closer attention to the necessity of purchasing goods bearing the label of our several affiliated unions; to give closer attention to the patronage of union buttons and

Digitized by Google

cards; to ever bear in mind that the purchaser is the employer at the moment of his purchase, and he has it within his power and he should deem it his duty to decide that he will be a union employer, pay union wages and observe union conditions, to the end that non-union employers may not be able to boast that they have the patronage of organized labor in any degree.

Your committee observes with satisfaction the great growth of sentiment favorable to union labels, cards and buttons, and calls attention to the fact that the great army of the public in general which is not yet converted to the union-label idea furnishes a fruitful field in which we may work with splendid results.

Fraternally submitted,
JOHN F. TOBIN,
Chairman.
VICTOR ALTMAN,
Secretary.
MAX ZUCKERMAN,
J. M. BARNES,
J. GOLDSTONE,
MICHAEL F. GREENE,
C. M. FEIDER,
EMANUEL KOVELESKI,
JOHN RADER,
E. J. BRAIS,
MAX S. HAYES,
F. J. KIERNAN,
J. F. HART,
J. M. GILLESPIE,
JOHN METZ,
Committee on Labels.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

Report of Building Trades Committee.

Delegate Griggs, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate James F. Morris, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The following resolution, having been introduced at the 32d Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and referred without instruction to the delegate elected to attend the convention of the American Federation of Labor, is herewith referred to this convention.

"WHEREAS, The Building Trades Council is an organization established by the American Federation of Labor for the protection of building laborers; and

"WHEREAS, Some branches of the American Federation of Labor are allying themselves with organizations that are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, at the same time withdrawing their support from the Building Trades Council; and

WHEREAS, We believe such action is not in accord with the purpose of the American Federation of Labor when the Building Trades Councils were established; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the delegate from the Illinois State Federation of Labor to the American Federation of Labor convention be instructed to bring this matter before that convention, and secure in every way possible protection of the Building Trades Councils, by demanding that all organizations eligible to affiliation with the Building Trades Councils join those organizations, and that no alliance with outside crafts that has a tendency to weaken any organization established by the American Federation of Labor shall be permitted."

Your committee recommends concurrence in the subject-matter contained in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

U. B. of Carpenters—Amalgamated Carpenters.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee on Building Trades highly commends the action of the carpenters, and congratulates the officers and members of both organizations in the amalgamation of the two organizations of carpenters, which means so much to the future prosperity of all men engaged in the woodworking industry.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Plasterers—Carpenters.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report, under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee would call to the attention of this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention the fact that while we feel there is nothing further to be said in connection with the decision of the Executive Council, still your committee strongly disapproves of the action of the San Francisco Building Trades Council, wherein they refused to abide by the ruling of the Seattle Convention of the Building Trades Department.

Digitized by Google

dealing with the erection of staff work for the Panama-Pacific Exposition.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegates William F. Kavanaugh and Henry J. Lohse, Hudson County Central Labor Union and Essex Trades Council, of Newark, N. J.:

WHEREAS, In the northern section of the State of New Jersey innumerable conflicts are taking place among local unions of the same international organizations, owing to the 25-mile jurisdiction from the City Hall of New York city claimed by New York locals; and

WHEREAS, On several municipal contracts clauses are inserted in said contracts providing for the employment of citizens of the community being employed on the erection of said buildings, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The labor men of New Jersey feel that jurisdiction is being denied them on their own territory, and but scant recognition given them or the central bodies in New Jersey with which they are affiliated by the international unions when appealed to; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the international organizations affiliated to cede to their New Jersey locals all work within their own territory so as to avoid unnecessary strikes and lock-outs.

Your committee is of the opinion that this is a matter to be dealt with by the various international organizations involved; therefore, we recommend to this convention that the subject-matter contained in the resolution be referred to the international unions involved, with a request that the international organizations settle the matter according to their laws.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Kavanaugh discussed the question at length, and moved as a substitute: That this matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for a hearing and for such recommendation as will bring about a settlement of the matter referred to in Resolution No. 122. (Seconded.)

The question was discussed by Delegate McGovern, Delegate Kavanaugh and Delegate McSorley.

The substitute offered by Delegate Kavanaugh was adopted by a vote of 41 in the affirmative to 26 in the negative.

Upholsterers—Carpet Mechanics.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows: Your committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in by this convention, and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor request the officers of the Building Trades Department to request the State Building Trades Council of California to unseat all independent locals of carpet mechanics.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Griggs: That completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted:

T. J. WILLIAMS, Chairman;
J. E. McCLORY,
JOHN J. HYNES,
ED. J. McGIVERN,
J. M. GAVLAK,
F. J. McNULTY,
JAMES KIRBY,
WM. J. McSORLEY,
W. V. PRICE,
SAM, GRIGGS, Secretary.

Committee on Building Trades.

Report of Committee on State Organizations.

Delegate Gallagher, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

President Gompers in Porto Rico.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends continued effort to the end that complete organization and consequent betterment of conditions for the people of the island will follow. We share the feeling that the recent victory of the Cigarmakers and Tobacco Workers of Porto Rico will serve as an incentive for other trades to organize, and we further recommend that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor make renewed endeavor to bring about the betterment of conditions for the people of Porto Rico through the medium of organization.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Digitized by Google

Mothers' Day.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee desires to offer congratulations for the co-operative accomplishments of the Executive Council which have resulted in the enactment by the Sixty-third Congress of the resolution which designates the second Sunday in May as Mother's Day and recommends that our central bodies and State federations urge upon their respective legislators the enactment or adoption of resolutions or rules of similar import as that passed by the Congress of the United States.

The report of the committee was adopted.

State Federations of Labor—City Central Bodies.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes that part of the report of the Executive Council to the effect that there should be a greater degree of harmony between the Federation and some central bodies and State federations, and that there should be on the part of some of them more consideration for and obedience to the mandates of the Federation.

Your committee feels that there is one reason that can be assigned for this attitude on the part of these bodies, and that it is subject-matter of affiliation. We are aware, of course, that there are other causes for the failure of these bodies to co-operate; but we wish to assure the convention that we have made an investigation through some of the delegates from these bodies and find that the failure of internationals to secure the affiliation of local unions with State federations and city centrals, and also building trades councils, has considerable to do with the lack of harmony existing.

Year after year complaints are made to these conventions of the failure or inability of certain internationals to do their full duty in this regard.

These recurring complaints are the cause of friction, and do not encourage that healthy loyalty to this Federation, and to the internationals which is so much needed and desired for the success of the movement.

Just as this American Federation of Labor obtains its highest efficiency and greatest strength from the collective effort of all organized labor, so, too, are these State and local bodies strengthened or weakened by full affiliation or refusal of locals to join.

In all fairness it must be conceded that these city centrals and State federations, in many instances organize unions, finance strikes, father and secure the enactment of progressive and beneficent legislation, and are often the means by which the internationals, acting through the American Federation of Labor, accomplish and sometimes compel obedience to their law by locals throughout the land.

There must be some reciprocity in these things. If it is proper to compel a central body to keep these unions within the fold (by threats to revoke its charter), why is it not as logical to take steps to insist upon the affiliation and federation of these local unions?

Sometimes the unions complain that the per capita tax is too high, and urge that as a reason why they are not affiliated. In that regard your committee would say that if it became necessary for this or a succeeding convention to set the maximum amount of per capita that might be charged by these bodies, it would be vastly preferable to a state of non-affiliation of local unions.

We believe that the time has come to deal definitely with this evil, and to that end we recommend that the following steps be taken as a means of assisting the State federations, city centrals and building trade councils, and encouraging from them a greater respect and obedience for and to this Federation.

First—That each international convention be visited by a representative of the American Federation of Labor with a specific request that said convention legislate to insist upon affiliation of locals with State federations, city centrals and building trades councils.

Second—That the Executive Council be instructed to secure for the information of the next convention the names of locals in States not in affiliation with their State federations, and from central bodies and building trades councils the names and numbers of unaffiliated locals in their cities.

Third—That this information be sub-

Digitized by Google

mitted to the next convention in printed form. The Executive Council is to recommend to the next convention the appointment of a special committee, whose duty it shall be (during the convention) to inquire of international officers the reasons for non-affiliation of their locals.

The secretary of this Federation is to supply, if possible, to each international the names of its unaffiliated locals at least sixty days prior to the convention.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegate Rosenthal.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.): There is one recommendation which provides the representatives to the American Fderation shall visit every national and international union convention. In the Label Trades Department it is provided that, so far as we could do so, we will send a representative to every national and international convention. It is possible the Metal Trades have taken a somewhat similar action, and that the Building Trades will have a representative for purposes of their own. That would be duplication. I would like to amend that there be co-operation between the American Federation of Labor and its departments in assigning these representatives to visit the national and international conventions.

The amendment offered by Delegate Barnes was seconded and carried, and the report of the committee was adopted as amended.

Massachusetts' Model Labor Law.

The committee reported that the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption had been dealt with by the Commitee on Executive Council's Report, and no further action was necessary.

Suffrage in the District of Columbia.

Upon the portion of the Executive Council's Report under the above caption the committee reported as follows: Your committee recommends continuation of work in this direction, as contained in Resolution No. 173, adopted in the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor, which reads as follows:

Resolution No. 173—By Commitees on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, The people of the District of Columbia, the capital of our nation, have been wholly disfranchised, have no voice in the government of the city in which they live, and have no local government at all other than a commission appointed by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate, and the people of the District of Columbia have no voice or representation in the Congress of the United States, a condition of affairs repugnant to the very spirit and essence of the institutions of our republic; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has frequently declared and emphasized the necessity for local government for the people of the District of Columbia, with full right of suffrage and representation in the Congress of the United States; and

WHEREAS, There is at present a growing demand among the people of the District for local self-government and representation in the Congress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Seattle, Washington, emphatically insists that the Congress, at the earliest possible day, establish a local form of government for the District of Columbia, with full franchise and with representation by a representative or delegate in the House of Representatives; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the president of the American Federation have power and he is directed to appoint a committee to aid and co-operate with all other associations and persons for the purpose of securing the enactment of the legislation outlined in these resolutions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Proposed Welfare Amendment to State Constitutions.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above general caption the committee reported as follows:

Free Speech and Free Press.

The committee recommends the adoption of the subject-matter.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Regulating Contempt Proceedings.

Your committee recommends that this matter be returned to the Executive Council for further preparation and reference to State federations, in order that those bodies may be helpful in securing the desired legislation.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Eight Hours.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the substitute as presented

Digitized by Google

in the Executive Council's report under this heading.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Personal Injuries.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the substitute as presented in the Executive Council's report under this heading.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Abrogation of So-called Common Law Defense.

Your committee recommends concurrence in recommendations contained in the Executive Council's report under this reference.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

General Labor Legislation.

The committee recommends concurrence in the recommendations contained in the Executive Council's report under this reference.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Convict Labor.

Your committee has devoted considerable time in the effort to agree upon a satisfactory report on this subject, but finds that in some States methods of employing convicts prevail which are apparently satisfactory, but which would meet with strenuous opposition in other States. And in view of the limited time and opportunity at the disposal of the committee and the exceedingly great importance of the question involved, we believe this matter should be referred to the Executive Council, with the request that during the coming year they make further investigation as to the employment of convict labor in the different States, and endeavor to bring about a solution of this question which will be satisfactory to our movement in all States, and that they report the result of their efforts to the next convention.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Uniformity of Textbooks.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends adoption of the model bill as contained in the Executive Council's report for uniformity of textbooks and urges the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to continue the effort to secure its adoption and that all State federations and organized labor generally be urged to use all available means to assist in the general cause.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Porto Rico—Cuba.

(Report of Santiago Iglesias.)

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall give this matter further earnest attention and renew its efforts to be helpful to the peoples of Porto Rico and Cuba.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Popular Government.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee endorses the recommendations and suggestions contained under this general caption and while realizing the good work that has thus far been accomplished, urges the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to continue the work in this direction, and with renewed endeavor strive to secure effective laws and legislation as referred to in the report of the Executive Council under this reference.

In this general connection your committee urges upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the necessity of impressing upon all city and State bodies and organized labor generally the necessity of electing their friends to city, State and national legislative bodies, and where possible electing among such friends men who carry paid-up union cards. Your committee further recommends that the spirit contained in resolution No. 129 as introduced and adopted by the Seattle convention be maintained, and attention is called to the resolve contained in the resolution referred to, which reads:

Digitized by Google

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-third Annual Convention assembled, that we urge upon all States branches to give particular attention to the compilation and distribution of the labor records of State legislators, to the end that the workers generally may learn from reliable and authoritative sources who are the "friends" of labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, of the State Federation, Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, The suggestion of President Gompers to secure the appointment of a commission to make a congressional investigation into the affairs and conditions of the island of Porto Rico was accepted with great satisfaction by all the people of the island; and

WHEREAS, This investigation may do much to improve the deplorable industrial conditions as well as for the perfection of a democratic government, and for the justice and betterment of the wage earners of the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled that the president of the American Federation of Labor be earnestly recommended to request the President of the United States or the Congress, or both, to appoint a commission as soon as possible with authority to investigate the deplorable industrial conditions as well as the general governmental affairs of the island, especially in the questions effecting education, health and sanitation; economic and living conditions of the working masses of Porto Rico, land and financial resources, and to ascertain if it is true that the federal, as well as the organic law, has been continually violated by the big corporations which exploit the people of the island.

Your committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive Council for such action or recommendation as that body may determine upon.

President Gompers: It is asking the Government of the United States to make an investigation authoritatively that shall disclose to our people the actual conditions in Porto Rico. It asks nothing at the hands of the American Federation of Labor other than to ask the President and Congress of the United States to make an investigation.

Delegate Iglesias asked the following be added to the resolution:

* * * and that the president of this convention of the American Federation of Labor be so instructed to send, as soon as possible, a copy of this resolution, addressed to His Excellency, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, and respectfully request him to give as much consideration as he can to the deplorable condition of the people of Porto Rico in dealing with his message to be sent to the next coming session of Congress.

After a brief discussion Delegate Gallagher stated that the committee had no objection to offer to the adoption of the resolution by the convention.

The resolution was adopted, with the addition offered by Delegate Iglesias.

Resolution No. 128—By Delegates F. J. McNulty, S. Grimblot, T. Singer, and J. Cullen, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, In communicating with the various State and city central labor bodies many complications are encountered owing to the several different titles by which they are known; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all State and city central bodies affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall be designated under the same title; for example,

The Central Labor Union of Philadelphia, Pa.

The Texas State Federation of Labor.

Said changes to be made as soon as practicable.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with the recommendation that if possible there may be uniformity in the issuance of new charters.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate James H. Hatch, of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Upholsters and mattress makers employed on furniture and mattresses, railway car upholstering and automobile upholstering are required to use filling materials containing a great amount of dust, which is extremely injurious to the health of those employed in the industry, and is largely the cause of a considerable portion of the members of the craft being affected wtih tuberculosis; and

WHEREAS, If this material were picked in a separate room from that which is used as a workshop, the picking room to have installed a blower, and all of the work consisting of picking to be performed by persons employed for that purpose and who are not employed as upholsterers or mattress makers, the unhealthy conditions, prevailing on account of the great amount of dust raised in the workrooms would be avoided, and

Digitized by Google

when the picking is done in the workship because of this fact it would reduce the amount of sickness and early deaths caused because of the present unsanitary arrangement existing in many of the upholstery workshops; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor instruct all State and central bodies affiliated to use their influence in order to have laws passed in different States requiring that workrooms in which upholsterers and mattress makers are employed on furnitures, mattresses, railway cars and automobiles shall have the filling material picked under conditions as provided in this resolution.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate James H. Hatch, of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Mattresses are manufactured from all kinds and classes of material irrespective of the source from which they are obtained or without regard for the health of either those employed in the manufacturing of mattresses or people who purchase them for their use; and

WHEREAS, The working people especially purchase the cheaper grade of mattress, which contains a filling known as shoddy. The material from which it is made consists of discarded clothing and rags picked up everywhere including the public dumps. Other filling used is hair taken from mattresses which have been thrown out, very likely because of the fact that they had been used by people affected with contagious diseases. When they reach the public dumps they are taken possession of by the dump trimmers, who sell this old hair to unscrupulous manufacturers, who make it up into matresses and sell them as new material, where as, as a matter of fact, if the public were aware of the source from which much of the material used in the filling of mattresses was obtained, it would under no circumstances purchase a mattress made up from old or second-hand material or shoddy; and

WHEREAS, New York State and the State of California have adopted laws which prevent the use of some of the materials complained of, and require that mattresses filled with shoddy shall be so labeled in order to at least warn the the public in advance what material is used in the filling of mattresses of this character; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor instruct all State and central bodies to use their influence to have laws passed in each State prohibiting materials that are injurious to the health of the people from being used for the fillings of mattresses.

Your comittee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 109—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, J. H. Fricke, E. H. Foley, A. J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, Longshoremen are exposed by the hazardous nature of their occupation to an ever-present risk of accident; and,

WHEREAS, The risk is greater through the speeding up of work by selfish employers for the sole purpose of attaining greater profits with no thought of life or limb; and,

WHEREAS, We realize that preventive measures are more desirable in attaining a longer usefulness for both our families and the communities in which we reside, than the compensation by law for unforeseen accidents; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use every endeavor to have the Federal, State and provincial authorities enact safety legislation that would minimize the risks of accidents to our calling.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Gallagher: This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

JOHN R. ALPINE,
Chairman;
ANDREW J. GALLAGHER,
Secretary;
MAURICE DE YOUNG,
JOSEPH PROEBSTLE,
R. E. WOODMANSEE,
O. F. PENNEBAKER,
JEROME JONES,
WM. UMSTADTER,
JOHN H. WALKER,
P. J. CONLON,
PAUL SCHARRENBERG,
JOHN H. BAKER,
JOHN MOORE,
B. F. HORTON,
J. F. ENGLISH,
P. J. SHEA,
Committee on State Organizations.

Vice-President Duffy asked what disposition had been made of Resolution No. 35.

Vice-President O'Connell: The resolution was referred to the Committee on Adjustment. I think it has been acted upon. If the resolution has not been reported, there has been no conference held, as I learn, and I move

Digitized by Google

that the matter be referred to the president to bring about a conference between the contending parties within ninety days of the close of this convention. I make this motion, if the matter has not already been acted upon. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary Morrison read the following:

Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 21, 1914.

The Women's Trade Union League, of New York, cordially invites the officers and delegates to the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to attend the fifth annual ball of the League, Friday, December 4, 8.30 p. m., Amsterdam Opera House, Forty-fourth Street, west of Eighth Avenue, New York City.

MELINDA SCOTT,
President.
ALICE S. BEAN,
Corresponding Secretary.

After an address by President Gompers, briefly reviewing the work of the convention and expressing his appreciation of the work of the delegates, at 11.45 p. m. Saturday, November 21, the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Philadelphia, Pa., was adjourned sine die.

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary,
American Federation of Labor.

WALTER FARIES,
Assistant Secretary of Convention.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

INDEX.

A

Page.

A. F. of L. library....165-167, 229, 347, 348
office building....160, 161, 229, 311, 312
seal not to be printed on privately owned labor papers, Resolution 37....252, 349
Accidents, industrial....78, 79, 228, 250, 251, 260-262
Addresses of welcome....1-6
Agricultural credit bill—organized farmers....102, 103, 228, 329
Assistant Secretary, appointment of.... 6
Alaska coal land bill, providing eight-hour day for miners....74, 317
Alaska, government construction of railways in....85, 86, 228, 364
Alcohol distilling, farm denatured, commission to demonstrate value of, Resolution 39....252, 253, 330, 331
American Federationist....43, 162, 163, 229, 347
Arbitration—Conciliation—Mediation—Federal Board for Arbitration of Industrial Disputes 88, 89, 228, 364
Arizona labor law....308
Asiatic competition and immigration, opposing, Resolution 82....282, 468, 469
Asiatic races, Chinese exclusion act to be extended to exclude, Resolution 137....299, 468, 469
Automobile industry, Detroit, organization campaign in....134, 135, 182, 409-411

B

Badges, banners, regalia, union-labeled, Resolution 13....234, 235, 486, 487
Badges, convention, distributed.... 13
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' label, urging support of, to assist struggle against bread trust, Resolution 120....294, 489
Bakery and Confectionery Workers—Ward Baking Company, Resolution 123....295, 484
Bank, proposition to establish, to handle funds of labor organizations, Resolution 105....290, 462, 463
Batten, Rev. Samuel Zane, address of....273-276
Belgium relief fund, donation to....377
Blacksmiths—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers....129, 130, 229, 393, 394
Blacksmiths—Tunnel and Subway Constructors....132, 229, 397-400
Board of Mediation and Conciliation, A. F. of L., to consider jurisdiction disputes....419, 420
Boats, for law to prevent women and children living on, Resolution 107....290, 348
Bond statement, receipts and expenses.... 43
Bookbinders—International Typographical Union, single wrapping dispute, Resolution 103....288, 289, 378-380
Bookbinders—International Typographical Union—Mailers' Union No. 6, Resolution 106....290, 380
Borst, Geo. H., letter from....251
Brewery Workers—Coopers....125, 126, 229, 251, 387
Bricklayers and Masons' locals, to expel from central and state bodies, Resolution 124....295, 296, 258, 259, 415, 480
Bricklayers, agreements of affiliated trades with, Marble Workers' dispute....145-150, 180, 229, 367, 368
Bricklayers, agreements of Carpenters, Steam Engineers and Plasterers with, Resolution 138....299, 416
Brickmakers, seceding local unions....137, 138, 229, 408
Bridgeport, Conn., Central Labor Union, greetings from....308
British Trades Union Congress, 1914 meeting postponed....50, 228, 472
Broommakers vs. Butler Bros., Resolution 79....281, 282, 483, 484

Digitized by Google

Page.
Bryant, Lewis T., lecture....251, 260-262, 322
Buchanan, Frank, Congressional record commended....322
Buffalo, N. Y., District Council, greetings....242
Building Trades Councils to be supported by eligible unions, Resolution 17....236, 490
Butte, Mont., situation—Western Federation of Miners....110-112, 367

C

Canada, progress of movement....192, 193, 230, 245-249, 368
Canadian Trades Dispute Act, special meeting to discuss....311
Candidates for legislative offices, to elect union men....494, 495
Carpenters—Brewery Workers, Resolution 35....241, 417, 418, 496, 497
Carpenters—Carmen, Resolution 23....238, 411, 412
Carpenters, Brotherhood—Amalgamated Carpenters, amalgamation....113, 114, 229, 490
Carpenters—Painters—Hardwood Finishers' Local, Boston, Mass., Resolution 22....238, 409
Carpenters—Sheet Metal Workers' controversy, special committee to consider
13, 229, 231, 321, 349-351
Carpenters—Sheet Metal Workers—Building Trades Department....139-143, 178, 179, 367
Carpet Mechanics, San Francisco—Upholsterers....132, 229, 491
Carriage and Wagon Workers, infringement upon jurisdiction of other organizations
134, 135, 229, 409-411
infringement upon jurisdiction of other organizations
Resolution 112....291, 292, 409-411
Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International, application for jurisdiction over all workers in these industries, Resolution 10....234, 409-411
Cathedral, mass, invitation from Archbishop Prendergast....308, 315
Central bodies and local departments, favoring compulsory affiliation of local unions with,
Resolution 87....283, 447-457
Central bodies and state federations of labor....57, 228, 492, 493
Central bodies and state federations be notified not to seat unaffiliated unions, requesting that,
Resolution 48....256, 338, 339
Central bodies and state federations to bear uniform titles, Resolution 128....296, 495
Central bodies not to request locals to strike, proposed constitutional amendment,
Resolution 6....233, 477
to endeavor to have international unions compel locals to affiliate with,
Resolution 88....283, 284, 479
to be empowered to carry out decisions of A. F. of L. upon jurisdiction disputes,
Resolution 34....240, 241, 330
to request international unions to provide law compelling locals to affiliate with,
Resolution 36....252, 313, 314
Central bodies to try local unions upon charges and refuse their credentials, proposing amendment to constitution authorizing, Resolution 85....283, 478, 479
Chance, Geo., memorial service....262, 310, 315
Child labor, declaration of Executive Council re....76, 228, 346, 347
Child labor legislation....75-77, 346, 347
Chinese Exclusion Act to be extended to exclude Asiatic races, Resolution 137....299, 468, 469
Chinese laundries and restaurants, Resolution 119....294, 468, 469
Cigar factories, non-union, Detroit, asking assistance to organize girls employed in,
Resolution 71....265, 266, 487, 488
Cigar industry, to aid Cigarmakers' International Union to organize, Resolution 160....307, 489
Cigarmakers and Tobacco Workers' dispute with American Cigar and Tobacco Trust and United Cigar Stores, Resolution 70....265, 482
Civil service employes, political rights, Resolution 135....298, 299, 465, 466
Civil service employes, political rights, Resolution 145....302, 465, 466
Civil service employes, classified as "skilled" and "unskilled laborers," endorsing Gorman bill providing wage increase for, Resolution 99....287, 288, 462
Civil service employes, superannuated, to aid passage of retirement law for,
Resolution 57....259, 376
Clayton Antitrust Act....68-73, 228, 361, 362, 405, 406
Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union, Philadelphia, greetings....242

Digitized by Google

Page
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers—Hatters, jurisdiction over millinery trade, Resolution 3.....232, 374
Colorado coal mines, to petition President Wilson to enforce federal plan of settlement by operators or operate mines under federal supervision, Resolution 91.....284, 285, 365, 368-370, 459-461
Colorado miners' situation.....103, 106-108, 366, 367, 368-370, 459-461
Committees:
A. F. of L. office building.....12, 243, 311, 312
Adjustment.....12, 346, 384, 408
Auditing.....226, 227
Boycotts.....12, 481
Building trades.....12, 490
Carpenters—Sheet Metal Workers' controversy.....13, 230, 231, 243, 321, 349-351
Credentials.....6-10, 226, 242, 268, 311, 316, 346, 360
Education.....12, 346-349
Executive Council's report.....12, 360-383
International relations.....12, 243, 279, 471
Labels.....12, 485
Laws.....12, 476
Local and Federated Bodies.....12, 312-314
Organization.....12, 331-340
Resolutions.....12, 317-331, 407, 421, 446, 466
Rules and order of business.....12, 225, 226
Shorter workday.....12, 243, 340, 341
State organizations.....12, 491
Ways and means.....12, 243, 337
Conboy, Mrs. Sara, address of.....341, 342
Conservation of Natural Resources.....54, 228, 346
Constitution, amendments to.....446-457, 461, 462, 476, 477, 478
Contempt case of Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, final decision in.....94, 95, 229, 365
Contempt procedure, proposed amendment to state constitutions.....100, 493
Convict labor bill.....85, 228, 462
proposed amendment to state constitutions.....101, 228, 494
Co-operation in related industries.....61, 62, 228, 361
Co-operation in strikes and lockouts, report on replies from international unions re.....62-65, 228, 361
Coopers and National Association of Slack, Barrel, Stave and Heading Makers, to endeavor to bring about conference between, Resolution 80.....282, 335
Copper lands, Mich., re House resolution to investigate seizure of.....103, 366
Copper miners' strike, Mich., re House resolution providing for investigation of.....103, 367
Copper miners' strike, appeal for financial assistance for legal defense of men held on murder charge growing out of, Resolution 140.....300, 381, 382, 383
Cox, Abraham S., Stove Co., Lansdale, Pa., Resolution 161.....316, 317, 485
Cuba, movement in.....52, 53, 199, 228, 331, 494
Curtis Publishing Co., Philadelphia, invites delegates to visit its plant.....242

D

Davis, Jeff., President of Itinerant Workers, address of.....262
Dayton, Judge, impeachment.....96, 228, 365, 366
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....42
Defense fund, to pay benefits from, in cases of lockouts or victimization of members, Resolution 75.....280, 478
Departments, A. F. of L. recommendation to amend laws governing.....150-155, 229, 446-457
Departments, A. F. of L. reports of.....178-191, 230, 279, 368
Building Trades.....178-181, 230, 368
Metal Trades.....181-186, 230, 368
Mining.....190, 191, 230, 368
Railroad Employes.....189, 190, 230, 368
Union Label Trades.....186-189, 230, 368, 485
Departments to tax affiliated international unions only upon members coming under their respective jurisdiction, Resolution 8.....233, 446-457
Delegates should retain same seats in convention hall.....226

Digitized by Google

Page.
Detective agencies that supply labor, to cancel licenses of, Resolution 7....233, 351, 352
Detective agencies, favoring laws to supervise, Resolution 68....264, 265, 351, 352
Detroit Federation of Labor protests against dual central body, Resolution 96....286, 287, 314
Disarmament of all nations to fullest extent consistent with preservation of world law and order, Resolution 78....280, 281, 473
District of Columbia labor forward movement, Resolution 60....262, 334, 335
District of Columbia suffrage....89, 228, 493
Domestics, to organize, Resolution 134....298, 335, 336
Dreier, Mary, address of....272, 273

E

Eight-hour agreement, Metal Trades, San Francisco....185
Eight-hour day by legal enactment, Resolution 144....302, 421-444
Resolution 149....303, 421-444
Eight-hour day, to strive for general application in all callings....340, 341
Eight-hour day—Government contracts—Metal Trades Department....183
Eight-hour law, federal, Attorney-General's interpretation of....318-321, 403-404
Eight-hour law, federal, to amend....184, 317
Resolution 27....239, 318-321
Eight-hour legislation....74, 75, 228, 317
Eight-hour law, universal, telegram from California Eight-Hour League re....251
Eight hours, proposed amendment to state constitutions....100, 493, 494
Election of officers....444, 457-459
Electrical Workers' controversy adjusted....135-137, 229, 408
Electrical Workers—Engineers....134, 229, 409
Elevator Constructors—Machinists....128, 129, 229, 388-393
Elevator Constructors—Machinists, Resolution 151....303, 304, 388-393
Elevator Operators, Porters and Janitors, organizers to be requested to assist in organizing, Resolution 58....259, 334
Employment bureaus, Resolution 86....283, 356, 357
Employers' liability and workmen's compensation legislation....79-82, 228, 322-325
Engineers, Steam—Firemen....130, 131, 229, 394, 395
Resolution 117....293, 394, 395
Resolution 121....294, 295, 394, 395
Engineers, Steam—Longshoremen, Resolution 113....292, 413, 414
Eschelman, John L., Lieutenant-Governor-elect, California, address of....309, 310
Exhibit, A. F. of L., Panama-Pacific Exposition....161, 229, 347
Executive Council's report....15-224
A. F. of L. library....165-167, 229, 347, 348
office building....160, 161, 229, 311, 312
weekly news letter....163, 164, 229, 347
Agricultural credit bill—organized farmers....102, 103, 228, 329
Alaska, government construction of railways in....85, 86, 228, 364
American Federationist....43, 162, 163, 229, 347
Arbitration—Conciliation—Mediation—Federal Board....88, 89, 228, 364
Automobile industry, Detroit, organization campaign in....134, 135, 182, 409-411
Blacksmiths—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers....129, 130, 229, 393, 394
Blacksmiths—Tunnel and Subway Constructors....132, 229, 397-400
Bond statement, receipts and expenses....43
Brewery Workers—Coopers....125, 126, 229, 251, 387
Bricklayers, agreements of affiliated building trades with—Marble Workers' protest 144, 150, 229, 367, 368
Brickmakers, seceding local unions....137, 138, 229, 408
British Trades Union Congress, 1914 meeting postponed....50, 228, 472
Butte, Mont., situation—Western Federation of Miners....110-112, 367
Canada, report upon progress of movement in....192, 193, 230, 368
Carpenters' amalgamation....113, 114, 229, 490
Carpenters—Sheet Metal Workers—Building Trades Department....139-143, 178, 179, 367
Carpet Mechanics, San Francisco—Upholsterers....132, 229, 491
Carriage and Wagon Workers, jurisdiction infringement charges against....134, 135, 229, 409

Digitized by Google

Executive Council's report—Continued. Page.
Central bodies and state federations of labor....57, 228, 492, 493
Child labor, declaration re....76, 228, 346, 347
Child labor legislation....75-77, 228, 346, 347
Clayton antitrust act....68-73, 228, 361, 362
Colorado miners' situation....103, 106-108, 366, 367, 368-370
Conservation of Natural Resources....54, 228, 346
Contempt case of Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, final decision in....94, 95, 229, 365
Contempt procedure, proposed amendment to state constitutions....100, 493
Convict labor legislation....85, 228, 462
proposed amendment to state constitutions....101, 228, 494
Co-operation in related industries....61, 62, 228, 361
Co-operation in strikes and lockouts, report upon replies from international unions re 62-65, 228, 361
Copper miners' strike, Michigan, House resolution providing for investigation of....103, 367
Cuba, movement in....52, 53, 199, 228, 331, 494
Dayton, Judge, impeachment....96, 228, 365, 366
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.... 42
Departments, A. F. of L., recommendations to amend laws governing....150-155, 229, 446-457
Departments, reports of....178-191
Building Trades....178-181, 368
Metal Trades....181-186, 368
Mining Department....190, 191, 368
Railway Employes....189, 190, 368
Union Label Trades....186-189, 368, 485
District of Columbia suffrage....89, 228, 493
Executive Council meetings.... 16
Eight-hour law, federal, to amend....184, 317
Eight-hour legislation....74, 75, 228, 317
Eight hours, proposed amendment to state constitutions....100, 493, 494
Electrical Workers' controversy adjusted....135-137, 229, 408
Electrical Workers—Engineers....134, 229, 409
Elevator Constructors—Machinists....128, 129, 229, 388-393
Employers' liability and workmen's compensation legislation....79-82, 228, 322
Exhibit, A. F. of L., Panama-Pacific Exposition....161, 229, 347
Firemen—Engineers....130, 131, 229, 394, 395
Flint Glass Workers—Machinists, dispute over mold makers....133, 134, 229, 401
Free speech and free press, proposed amendment to state constitutions....100, 493
Glass Bottle Blowers, extension of jurisdiction....112, 229, 384
Government employes, bill to regulate method of directing work of....184, 326
Hatters' case status....91, 92, 229, 365
Hetch-Hetchy bill, San Francisco water supply....87, 228, 364
Hodcarriers—Cement Workers....131, 132, 180, 229, 395-397
Hours of service law, amendment to....83, 228, 326
Huber, Vice-President....169, 230, 329
Immigration legislation—literacy test....84, 85, 228, 363
Industrial education—vocational and trade training....90, 229, 347
Industrial Relations Commission, U. S....102, 228, 347
Initiative and referendum legislation.... 97
Insurance, social, investigation of, report....66-68, 219, 224, 361
International and national unions....56, 57, 228, 361
International Federation of Trade Unions, doubt as to meeting, San Francisco, 1915 50, 228, 471, 472
International unions organized by A. F. of L., list of....21-23
Ireland, Home Rule—Irish labor movement....52, 228, 472, 473
Jefferson, Thomas, home, Monticello....90, 312, 313
Judges, charges and impeachment proceedings....95, 96, 229, 365, 366
Labels, union, endorsed by A. F. of L.... 23
Labels, union, increase in numbers issued by international unions....186
Labor Day—Declaration of Executive Council—Labor Sunday....54, 55, 228, 312
Labor forward movement....59-61, 228, 312

Digitized by Google

Executive Council's report—Continued. Page.
Labor legislation, general, proposed amendment to state constitutions....101, 102, 494
Labor press....164, 229, 347
Ladies' Garment Workers' settlement, Philadelphia....155, 229, 332
Lecture Bureau, A. F. of L....164, 165, 229, 332
Legal Department, A. F. of L....97, 229, 366
Lithographers—Lithographic Press Feeders....131, 229, 414
Lithographers—Printing Pressmen—Photo-Engravers....131, 229, 395, 414
Local unions, directly affiliated, recommending changes in laws governing 57, 58, 228, 476, 477
Longshoremen, protection of, regulations for loading vessels....86, 228, 327
Longshoremen's application for extension of jurisdiction over marine warehousemen 113, 229, 384
Marine hospital at Seattle....87, 228, 327
Marine warehousemen, Longshoremen's application for jurisdiction....113, 229, 384
Massachusetts labor law....73, 74, 228, 362, 363, 493
Membership growth....44, 45
Mexican situation....50-52, 228, 317
Michigan copper lands, House resolution to investigate seizure....103, 366
Mining field, situation in....104-112, 229, 366
Mitchell, Vice-President, retirement....168, 169, 230, 329
Molders—Metal Trades Department....181
Mother's Day....56, 228, 492
Mount Vernon, Government ownership bill....90, 229, 312, 313
Moving picture machine operators—jurisdiction dispute between Electrical Workers and Theatrical Stage Employes....133, 229, 400, 401, 408, 409
Municipal ownership, report upon working conditions in street railways in European countries under....102, 200-218, 228, 230, 327, 328, 344
National Popular Government League....99, 100, 229, 494
Naval construction—public vs. private....86, 228, 327
Navy yards, method of fixing wages in....184
Newspaper Solicitors' Union, San Francisco, application to I. T. U. for charter....131, 229, 279
Occupational Diseases, International Congress on....53, 228, 346
Occupational diseases, legislation....78, 79, 346
Old-age pensions....87, 88, 228, 327
Organizers....61, 228, 332
Organizing expenses....41
Panama Canal, rules and regulations governing use of....86, 87, 228
Panama Canal, wage reductions....183
Parcel post extension....82, 228, 326
Personal injuries, proposed amendment to state constitutions....101, 493
Physical examination of Government employes....83, 228, 326
Plasterers—Carpenters—Executive Council decision re staff work....130, 229, 490, 491
Plasterers—Cement Workers....180
Plate Printers—Printing Pressmen, agreement re jurisdiction dispute over rotagravure printing presses....126, 127, 229, 387, 388
Porto Rico, citizenship for people of, bill....89, 197, 198, 228, 364
President Gompers' visit....53, 54, 195, 228, 491
report on progress of movement in....193-198, 230, 494
Post-Office clerks and night work, legislation....82, 228, 326
Postal employes, wage increase for....82, 228, 363
Postal savings bank law, amendment to....82, 228, 326
Primary, direct and presidential....99
Printing Pressmen—Chicago Newspaper Publishers' Association....155, 229, 368
Printing Trades Unions' litigation....92, 93, 229, 365
Railroad automatic stop systems....83, 326
Railroad Telegraphers, application for extension of jurisdiction over Canadian railway clerks....112, 113, 229, 384
Rest day, weekly, legislation....89, 228, 327
Safety appliances and inspectors, legislation....77, 228, 321, 322

Digitized by Google

Executive Council's report—Continued. Page.
Safety, Bureau of Labor, bill....78, 228, 321
Saturday half-holiday legislation....89, 327
Seamen's legislation....84, 228, 363, 373
Secretary Morrison's report....17-47
Shingle Weavers, change of title....112, 229, 384
State constitutions, proposed welfare amendments to....100, 229, 493, 494
Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, amalgamation agreement....114-124, 228, 345, 384-387
Stogie Makers—Cigar Makers—agreement to amalgamate....124, 125, 229, 387
Stove Mounters—Sheet Metal Workers....127, 128, 229, 338
Strike statistics....26-38
Strikes and lockouts, co-operation in, report on replies from international unions re agreement upon....62-65, 228, 361
Sunday rest movement....55, 56, 228, 346
Tailors—unwarranted extension of jurisdiction and title....138, 139, 229, 370-373
Taylor system—piece-work in Government service....83, 228, 326, 467
Teamsters—Brewers—Bakers—Laundry Workers....134, 135, 229, 401, 403
Teamsters in post-office employ....82, 228, 326
Text-books, free....167, 229, 348
Text-books, uniformity of, model bill....167, 168, 229, 494
Timber Workers, title of Shingle Weavers changed to....112, 229, 384
Treasurer's report.... 47
Tunnel and Subway Constructors—Compressed Air Workers....133, 229, 400
Unemployment, World Congress on....54, 228, 317
Unemployment and vagrancy laws....88, 228, 327
Unfinished business....176, 368
Voting strength of affiliated unions, in annual conventions....24, 25
War and peace, international....48, 49, 228, 471
Weekly news letter, A. F. of L....163, 164, 229, 347
West Virginia miners' situation....104-106, 366
White, President, declination to serve as Vice-President....169, 230, 329
Women, white, employment in Asiatic cafes and stores....90, 228, 364, 365
Women workers, report on special campaign to organize....58, 59, 228, 331, 332
Workmen's compensation, proposed amendment to state constitutions....101, 494
Wright, Judge, impeachment....95, 96, 228, 365
York Manufacturing Co....185, 481, 485
Exemption clauses must be placed in state laws to protect labor organizations from prosecution....362

F

Farmers—agricultural credit bill....228, 329
Farmers' fraternal delegate seated....407
Federal Baseball League, Resolution 123....295, 484
Firemen, Stationary—non-affiliation with Metal Trades Department....185
Fitzgerald, Anna, address of....271, 272
Flint Glass Workers—Machinists, dispute over mold makers....133, 134, 229, 401
Fraternal delegates, addresses of....245-249, 273-278
Fraternal delegate, Canadian, gift presented to....377
Fraternal delegate to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, report of....243-245
Free speech and free press, proposed amendment to state constitutions....100, 493
Fur Workers' greetings....338

G

Garment Workers' credentials....10, 11
Garment Workers, United, division in, providing for committee to investigate, Resolution 41....253, 254, 308, 309, 314, 315
Garment Workers, United, greetings....251
Gas and Water Workers—Plumbers, San Francisco, jurisdiction dispute, Resolution 21....237, 238, 373, 374
Glass Bottle Blowers, extension of jurisdiction....112, 229, 384
Glove Workers' strike, Gloversville, N. Y., Resolution 153....305, 308, 382, 383

Digitized by Google

Page.
Government employes, bill to regulate method of directing work of....184
Government vehicles made and repaired in union factories, to have, Resolution 102....288, 378

H

Hatfield, Chas. J., address of....230, 231
Hatters' case status....91, 92, 229, 365
Hatters' legal defense, authorizing one-cent assessment to defray expenses of....337
Hebrew Trades, New York City, greetings....242
Hetch-Hetchy bill, San Francisco water supply....87, 228, 364
Hibernians, Ancient Order, Philadelphia, invitation to visit headquarters....390
High cost of living, suggesting solution for, Resolution 118....293, 294, 464
Hodcarriers—Cement Workers....131, 132, 180, 229, 395-397
Holt Manufacturing Co., Stockton, Cal., Resolution 146....302, 484, 485
Hosiery Workers' Union, Philadelphia, ball invitation....252
Hours of service law, amendment to....83, 228, 326
Housing, sanitary, advocating Government loan system for wage-workers for, Resolution 61....262, 263, 355
Huber, Vice-President, retirement....169, 230, 329

I

Immigration legislation—literacy test....84, 85, 228, 363
Incapacitated workers to receive financial assistance through legislation, Resolution 110....291, 463
Independent unions, to make effort to secure affiliation of, Resolution 84....283, 335, 338-340, 461, 462
Industrial education—vocational and trade training....90, 229, 347
Industrial organization, favoring, Resolution 16....236, 353
Resolution 28....239, 374
Industrial Relations Commission, U. S....102, 228, 347
Initiative and referendum legislation....97
Insurance, social, investigation report....66-68, 219-224, 228, 361
International and national unions....56, 57, 361
International Federation of Trade Unions, doubt as to meeting in San Francisco, 1915....50, 228, 471, 472
International police force, to resist establishment of, Resolution 97....287, 473, 474
International unions organized by A. F. of L....21-23
Ireland, Home Rule—Irish labor movement....52, 228, 472, 473

J

Jefferson, Thomas, home, Monticello, Government purchase....90, 312, 313
endorsing Detrick bill, Resolution 148....308, 314
Jones, Mother, address of....310
Judges, charges and impeachment proceedings....95, 96, 229, 365, 366

K

Kellogg, W. K., Company, Battle Creek, Mich., does not use label on its printing....338
Kemper, Louis W., death of, Resolution 163....383, 384

L

Label exhibit in connection with convention....13, 14
Label, union, boards, education and agitation, Resolution 73....267, 488
Labels, union, endorsed by A. F. of L., list of....23
Labels, union, members of organized labor urged to fulfil obligation of patronizing....489, 490
Labels, union, increase in numbers issued by international unions....186
Labor Day—Declaration of Executive Council—Labor Sunday....54, 55, 228, 312
Labor editors should join newswriters' unions, Resolution 12....234, 332
Labor forward movement....59-61, 228, 312
Labor Group in Congress of material assistance in campaign to secure favorable action upon Labor's demands....69

Digitized by Google

Page.
Labor legislation, general, proposed amendment to state constitutions 101, 102, 494
Labor measures introduced in state legislatures to be reported in A. F. of L. weekly news letter, Resolution 14....235, 329
Labor party, favoring formation of, Resolution 32....240, 329
Resolution 66....264, 468
Labor press....164, 229, 347
Labor Press Association, meeting.... 13
Ladies' Garment Workers' International, greetings....242
Ladies' Garment Workers' strike settlement, Philadelphia....155, 229, 332
Land to be restored to people, Resolution 95....286, 357, 358
Lastmakers, international union of, request for assistance to organize, Resolution 53....258, 334
Laundry League, Anti-Japanese, San Francisco, request for co-operation, Resolution 82....282, 468, 469
Leather Workers on Horse Goods, to assist, Resolution 43....254, 333, 334
Lecture Bureau, A. F. of L....164, 165, 229, 332
Legal defense fund....18, 19, 228, 337
Legal Department, A. F. of L....97, 229, 366
Lincoln Memorial, non-union erection....319, 321, 404
Lincoln Memorial, to urge union erection of, Resolution 165....463
Legien, Carl, greetings from.... 14
Lennon, Treasurer, speaks at St. John's Church, announcement....315
Letter Carriers' Branch, Philadelphia, invitation to delegates to visit headquarters....242
Liability insurance companies, compensation laws to eliminate....322
"Life and Labor," organ of Woman's National Trade Union League....347
Lithographers' delegate changed....390
Lithographers—Lithographic Press Feeders....131, 229, 414
Lithographers—Printing Pressmen—Photo-Engravers....131, 229, 395, 414
Local unions, A. F. of L., recommending changes in laws governing....57, 58, 228, 476, 477
Local unions, A. F. of L., new, to receive assistance from defense fund, proposing that, Resolution 75....280, 478
Locomotive boiler inspectors shall have had practical shop experience, to provide legislation requiring that, Resolution 141....300, 301, 469, 470
Longshoremen, protection of—regulation for loading vessels....86, 228, 327
Longshoremen, safety legislation for, Resolution 109....291, 496
Longshoremen's application for jurisdiction over marine warehousemen....113, 229, 384
Lord's Day Alliance, greeting....399
Louisville, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly—Carpenters' Local No. 64, Resolution 133....297, 298, 479, 480
Lumber Workers, to promote organization of, Resolution 74....280, 356

M

McGuire, P. J., memorial service....262, 310, 315
Machinists—Carpenters, Resolution 152....304, 305, 417
Machinists—Plumbers, Resolution 150....303, 416, 417
Maintenance of Way Employes, Pres. A. E. Barker, greetings....308
Marine Band to be prohibited from competing with civilian musicians, Resolution 33....240, 330
Marine hospital at Seattle....87, 228, 327
Marine warehousemen, Longshoremen's application for jurisdiction....113, 229, 384
Maryland labor forward movement, A. F. of L. to assist, Resolution 60....262, 334, 335
Masonic Temple, Philadelphia, invitation to visit....308
Massachusetts labor law....73, 74, 228, 362, 363, 493
Mattresses and upholstering, favoring laws regulating picking of material used for, Resolution 63....263, 495, 496
Mattresses, favoring laws regulating filling of, for protection of public, Resolution 64....263, 496
Mediation and Conciliation Board, A. F. of L., to consider jurisdiction disputes....419, 420
Membership growth....44, 45
Messenger, appointment of.... 6
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers re jurisdiction of, Resolution 101....288, 414, 415
—Pocket Knife Blade Grinders, Resolution 100....288, 412, 413

Digitized by Google

Page.
Mexican situation....50-52, 228, 317
Militarism, to secure repeal of all laws that further spirit of, Resolution 89....284, 475, 476
Mining field, situation in....104-112, 229, 366
Mitchell, Vice-President, retirement....168, 169, 230, 329
Molders—Metal Trades Department....181
Moose, Loyal Order, Philadelphia, invites delegates to visit headquarters....308
Moreland, John, sends contribution for striking Textile Workers, Atlanta....377
Mother's Day....56, 228, 492
Mount Vernon, Government purchase of, bill....90, 229, 312, 313
endorsing Detrick bill, Resolution 148....303, 314
Moving picture machine operators—dispute between Electrical Workers and Theatrical Stage Employes....133, 229, 400, 401, 408, 409
Municipal ownership....327, 328
Municipal ownership, report upon investigation into working conditions in street railways in European countries under....102, 200-218, 228, 230, 327, 328, 344
Musicians' protest against Marine Band competing with civilian musicians,
Resolution 33....240, 330
Resolution 46....255, 256, 330

N

Naval construction—public vs. private....86, 228, 327
Navy yard employes, Mare Island, civil service measures employed to prevent political activity of, Resolution 145....302, 465, 466
Navy yard employes, Saturday half-holiday for, Resolution 158....306, 467
Navy yards, method of fixing wages in....184
Necessities of life, Government to produce and distribute at cost, Resolution 118....293, 294, 464
New Jersey locals to have jurisdiction within their own territory, Resolution 122....295, 491
New Jersey, request for organizer, Resolution 42....254, 333
New Orleans, La., application for organizer for South with headquarters at,
Resolution 116....292, 293, 335
New York Central Federated Union, internationals to direct locals to affiliate with,
Resolution 5....232, 332
Newspaper Solicitors' Union, San Francisco, application to I. T. U. for charter....131, 229, 279
Newspaper Solicitors' Union, San Francisco, complaint of non-support, Resolution 40....253, 374, 375

O

Occupational diseases, addresses on....249-251, 260-262, 322
International Congress on....53, 228, 346
legislation....78, 79, 228, 346
to educate workers upon particular hazards of their trades to prevent,
Resolution 129....296, 297, 349
Office workers, request for special organizer for, Resolution 127....296, 381
regarding organizing an international union of, Resolution 142....301, 381
to assist in organizing, Resolution 19....237, 336, 337
Resolution 56....259, 334
Old-age pensions....87, 88, 228, 327
Organizers....61, 228, 332
Organizing expenses.... 41

P

Painters—Carmen, Resolution 83....282, 283, 412
Panama Canal, protest against employment of alien plasterers on, Resolution 49....256, 257, 353, 354
rules and regulations governing use of....86, 87, 228
to guarantee a specific period of employment on, Resolution 45....255, 331
wage reduction....183
Parade arrangements announcement....310
Parcel post extension....82, 228, 326
Patten, J. H., address of....407, 408
Personal injuries, proposed amendment to State constitutions....101, 493

Digitized by Google

Page.
Philadelphia labor forward movement, to make permanent and requesting financial support of A. F. of L. and international unions, Resolution 93 ..... 286, 314
Physical examination of government employes 83, 228, 326
Physical examination of wage workers, to determine policy in regard to, Resolution 147 ..... 302, 303, 466, 467
Piece-work system from all government establishments, urging legislation excluding, Resolution 20 ..... 237, 326
Plasterers—Carpenters, Executive Council decision re staff work 130, 229 490, 491
Plasterers—Cement Workers 180
Plate Printers—Printing Pressmen, agreement re rotagravure printing presses 126, 127, 229, 387, 388
Plumbers—Compressed Air Workers, Resolution 132 ..... 297, 416
Popular Government League, National 99, 100, 229, 494
Porto Rico, citizenship for people of, bill 89, 197, 198, 228, 364
Congressional investigation into conditions in, Resolution 38 ..... 252, 495
President Gompers visit 53, 54, 195, 228, 491
report on progress of movement in 193-198, 230, 494
Post-office Clerks—night work—legislation 82, 228, 326
night work, Palmer-Lewis bills endorsed, Resolution 69 ..... 265, 355
workrooms and mail equipment, for more sanitary, Resolution 72 ..... 266, 267, 355, 356
Postal Clerks and Letter Carriers, wage increase, Lewis bill endorsed, Resolution 59 ..... 259, 376
Postal Employes, wage increase 82, 228, 363
weekly rest day law, A. F. of L. to assist in preventing alteration of, Resolution 55 ..... 258, 259, 354, 355
Postal Savings Bank law, amendment to 82, 228, 326
Primary, direct and presidential 99
Printing Pressmen, New York City, to endeavor to arrange for reinstatement of seceding locals of, Resolution 4 ..... 232, 368, 417, 418, 420
Printing Pressmen, Chicago Newspaper Publishers' Association 155, 229, 368
Printing Trades Unions litigation 92, 93, 229, 365
Prison Labor Commission, Pennsylvania, committee appointed to address 399

Q

Quincy, Ill., Central Body greetings 338

R

Railroad automatic stop systems 83, 326
Telegraphers, application for extension of jurisdiction over Canadian railway clerks 112, 113, 229, 384
Telegraphers, eight-hour day, Stephens bill 74, 317
Railway Employes' Department—Painters, Resolution 9 ..... 233, 234, 446-457
—Plumbers, Resolution 131 ..... 297, 447-457
Railway Mail Clerks' support of Borah bill, protest against A. H. Stephens' antagonism to, Resolution 139 ..... 299, 300, 465, 466
Rand McNally Co., status, Resolution 77 ..... 280, 348
Religious organizations, fraternal delegates from, Resolution 11 ..... 234, 352, 353
Rest day, weekly legislation 89, 228, 327
Rigg, R. A., address of 245-249
Riggers, machinery and house movers, application of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers for jurisdiction over, Resolution 126 ..... 296, 415, 416
Rumsey, Thomas, protest against seating of 10

S

Safety appliances and inspectors, legislation 77, 228, 321, 322
Bureau of Labor, bill 78, 228, 321
lecture 251, 260-262, 322
Sailors, foreign, detained here by reason of European war, competition of, Resolution 111 ..... 291, 463
Salaries of officers, favoring increase in, Resolution 67 ..... 264, 376, 377
San Francisco, invitations for 1915 Convention for 242, 311, 390

Digitized by Google

Page.
Saturday half-holiday legislation....89, 327
for navy yard employes, Resolution 158....306, 467
School teachers, to organize, Resolution 125....296, 335
Seamen's bill....84, 228, 363, 373
to urge enactment of, Resolution 1....231, 373
Secretary Morrison's report....17-47
Sergeant-at-Arms, appointment of....6
Shingle Weavers, change of title to Timber Workers....112, 229, 384
Six-hour workday, favoring, Resolution 30....239, 240, 340, 341
Slate Workers, application for jurisdiction, Resolution 90....284, 415
—Marble Workers, Resolution 29....239, 414
Smith, Walter G., address of....276-278
South Bend, Ind., Central Labor Union, greetings from....242
St. Louis, Mo., labor forward movement, Resolution 26....238, 239, 313
Stamped envelope printing contracts, to aid I. T. U. in matter of, Resolution 130....297, 464, 465
Starrett, L. S., Tool Manufacturing Company, Athol, Mass., Resolution 47....256, 481, 482
Resolution 157....306, 482
State branches, unions should affiliate with....492, 493
State constitutions, proposed welfare amendments to....100, 229, 493, 494
State hospital and institutions employes, to assist enactment of legislation to improve conditions of, Resolution 15....235, 236, 332, 333
State laws must provide exemption clauses to protect labor organizations from prosecution....362
Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, agreement upon amalgamation proposition..114-124, 228, 345, 384, 387
—Steam Engineers, Resolution 115....292, 351, 384-387
Steamboat Inspection Service, Bureau, providing for investigation of, Resolution 54....258, 375, 376
Steamship equipment for loading and unloading, to provide bureau of inspection for, Resolution 114....292, 463, 464
Steel Foundries, American, strike, Resolution 65....263, 264, 477, 478
Stenographers, typewriters and office employes, request for special organizer for, Resolution 127....296, 381
Stockton, Cal., organized labor *vs.* Merchants, Manufacturers, and Employers Association, Resolution 143....301, 302, 316
Stogie Makers—Cigar Makers—agreement to amalgamate....124, 125, 229, 387
Stove Mounters—Sheet Metal Workers....127, 128, 229, 338
Street Railway Employes Division, Port Chester, N. Y., greetings....338
Street Railway Employes, Indianapolis, to assist in securing satisfactory decision upon injunction issued against, Resolution 164....445, 446
Strike co-operation be required of national and international unions, favoring that, Resolution 65....263, 264, 477, 478
Strike funds, articles to be published bi-monthly in *American Federationist*, urging unions to establish, Resolution 94....286, 378
Strike statistics....26-38
Strikes and lockouts, co-operation in, report upon replies from international unions re....62-65, 361
Sunday rest movement....55, 56, 228, 346
Sylvis, Wm. H., memorial service....315

T

Tailors, extension of jurisdiction and title....138, 139, 229, 370-373
request for endorsement of change of title, Resolution 98....287, 370-373
Tax on local unions that support labor papers, to remit portion of, Resolution 162....344, 345, 480
Tax upon affiliated unions, favoring increase in, Resolution 31....240, 477
Taylor system—piece-work in Government service....83, 228, 326, 467
Taylor system in Government workshops, to urge President Wilson to prohibit, Resolution 156....305, 306, 467
Teamsters—Brewers—Bakers—Laundry Workers....134, 135, 229, 401, 403
Teamsters in post-office employ....82, 228, 326
Telegrams from Washington, Montana and Idaho....251, 252
Telegraphers, Commercial, to assist effort to organize, Resolution 155....305, 336
Ten-hour law, Illinois, causing discharge of women workers in cloth hat industry....341

Digitized by Google

Page.
Texas, request for organizer, Resolution 81 ..... 282, 335
Text-books, free 167, 229, 348
Text-books, revised, urging that effort be made for publication under union conditions, Resolution 77 ..... 280, 348
Text-books, uniformity of, model bill 167, 168, 229, 494
Textile Workers' strike, Atlanta 341-343, 383
committee appointed to collect contributions for 343, 359, 398
Thanks, Resolutions 166 and 167 469
Timber Workers, title of Shingle Weavers changed to 112, 229, 384
to promote organization of, Resolution 74 ..... 280, 356
Tobacco Workers vs. American Cigar and Tobacco Trust and United Cigar Stores, Resolution 70 ..... 265, 482
Tobacco Workers' label, urging patronage of, Resolution 25 ..... 238, 487
Toledo, Ohio, for 1916 Convention, invitations from 308, 338
Tolman, Wm. H., address of 249-251
Trade union movement advances economic, social and political well-being of the working class, Resolution 52 ..... 257, 258, 354
Treasurer's report 47
Transportation Department, Resolution 108 ..... 290, 291, 380, 381
Tuberculosis, National Association for Study and Prevention of, endorsed and co-operation pledged, Resolution 51 ..... 257, 348, 349
prevention, address on 230, 231
urging better legislative regulations for prevention and cure of, Resolution 76 ..... 280, 356
Tunnel and Subway Constructors—Compressed Air Workers 133, 229, 400

U

Unaffiliated national and international unions, effort to be made to secure affiliation, Resolution 84 ..... 338-340, 461, 462
Unemployment and vagrancy laws 88, 228, 327
Unemployment, World Congress on 54, 228, 317
Union Label Products Trading Association, address upon purposes of 268
Upholsterers and Mattress Makers, favoring laws regulating picking of material used by, Resolution 63 ..... 263, 495, 496

V

Vessel registration laws, to amend, Resolution 2 ..... 231, 232, 329
Vice-President, A. F. of L., one to be resident of Canada, Resolution 18 ..... 236, 237, 477
Victor Talking Machine Company, Camden, N. J., Resolution 92 ..... 285, 286, 482, 483
Resolution 154 ..... 305, 483
Visitors to be separated from delegates 315
Voting strength of affiliated unions in annual conventions 24, 25

W

Walsh, Frank P., address of 269
War, European, A. F. of L. to tender offices to stop, Resolution 24 ..... 238, 473
re fundamental causes of, Resolution 97 ..... 287, 473, 474
to authorize Executive Council to call a meeting of organized labor of all nations upon termination of, Resolution 104 ..... 289, 290, 474, 475
War ammunition and equipment, to have nations manufacture their own, to eliminate commercial incentive for war, Resolution 159 ..... 306, 307, 467, 468
War and peace, international 48, 49, 228, 471
Weekly news letters, A. F. of L. 163, 164, 229, 347
West Virginia miners' situation 104-106, 366
White, John P., declination to serve as Vice-President of A. F. of L. 169, 230, 329
Wilson, W. B., address of 403-406
Wilson, W. B., greeting from 13
Wilson, W. B., Secretary of Labor, communication re Attorney-General's interpretation of federal eight-hour law 319, 320

Digitized by Google

Page.
Women, to restore to the home, Resolution 95....286, 357, 358
Women, white, employment in Asiatic cafes and stores....90, 228, 364, 365
Women workers, authorizing the levying of additional one-cent assessment to organize....331, 332
Women workers, report on special campaign to organize....58, 59, 228, 331, 332
Women's Trade Union League....343
New York, ball invitation....497
Women's Union Label Leagues, to assist in organizing, Resolution 136....299, 336
Workmen's compensation legislation....79-82, 228, 322-325
proposed amendment to state constitutions....101, 494
Workmen's compensation law, New York, to be amended to prohibit physical examination of employes, Resolution 50....257, 311, 322-325
Workmen's compensation law for District of Columbia, favoring, Resolution 62....263, 376
Wright, Judge, impeachment....95, 96, 228, 365

Y

York Manufacturing Co....185
Resolution 44....254, 255, 481, 485

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Princeton University Library
32101 073018291

Digitized by Google